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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Care for the Trees and Save the Forest

CREATING an aggressive, positive public opinion in the United States is a sudden, almost automatic process—when a common cause and plenty of facts about it create widespread discussion. Today's comparative unanimity on foreign affairs provides a striking contrast with the confusion and indifference of only a few months ago.

Nearly everyone has jumped on the band wagon of "making democracy work," a descriptive slogan originally put forward to help rescue local government from the destructive forces which made (and in many places still make) a mockery of the self-governing process.

Scores of individuals and organizations are vigorously promoting, as a primary need, free and full discussion of important public problems, but almost without exception they start and stop with national and international affairs. Each question must be superlatively and obviously big.

So most of the vital local issues are crowded off page one and are lucky to have a few inches in the last pages of the newspapers. The affairs of a community of, for example, 70,000 which spends five and a half million a year do seem rather picayune beside the billions for national government operation plus more billions for defense; but the cost of running the thousands of local governments, in the aggregate, goes up into pretty fancy figures, too. And that's one of the least important aspects of the picture. A more urgent consideration is the fact that each community is a link in the national chain; therefore, even an occasional weak or rotten link is something to be concerned about.

The basic importance of local government was emphasized from many angles at the recent National Conference on Government at Springfield, Massachusetts—the forty-sixth such conference sponsored by the National Municipal League each year since 1894. At sixteen general and group sessions several score men and women, who were well qualified by experience and accomplishment, spoke and led discussions on problems of civil service, local finance, voting, defense, citizen organization and action, decentralization of cities, and the process of American self-government generally. Several of the addresses at the conference are published as articles in this issue of the REVIEW.

The war will come to an end. The fight to make democracy work by making it capable of doing its job effectively, honestly, and efficiently will go on. So, while doing our bit in the world crisis, it will be eminently appropriate and wise to bear in mind that democracy grows from the bottom; it isn't fed down from the top as in a totalitarian system. We will do well, if we wish to save the forest, to take good care of the individual tree.

"Astounding" Progress in Milwaukee

AT THE year's end, Mayor Carl F. Zeidler issued a report to the people of Milwaukee which, in part, said:

"In passing over the threshold of another year and looking back over the panorama of achievements since I was inducted into the office of mayor on that memorable day of April 16, 1940, I am virtually astounded at the scope of work performed in so short a time."

This statement will leave many close observers of governmental progress not only astounded but mystified. It will recall, for example, that many were surprised—yes, astounded—when the voters of Milwaukee turned down the veteran Daniel W. Hoan, who had been at the helm during the many years Milwaukee was winning an enviable reputation as a well governed city.

But most people were inclined to give the newcomer credit for being an earnest, forthright young man who was eager to do a good job. Now they discover he is "astounded." Perhaps it was just an unfortunate choice of words. If, as his report indicates, he assumes credit personally for what has been accomplished, the word makes him sound all too modest. If, on the other hand, he is discovering only now that his city has a long-time plan of operation and many capable people working for it, he needs to catch up with common knowledge.

After all, no one believes Milwaukee's health record, lowering tax rate, and steadily decreasing debt—matters to which the mayor points with especial pride—were or could be the work of the last eight months. It doesn't happen that way. Such accomplishments are cumulative. The pattern was set years ago.

Dan Hoan used to be proud enough of Milwaukee's progress, but no one remembers his ever being "astounded." Progress was planned and expected. Indeed, many recall how he worried over the city's archaic basic set-up and the fact that it was necessary to keep running to the state capitol to wangle from a suspicious legislature new laws applying only to cities "of over 100,000 population." He felt Milwaukee would function better with a home rule charter which would provide a professional chief administrator and which would make the mayor frankly the leader of political thought and action.

Minnesota Points the Way

State's executive lists principles for solution of the many problems which beset the democratic process.

By **HAROLD E. STASSEN**
Governor of Minnesota

ON THIS occasion of your forty-sixth annual conference, I commend you men and women of the National Municipal League for the contribution you have made to progress in municipal government through the years.

The tragic events in other parts of the world, bringing war with all its horrors to millions of our fellow men, might seem to dwarf the significance of the work you have been doing and that upon which you might now set forth. In some respects this is true. The building of the means of national defense and our relationship to this tragic conflict are overshadowing problems. But in other respects, these very events re-emphasize the importance of the work that you are doing.

The challenge to democratic government to demonstrate that it can meet changing social and economic conditions and still retain the liberties of the individual man and woman never stood out more sharply than it does today. We are facing a continuous testing of our ability to develop the mechanics of democracy to meet emergencies of all types and yet keep the individual citizen as the sovereign of the land.

We must have a faith that the democratic way of life can be both humanitarian and efficient; that it can be composed of a great mass of citizens who are both free and yet thoroughly coördinated; that it can meet the needs of its people and yet maintain a sound, financial basis; that it can prevent abuses that develop without destroying individual initiative. In each of these respects the local and municipal governments play an important part.

In surveying the new problems that arise and in reappraising the present methods of meeting some of our older problems, we should set forth these general principles to guide us in our approach to the problems if we would seek the mechanics by which we can be both efficient and free.

We must recognize the need for constant change and reappraisal in the functioning of government in keeping with the changes taking place in all phases of social and economic life. But in stepping forward to meet new problems, the first premise should be, "What is the least power that government must take to meet the problems?" And conversely, we must avoid using the problem as an excuse for government to take over greatly expanded powers.

Secondly, that power that it is necessary to take should reside at as low a level of government as will make for efficiency.

Third, those powers that are taken over should be divided between legislative, executive, and judicial functions to preserve the essential balancing of governmental powers.

Fourth, executive powers should be organized with businesslike efficiency and streamlined with clear, rapid functioning lines of executive responsibility.

Personnel for all functions should be selected with a maximum consideration of merit and a minimum consideration of political spoils.

Fifth, long range planning should be a definite continuing function of all levels of government.

Sixth, keeping the citizenry informed and understanding the problems and actions of government should be a constant companion to the actual decisions and functioning of government itself.

MINNESOTA'S EXPERIMENT

Perhaps the best way to illustrate and enlarge upon the meaning and application of these principles is to discuss briefly with you some of the steps we have made in Minnesota in accordance with these basic principles or concepts of modern democratic government.

Two years ago the people of Minnesota placed in office an administration and a very decisive majority of both houses of the legislature which had presented to them a new program for the state government. Through unusual coöperation of all elected officials of the administration and through the active assistance and working together of both houses of the legislature, this program was placed in effect. It was in keeping with the principles that have been set forth above.

Part of this program was a sweeping reorganization in the state government, consolidating many different boards, bureaus, and agencies and greatly simplifying the governmental structure.

As a principal feature of this reorganization, in order to provide for more efficient and rapid functioning of the executive department of the state government, a state business manager was provided for, with the powers that the name implies.

Under his direction there was centralized and coördinated all state purchasing, all budgeting procedure, with a quarterly allotment system including power to reduce allotments if anticipated revenues did not meet anticipated expenditures; control of all state properties, buildings, and equipment; and wide powers of supervision, study, and direction over what might be termed the financial and business side of all state departmental activities.

It is clear that, in less than two years, this new office of state business manager, conducted as it is by a young man particularly trained in governmental research—and incidentally with a background of municipal governmental research—has made a tremendous improvement in the general coördination and functioning of the executive side of the government, has saved millions of dollars, and has been a large factor in changing a financial situation that was shot through with deficits to a government that is now running on a completely balanced budget.

In other fields of government activity boards and commissions of three members, which held a mixture of powers and duties that were legislative, executive, and judicial, and were properly performing none, were abolished. In their place clear-cut executive departments under the direction of single commissioners were established, with provision for semi-judicial appeals to separate appellate boards.

TAX REORGANIZATION

One example of this is in the tax department where an old tax commission, acting as rule maker, investigator, witness, administrator, judge, and appellate tribunal, was abolished and a single commissioner of taxation appointed, with not only the old tax commission's executive powers, but also the executive power of other scattered taxation units. A Board of Tax Appeals, entirely separately conducted, is provided for with simple appellate procedure. The new department has greatly reduced the overhead cost of executive tax collecting functions, while at the same time the taxpayer has a definite feeling of a fair day in court with opportunity of review through the Board of Tax Appeals.

The whole welfare, aid, relief, and assistance programs were likewise taken out of various commissions and placed in a clear-cut department under a single commissioner, with resultant saving of a half million dollars in overhead, while maintaining high standards of all types of aid, and granting increasing local administration and authority, with only broad policy supervision and strict accounting review maintained by the state government.

Requirement for large biennial appropriations for welfare and aid programs, which have a tendency to turn over legislative powers to the executive if they are conducted through large blank check appropriations, was met through creation of a new device. We established a legislative emergency committee, consisting of the chairmen of the taxation and of the appropriations committees in the two houses of the legislature, who together with the governor comprise a committee of five with complete continuing jurisdiction over allocation of welfare appropriations.

Working under this committee, the commissioner of social welfare prepares the formulas of the respective needs and financial ability of the counties of the state, and upon these formulas, and reports and public hearings, this legislative emergency committee divides throughout the biennium the funds placed in their care. It also meets emergencies that arise through the use of emergency and contingent funds placed under its jurisdiction.

This committee has functioned well as it not only prevents a rather natural and proper reluctance on the part of the legislature to place large unallocated funds in the hands of the executive department, but also gives to the key chairmen of the legislature an unusual understanding of the needs and of the functions of the entire welfare and assistance program in the state.

In approaching the problem of labor relations and the tragic loss occurring through lockouts and strikes, we have applied the same principles and embarked upon a new experiment. The government took the least power possible and placed this power in a simple executive department. Instead of establishing a board with powers of decision, we established a state labor conciliator, and then provided that before any strike or lockout could occur within the state, this labor conciliator must be given ten days written notice. During this waiting or cooling-off period he has the power and the duty to summon both sides to conference and endeavor to work out around the table voluntary peaceful agreements before any strike or lockout or stoppage of work occurs.

This law relies for enforcement primarily upon support of public opinion; secondarily, practices set forth can be enforced through regular court procedures. It has been largely responsible for reduction of loss in Minnesota through strikes and lockouts to approximately one-fifth of its former amount—at the same time that national loss has been increasing.

A complete civil service system has been installed, placing all state employees, except for policy-making commissioners and elected officials, under a strict civil service procedure.

INFORMING THE PUBLIC

We have maintained a constant policy of reporting to the people problems that arise and the steps that are being taken to meet them. We are now approaching another session of our legislature with the intention of further extending the application of these principles. The voters on November 5 decisively re-elected every public official who played any part in the new program and also returned a strong majority of the legislature.

We have been engaged in a continuous study of our problems and have enlisted the assistance of the American Public Welfare Association and of our Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research for further special studies.

This report is presented in the hope that our experiments may stimulate new thoughts, new studies, and new approaches to the complex, ever-changing, and ever-multiplying problems in modern democratic government.

I hope that, as new functions of government arise either through the national defense program or otherwise, you take the approach that government should take unto itself the least power that is necessary to meet problems efficiently and that such power should be left with local units of government whenever it can be done efficiently; that at the same time you seek the right to locally administer problems when it can properly be done, be willing to closely coöperate and coördinate with governments on other levels, welcome general supervision where policies must be wide in scope, and accept strict auditing review of activities.

In local governments as well as other governments, we must avoid autocratic and unfair tendencies by keeping functions that are executive, legislative, and judicial separated.

(Continued on Page 21)

Young Men in Action

Members of local Junior Chambers of Commerce alert to necessity for informed, active citizenry in their communities.

By **MARK MATTHEWS**

President, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

TWENTY years ago there was no medium through which the young men of the nation could make their voices heard and they were compelled to take a back seat. Individually, young men had little to say in the affairs of their community, state, and nation, and could be of little help. Today, through the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, the collective voice of 120,000 young men in a thousand communities is being heard.

Many who have heard the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce referred to for its outstanding program in many lines of civic endeavor may wonder what connection this organization has with good government. It is true that our primary function has been to improve our communities through civic projects, but our members, in seeking to better understand the problems of their communities, have become actively interested in their local governments.

Just a short time ago every member of this organization registered for the selective service, as the age limits of twenty-one to thirty-five provided for in the conscription law are the exact age limits covered by Junior Chambers of Commerce. Some may wonder why young men of draft age should devote part of their time to community betterment. The young men of the nation have indicated their willingness to make personal sacrifices in the establishment of an adequate national defense, but they are also vitally concerned with the maintenance of our democratic form of government. Never before in history has our nation been in greater need of the intelligent interest of young men in community problems.

Although these problems may seem unimportant in contrast to the immediate, vital issue of preparedness, for that very reason they should be emphasized; history has shown that in time of war or threat of war democratic peoples must be particularly on the alert to protect their rights. After all, it wasn't outside aggression which enslaved some European nations—their liberties were lost because democracy wasn't working in those countries.

General Petain told France by radio she had lost because "she had too few friends, too few young men, and too few guns" and because she had wasted the victory years since 1914-18.

"Today," he said, "France is a witness to sad days. We will learn our lesson from the lost battle. Since our victory [of 1918] our sense of enjoyment has predominated over our sense of sacrifice."

General Petain's reference to France's need for young men, coming from a man in his eighties, is particularly significant. Young, active leadership is needed at this particular time. History has shown that in times of crisis nations have turned to their young men and today this nation is asking her young men to assist in making democracy work.

APATHETIC CITIZEN A MENACE

Perhaps Petain was thinking of the fifth column when he said that France "had too few friends." We have a fifth column in this country. It may include some foreign agitators, it may include spies and traitors, but the fifth column that can do more to destroy the American way of life is not composed of these dangerous elements—it is composed of the so-called good citizens, who, through smugness and complacency, apathy or selfishness, refuse to face facts, refuse to accept community responsibility, refuse to be alarmed by the forces which are undermining our democracy, and who believe that all our problems can be settled by enacting a law and writing a check.

We have heard a great deal about democracy recently and leaders of both major parties have urged the voters to support their respective candidates to save our American way of life. In the intense rivalry and bitterness of a national campaign many of us forget that our local problems and our local governments affect us just as vitally as state and national governments.

The young men of the nation, through the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, have recognized that the basis of American civilization is in her grass roots and they have worked for the future of democracy and the building of a better nation by building better component communities in the nation.

Our organization, in dedicating itself to the task of making democracy work, has not held any meetings to discuss the meaning of the word "democracy," nor has it participated in any political debates as to what particular party is best able to maintain our democratic institutions, but, realizing that local government is the foundation of our democratic form of government and that if this foundation is not sound democracy must fail, members have taken an active interest in local governmental problems.

During the past four months I have travelled over 25,000 miles and I have had the privilege of speaking to thousands of young men. I have been astounded at the important role the young men of this nation are assuming in furthering our nation's welfare. Young men have been chosen for leadership in every section of the country and they are continuing their unselfish attitude in public life.

One could give no better example than Minnesota, where the part that young men are playing in solving that state's problems was referred to as "Minnesota's miracle" in a recent issue of *Reader's Digest*.[1] The following quotation from an editorial which recently appeared in a Minnesota paper is significant:

> In Junior Chamber of Commerce members Minnesota especially

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[1] July 1940.

> stakes much of its future hopes, for the Gopher State is paralleled by few among the forty-eight in the strength of the Jaycee movement.
>
> A glance at the last state election shows to what high positions of government Minnesota Jaycees have already risen. The governor, lieutenant governor, speaker of the house, and many of the state legislators are prominent members of their respective Junior Chamber units.
>
> Young men from twenty-one to thirty-five, affiliated with the fifty-one Minnesota chapters, are men with ideas and the enthusiasm and ability to galvanize into action and give birth to these ideas.

Governor Harold Stassen's record as an enemy of corruption and extravagance is typical of the type of young leadership which the nation has been privileged to observe. We have seen the collection of millions of dollars in back taxes in cities where the whole municipal machine was crippled to a standstill, destruction of corrupt political machines, defeat of unsound legislation, and hundreds of other activities which required the energy and enthusiasm of young men.

INTERESTED IN MANAGER PLAN

It is interesting to note that although the United States Junior Chamber has never advocated any particular form of local government, Junior Chambers in nearly twenty states are actively interested in the city manager form of government.

Failure of the average voter to realize that local politics are more important to him than national politics has enabled corrupt political machines to control local governments in hundreds of communities and has resulted in waste, graft, and the filling of public office with incompetents. It has been frequently stated that a corrupt local political machine cannot exist where the young men in the community take an active interest in their government. Here are a few examples.

A short time ago I visited a town in Alabama where the local political machine was supported by vice and racketeering and whose corruption was publicized in a national magazine. The young men in the community through their Junior Chamber of Commerce have elected their own mayor and are now attempting to secure indictments of some of their local officials.

In one of the largest cities in Florida election corruption and other community evils were public scandals. The business leaders of the community knew of the conditions and deplored them but felt they could not afford to stand up on the firing line to act as targets for powerful and corrupt political forces. The Junior Chamber took the leadership and went to battle against the entrenched and arrogant public enemies and today honest elections prevail in this city and disreputable gambling has been controlled.

These examples are typical and Junior Chambers in many cities have been successful in eliminating corruption in government.

Many of the political machines have been successful because of the failure of the voters to exercise their voting privileges. In carrying out our basic public affairs policy to make democracy work by encouraging individual expression by the constituents in the democracy and unified action by the factors within the democracy, our local organizations carry on get-out-the-vote campaigns on a nonpartisan basis in hundreds of communities. It is interesting to note that in many cities these campaigns have resulted in record registrations and increases in the vote as great as 85 per cent over previous elections. To make sure that these votes are properly counted the Junior Chambers have been responsible for having voting machines installed in many of these communities.

By such campaigns Junior Chambers have been able to prevent the building up of political machines which thrive on small registrations and have been able to counteract pressure groups. Incidentally, there are also cases where Junior Chamber campaigns, carried out under the general slogan, "Vote as you please, but vote," have resulted in defeat of unsound legislation, both local and state.

GOOD GOVERNMENT PRESSURE GROUP

As assistant corporation counsel for the City of New York in charge of legislation, it was my privilege to act as legislative representative of the city in the New York State legislature where I saw at first hand many of the dangers which are inherent in our democratic form of government. Government is becoming more and more a government by pressure groups, who think and act only in terms of their selfish ends. Too many groups think of America as a great big grab-bag instead of a treasure chest in which to hold the things they value most dearly, and these groups have become one of the greatest threats to our democracy. The Junior Chamber of Commerce is a pressure group for good government. Its entire program is concerned with the general welfare and its refusal to take an active part in partisan politics has greatly increased its prestige and effectiveness when opportunity to act on governmental issues does arise.

One could go on at length relating what young men, through Junior Chambers of Commerce, are doing in the field of civil service, surveys of municipal finance, public education, taxation, and many other fields. High minded; yes, high minded; but there will never be any permanent solution of our problems until more and more individuals become high minded. Intelligence and knowledge are not enough, nor will laws solve our problems. You can't legislate goodness or enthusiasm for good government. What we need are more of the type of men who acknowledge and who are paying a debt of gratitude to the country which provides them with homes and the privileges of citizenship—men whose hands are outstretched to give and not to grab, and who are willing to make any sacrifices necessary to the maintenance of our democratic form of government.

Never before in the history of this nation have we been faced with a more serious or more challenging situation, or one that is a greater test of our strength and solidarity. As

(Continued on Page 62)

New Frontiers

Unless democracy can be made to function at the grass roots it cannot be preserved for the nation.

By H. B WELLS
President, Indiana University

IN THE past few years we have awakened to the fact that, however completely the physical frontiers of the United States may have disappeared, there are new frontiers in the social, cultural, economic, and political development of the nation. In the fields of political and social science alone there are problems of unemployment, preparedness, public finance, and social security—to mention only a few—which must be explored more fully and for which solutions must be developed.

These and other frontiers of democracy create an opportunity for all the pioneers and all the intelligence which this nation can produce. It is important that we keep this opportunity constantly before us. The dominant feature of the past century was the exploration and settlement of the physical frontier. I predict that when the history of the present century is recorded the development of these new frontiers will likewise be regarded as its dominant feature.

One of the frontiers most closely related to the future welfare of democratic institutions is that of citizen participation in public affairs. Unless a citizenship can be built which will discipline itself to prepare for action and then will act aggressively and intelligently, the institutions of government which have been passed on to us by our forefathers cannot be preserved for use by the generations which are to come.

We are well aware of the importance of participation. Many of us are trying to do something about it. In that sense we are pioneers. With high hopes we are making our various attempts to solve specific problems of participation so that the political effectiveness of citizens generally can be increased and the survival of our institutions can be assured.

The complete record of what has been attempted would be long. May I therefore indicate a few of the things which Indiana University has been doing, as more or less typical examples of activities carried out in different parts of the country to increase citizen participation.

We have coöperated with organizations such as the League of Women Voters, women's clubs, and luncheon clubs in the development of citizenship programs. This coöperation has taken the form of furnishing speakers, program materials, bibliographies, etc.

In coöperation with the United States Department of Education we have developed forums in some fifteen cities, for the most part concerned with citizenship problems.

The Institute of Politics on the campus, which works with the National Municipal League, has used many devices in attempting to stimulate greater citizenship participation in our state. One such device has been the use of radio programs dealing with important governmental topics.

We have an active package library service which contains magazine and pamphlet materials on such subjects as citizenship, government, the merit plan, Americanism, patriotism, civil liberties, civic responsibility, community coöperation, and industrial democracy.

The extension division has developed a large library of audio-visual aides for civic education in the form of sound films, technicolor sound films, silent films, slides, and display materials.

CONFERENCE ON SELF-GOVERNMENT

We are carrying on not only these but many other projects. Nevertheless, we have felt that the program is inadequate and for that reason welcomed an opportunity to be host to the Conference on American Self-Government held on the campus last May.

This was a coöperative enterprise in which more than one hundred persons took part, representing institutions of higher education from coast to coast and nation-wide citizens organizations of many different kinds and convictions. Our part in that conference was simply that of a catalytic agent, acting to bring together various groups and interests.

The theory behind the conference was this: if representatives of citizens organizations and educational institutions sat down together they could devise plans by which each could be helpful to the other in developing ways and means of increasing public understanding of and participation in the democratic process. The place and opportunity of the colleges is clearly different from that of citizens organizations. Each has a peculiarly important contribution to make. Each seems to need help from the other in developing a comprehensive program of action.

An analysis of the part to be played by each in an effective program of citizen participation suggests that three separate but correlated steps should be carried out. Each of the three steps involves a different function:

> 1. The first is that of fact-finding to develop essential and basic information on selected issues.
> 2. The second is that of public discussion in which the facts can be put before groups of citizens until the citizens have their own individual convictions about the facts and the issues to which they relate.
> 3. The third is that of action, which is implemented by the first and second.

The first function, fact-finding, is essentially one of scholarship. It is made to order for the colleges. They have the resources and in most cases are qualified better than any other group to find the facts on any problem objectively and impartially.

The second function, discussion, offers a splendid opportunity to citizens organizations. They have local groups scattered throughout the states and the nation. They can hold meetings and build large audiences to which the facts can be presented and through which extended discussion can take place.

The third function, action, is for the people themselves to perform. No single institution or organization may presume to act for them. Whether they choose to act through the public process of the ballot or some other machinery of their own choosing, they are and must continue to be sovereign. They must act under self-discipline and with discretion, however, else all efforts at preserving the American way of life will be futile.

The conference on self-government spent two days working out a program in which the contributions of colleges and citizens organizations might be put most effectively at the disposal of citizens. It authorized a continuing committee to work on the program and to make recommendations to all coöperating and interested groups.

PROGRAM RECOMMENDED

About the first of October President C. A. Dykstra, of the University of Wisconsin, who presided at the conference and who is chairman of the continuing effort, announced a series of five recommended programs, which, as he said, "can be carried out in any community, with a minimum of expense, with personnel available locally, and with every prospect of success." This emphasized the fact that effectiveness of participation will depend always on what is done in local communities. Unless democracy can be made to function at the grass roots, it cannot be preserved for the nation.

The five recommended programs of action are these:

1. Community organization for the coördination of citizenship efforts.
2. Application within school systems of the best practices in civic education which will lead to a better understanding of American democracy.
3. Poll of youth opinion for use in high schools.
4. Citizenship training program and the induction of new voters.
5. Application of techniques to make local citizen participation in public affairs more effective.

The conference has announced its intention to develop recommendations for coöperative programs of action in connection with the national defense program. Colleges, like citizens organizations, want to participate fully in the defense program. They recognize there must be a mobilization of the tremendous educational and civic resources of the nation in the same way that the man power and the physical resources of the country are now being mobilized for defense. They believe that this mobilization can be affected democratically because the machinery of our educational institutions and citizens organizations has been established to operate democratically. They believe that it can be effected voluntarily because both institutions and organizations are eager to coöperate.

The problem is to select certain specific defense activities on which to focus attention, and on which to secure the coöperation of local citizens organizations. While the conference has not yet issued its recommendations, it seems abundantly clear that certain common problems will be presented to the people of every community throughout the nation. Some of them are:

1. Giving some sort of pre-service training to the young men who will be called to military camps. This is to prepare them for camp life and to give them a knowledge of the principles of democracy which they are preparing to defend.
2. Building a national morale. This is not so much to search out fifth columnists as to find out what attitudes on our part may be most constructive and to develop programs of action which will help to give those attitudes to citizens generally.
3. Determining the essence of the American way of life. There are certain principles of our democratic form of government which must be preserved through all social change and at all cost. What are they? How can we come to know and appreciate them?
4. Deciding what kind of a world order should be developed to avoid the chaos which resulted from the first world war.

Each of these problems presents a new frontier. Each of them offers an opportunity for democratic citizen participation in their exploration and in the development of methods of dealing with them. There is an opportunity for colleges and universities to develop facts about each problem and to help in the presentation of the facts for discussion. Citizens organizations have the opportunity to sponsor an extensive and informed discussion so that their members and citizens generally may have an understanding of major problems and some convictions about them. All groups and individuals have opportunity to take part in the programs of action which develop as a result of fact-finding and discussion.

I am firmly convinced that the tremendous emphasis now being placed on democratic processes will result in the perfection of new and better devices of citizen education and action. All of us should be looking for these new devices so that we may use them to increase the effectiveness of our participation. This means the continuation of the coöperative arrangement between citizens organizations and educational institutions which the Conference on American Self-Government has established, and the employment within that framework of whatever improved techniques human ingenuity can perfect.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before the forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1940.

From the Bottom Up

Citizens councils form integral part of Connecticut's educational set-up; meet monthly for discussion of basic problems.

By **ALONZO G. GRACE**
Commissioner of Education, Connecticut

NO THINKING citizen desires to return to the procedures or practices either in government or education that prevailed in generations past. On the other hand, every citizen has the right to expect social institutions to keep pace with changes in society. The simple process of adding services or of developing new functions, either by legislative enactment or through social pressure, to meet the exigencies of the moment does not necessarily indicate progress. Destructive criticism, unintelligent budget-cutting, false economy will not solve major problems. A far-sighted policy of planning and of constructive action should be the ultimate objective of all who seek to preserve fundamental institutions.

It was because of a deep belief in local initiative and responsibility as essential elements in the preservation of the democratic order that the procedures described here were inaugurated two years ago. They represent an effort to appraise and to guide an educational program and to secure action not by superimposing a plan by the state but by careful planning and wide discussion throughout the state by citizens and educators alike and by developing a spirit of willingness to face the facts realistically.

The plan may be slower but it is growth from the bottom up rather than through administrative pronouncement or legislative enactment. Research and planning, wide discussion of findings, conclusions and recommendations by the teaching profession, citizen participation in the study of many problems—a program of action coöperatively developed—these represent briefly our procedures.

The state educational system in Connecticut comprises the following organization:

1. A State Board of Education consisting of nine members each appointed for a six-year term. This is a board of educational statesmen, devoted to the determination of educational policy. It represents a long tradition of educational progress for Henry Barnard became the first secretary of the board in 1838.
2. Administration of the system delegated to the commissioner of education and a staff composed of two major divisions—administration and instruction. Two additional divisions have over-all functions, that is, research and planning and acting as liaison agent to the attorney-general.
3. An administrative council representative of the entire organization.
4. The supervision council representing all supervisory interests.
5. A state citizens council and five regional citizens councils.
6. A state instruction committee and five regional instruction committees.

The general organization of the

department will not be described here. Two important councils within the department, listed above, have been formed. These are:

1. *The Administrative Council.* This organization consists of all bureau and division heads. It meets once a week, at which time administrative routine and matters of administrative policy are considered. Decisions are reached after due discussion and consideration.
2. *The Supervision Council.* This group includes all supervisors or those who have anything to do with improvement of instruction. This body also meets each week to discuss supervisory plans and programs and to formulate policies for the improvement of instruction. It provides an agency through which supervisory plans may clear, thus making possible a unified department.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

Five fundamental principles underlie the organization of the State Department of Education. These may be stated briefly as follows:

1. *Leadership, service, research and planning.* The fundamental purpose of a State Department of Education should be leadership, service, research and planning. The state department's function is to guide the destiny of a school system by virtue of genuinely accepted scholarship rather than through legal sanction or authority. Regulatory functions should be exercised in an educational manner.
2. *Unity.* The development of an adequate educational program is contingent upon the willingness of the many integral parts of our system to work as a unit, rather than as independent entities. The objective of education is the child, youth, adult, the state; not the building up of a series of vested interests.
3. *Quality.* The dominant need of American education is quality rather than quantity. Our educational program, therefore, must be reorganized to permit the operation of the qualitative ideal. Quality is impossible where teachers are over-burdened, or poorly selected, where exceptionally large classes are permitted, where double sessions prevail, or where dozens of unsound practices are permitted to continue.
4. *Objectivity.* The problems of education should be approached objectively and not emotionally or irrationally. In many cases emotionalism rather than realism is the basis for discussion and action. The program of the State Department of Education is a long-term program which will be based upon adequate, intelligently conceived, and thoroughly discussed studies of the objective data.
5. *Coöperation.* In a democratic organization the wisdom and intelligence both of citizens and educators should be used to the fullest advantage in the development of an educational program. Our educators should be used in a coöperative research project to provide the state with a well considered program of education.

In order that the public may be thoroughly familiar with the need for re-direction of the school program, the problems involved, the new procedures and programs advocated and recommended, it is equally essential that citizens councils be formed as the first step in keeping the public familiar with the needs of the educational system. This means essentially that the educational program of Connecticut under this organization will grow from the bottom up rather than from the top down. It will be a program that will develop step by step. It means the continuous participation in the study and discussion of educational problems by citizens and by educators alike.

CITIZENS COUNCILS

Misconceptions often arise in our communities over the purposes, goals, procedures, or methods of education. New methods and new techniques may be developed or the curriculum may be modified. Subsequently, resistance develops in the community because parents have not been informed and citizens generally have not been permitted to learn about these changes.

In order that the experience and wisdom of our citizens may be used to the utmost to understand the educational system, to assist in the development of an educational program for the state, and to help keep the schools close to the people and citizens close to the schools, two major departures from traditional educational organization have been made. These are: (1) formation of a state citizens council, known as the Connecticut Council on Education, composed of twenty-five representatives of major organizations and outstanding leaders in the state; (2) development of five regional citizens councils representing every section of the state. Each regional council is composed of at least one representative from each town within the region. Members are selected by the various organizations or because of the statesmanship and leadership exhibited by the individual in the community.

The state council meets twice a year. It considers reports from the regional councils, decides on problems to be studied, and discusses final reports prior to transmission to the State Board of Education.

The regional councils meet for a dinner meeting once a month, with approximately an hour and a half devoted to discussion of a particular problem. An agenda is prepared in advance, or a printed or mimeographed report is in the hands of each member at least two weeks prior to the meeting. If a member is not present he is authorized to send a substitute so that his town may be sure of representation. This means that approximately two hundred citizens meet monthly to discuss fundamental educational problems.

Since the primary problem in Connecticut at this time is consideration of ways and means by which the secondary school program may be redirected, the citizens councils will study this year the findings and recommendations concerned with this fundamental problem. It is a very hopeful sign when the housewife, the machinist, the industrialist, the labor leader—a cross section of life in a state—are able to sit down side by side to discuss in a rational manner problems of education and proposed remedies or recommendations. Our people will understand educational problems better. The citizen has an opportunity to have some voice in educational planning. It is growth from the bottom up.

Democracy without intelligent and rational leadership becomes chaos. In these trying days many interpretations and definitions have been given to democracy. While it is not the intention here either to define or to discuss the democratic process, a statement of a few basic principles will be presented. The necessity of perfecting and organizing sustained interest in all communities, not only in community affairs but in the affairs of the state or nation, is evident. Some of these first principles of democratic leadership may be listed as follows:

1. There must be a respect for the work of the individual and provision of an opportunity to contribute to the decisions that affect the individual. This is basic to all intelligent leadership.
2. Partisan politics, personal prejudices and interests, and group loyalties must be eliminated in the interest of the whole people. An enlightened public opinion can be created only through continuous dissemination and unbiased interpretation of facts relating to a given problem. Rational action, therefore, results largely from constructive critical thinking and intelligent group coöperation.
3. Though the rights and privileges of citizenship must be observed and protected, there are obligations and duties of coördinate importance which should not be ignored. To fail in the observation of the obligations of citizenship may mean ultimately an infraction of the rights and privileges of the individual as a citizen. Participation in planning procedures is an obligation of citizenship.

Other principles might be mentioned. These have been stated merely to indicate that a leadership must know where it is going if it is an intelligent leadership. A leadership that proceeds, however, on the dogmatic basis that only one answer is correct and that the problem admits of only one method of solution results very soon in intellectual sterility on the part of those who follow. A wise leader always must be in command of the situation, but it is his business to get the greatest possible contribution towards the solution of a problem or the attainment of an objective.

COMMITTEES ON INSTRUCTION

The state and regional instruction committees are composed of educators for two reasons: (1) leadership in public education must remain with the educator for if we do not know what the problems are or how to consider solutions we probably should not belong to the profession; (2) all the good ideas are not concentrated in a particular individual or group. Wide discussion and participation in the common growth of the educational system will lead to a better understanding and to more enduring progress.

A state committee on instruction and five regional committees paralleling the citizens committees were formed to aid in the studies and to act as advisory groups on instruction. It was felt that with this organization there was little need to go outside the state for advice on how to study our program.

It is not proposed to over-organize our communities. For that reason no more than a limited number of studies will be undertaken in any one year. This year sub-committees on elementary, vocational, health, special classes, and social studies have been undertaken. A committee is studying and will make recommendations on a balanced secondary school program. The purpose is to secure a unified educational system in order to provide the individual with an opportunity to develop his interest and capacity to the fullest, to provide for the most effective use of our educational resources, and to narrow the gap between educational practice and community living.

It is impossible here to describe the work of these committees in full. Suffice it to say that the meeting of two hundred citizens in Connecticut once each month to discuss fundamental educational problems proposed either by the groups themselves or by the studies made by our educational groups, and the participation of over seven hundred teachers, supervisors, and administrators on various committees will lead inevitably to the attainment of the common goal.

In America we talk a good deal about democracy. For example, in public education we have discussed purposes and objectives, methods and procedures. As experts in government we talk about proportional representation, the county manager form of government, and administrative organization. Far too little of our time has been devoted to the development of an attitude of intelligent understanding and rational action. Citizen participation is essential in the consideration of those policies that affect their own destiny. Action is needed, not more talk.

The procedure described here is truly applicable to government in the broader sense. Too many of our public officials think of the fundamental issues, the welfare of men, or the functions of the office only at election time. As citizens we should know much more about the business of the state, the community, or the nation. There is a great opportunity for volunteer service in government.

As we restudy and revise the social studies courses in our secondary schools I am hopeful that we shall be able to agree on those concepts that every American citizen should possess. I am hopeful too that the type of training will be more than theoretical consideration of the simple machinery of government. An eminent university president stated some years ago that the present course in civics should become more than "a periodic spraying of the embryo citizen with a thin solution of pedagogical duco."

Democracy must become a living experience. We cannot talk democracy and regiment the minds and souls of boys and girls. I hope that in our secondary schools and for youth out of schools citizenship will become a much more realistic obligation than it has been in the past. Why not use our youth and community planning committees to study recreation, delinquency, or to help in the betterment of our respective communities? Why not delegate youth—seniors in high school and out-of-school youth—to attend town meetings, to assist in election booths and during registration periods and in a great multitude of ways in which our youth may absorb the very spirit of the democratic way. Youth is a part of the community.

Efficiency in government is not wholly a matter of organization and method, of practice and procedure. Without the sustained interest of the governed efficiency at best is but partial. We need in America much more than public addresses about democracy and the American way of life. We need much more than description of the machinery of government. We need to implant in our people fundamental ideals. In the local communities of America rests the strength of democracy. Our communities must be better places in which to live. If I were to propose a slogan it would be "Leadership and service from above. Growth from the bottom up." That is democracy at work.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered at forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1940.

MINNESOTA POINTS THE WAY

(Continued from Page 7)

Executive functions should be lodged in individuals with direct executive responsibility, lines of authority and of direction must be kept clear, merit of personnel constantly developed, and public information kept at a high level.

In keeping with these principles we should improve the financial stability of all local units of government now and safeguard against the great demands that the defense program will make of the national government; but at the same time we should prepare plans and a financial program to embark upon new public works to take up the slack when the defense program tapers off.

In keeping with these principles we should approach our low cost housing and slum clearance which stands out as one of the social and economic problems which we have been least successful in meeting. In keeping with these principles we should develop the whole wide range of home defense activities.

By approaching them in this manner, I have a fundamental faith that our democratic way of life can meet the great problems now before us, and those which will continue to arise, with efficiency, with soundness, and yet keep burning brightly the light of the liberty of each individual citizen first kindled at Philadelphia a century and a half ago.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1940.

Correction

The following correction should be made in "Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities—1940" appearing in the December 1940 issue of the REVIEW:

Table VIII, page 796, fifth line should read; No. of Installments 5-9; Per Cent of Cities 1935, 2; Per Cent of Cities 1940, 2.

Rhode Island Tries the Merit System

New law makes personnel agency integrated part of state administration; its director chosen by governor after competitive tests.

By **MAXWELL A. DEVOE,** *Director,*
Rhode Island State Department of Civil Service

THE history of civil service in Rhode Island is a short one and may be briefly told.

Prior to 1933 the state's government was dominated by the Republican party. Only occasionally did the Democratic party gain control, as evidenced by the fact that of twenty-two governors elected from 1900 to 1933 only five were Democrats.

During the long period of Republican domination in state affairs wholesale turnover in state employment was relatively infrequent. Rhode Island citizens, in common with others throughout the country, took the superficial attitude that where tenure of office is reasonably assured there is no need for a merit system. This viewpoint completely overlooks the many advantages of a well rounded personnel program, quite apart from the question of turnover.

In 1933 a Democratic administration took office and held sway for three terms, until 1939. During this period there was wholesale turnover in public office and for the first time the citizens of the state were thoroughly aroused against the inefficiency and waste of the spoils system.

In response to public opinion, a civil service law was introduced by the Democratic administration, but it failed to pass because it was regarded by the Republicans as a device for freezing Democratic job holders in office. A Republican administration was returned to power in 1939, and a state civil service law was passed and signed by the governor in March of that year. Interestingly enough, the law passed both houses of the state legislature unanimously; but it must not be thought that such unanimity truly represented legislative sentiment.

When read casually the Rhode Island civil service law does not reveal itself to be the administrative thriller it has turned out to be. It follows very closely the provisions of the model state civil service law which has been published under the joint sponsorship of the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League. Where it does differ it departs in a manner calculated to make the hair of any personnel administrator stand on end.

Public personnel administration has unfortunately been presented to the American public with an emotional emphasis on its moral virtues rather than on its value as a common sense, fundamental need of public administration. For this reason attitudes toward public personnel administration are adolescent and not infrequently infantile. Study groups can get together and discuss reasonably and unemotionally the establishment of a system for controlling public accounts or the purchase of supplies; but these same groups when confronted with the problem of establishing a personnel system lose their perspective. The very principles they generally advocate for other administrative processes are thrown overboard, and we find these study groups haggling over moral concepts which have to do with protecting the personnel system against any and all forms of political partisanship.

While there is no denying the need for establishing adequate safeguards against political manipulation, it would appear that in many civil service systems such safeguards are considered ends in themselves and the positive service features of a personnel program are regarded merely as incidental by-products.

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION ISOLATED

To account for this misplaced emphasis, it is necessary to go back a little in the history of the civil service movement.

The earliest public personnel agencies were established in what was generally regarded as a quagmire of crass political intrigue and corruption. Rather than taint these agencies, the civil service laws placed them in an administrative isolation ward where they would not be exposed to the disease of corruption which it was assumed racked the bodies of all elective and administrative officials. Approach to the personnel problem was negative and was characterized by cries of "keep the rascals out" and such phrases as, "It is better to select a man by the length of his nose than to select him through political patronage."

Down through the years the demand for improved professional execution of personnel services no longer permitted the simple solutions of the personnel problem advanced in the program of the early agencies; and there has been a marked change in attitude toward the public personnel problem. Unfortunately, however, like the vestigial appendix which flares up to plague the human body, the vestigial moral concepts of personnel administration still arise to distract our attention from the basic service features of the personnel agency.

To this day various devices are proposed and put into effect to isolate the personnel agency and guarantee its political neutrality by cutting the communication lines between the over-all government structure and the agency.

Evidence of this is to be found in some of the methods used in appointing civil service commissioners and personnel directors. For example, commissioners are elected by popular vote in certain small cities as a means of securing independence for the agency; the Jefferson County (Alabama) Civil Service Commission is appointed through a very complex system of advisory groups to assure its independence. The Cincinnati Civil Service Commission is insulated from the administration in power by providing that one member shall be appointed by the mayor, one by the Board of Education, and one by the trustees of the University of Cincinnati. Other attempts at isolation are illustrated by the establishment of civil service commissions with even numbers, on the theory that equal division between the two principal political parties will result in a stalemate if any member tries to "play politics."

Further evidence of "withdrawal from reality" is to be found in the appointment of personnel directors. In most public personnel agencies the director is appointed by the civil service commission in order to preserve the isolated entity of the agency.

In the few jurisdictions where the agency is made an integral part of government through the appointment of the personnel director by the chief executive officer, this practice has met with strong condemnation by the administrative isolationists. Strangely enough, the isolationist point of view is more prevalent among those with strongly committed political views who clamor for responsible government than among practitioners and students of public administration.

A NEW DEPARTURE

Administratively, the Rhode Island civil service system is still in its infancy, for it has been in operation only since January 1, 1940. From the standpoint of the legal basis for the system, however, Rhode Island has "come of age."

The law is relatively free from the confusions which result when the moral concepts and taboos surrounding the personnel problem are superimposed upon principles of administration. It recognizes that the personnel agency, to be an effective service department, must be made an integral part of executive management. Therefore, it provides for the appointment of the director and the civil service commission by the governor. The director is appointed, after open, competitive examination, from a list of three names submitted to the governor by the commission. The commissioners are appointed with the consent of the Senate. The only significant deviation from standard practice is the requirement that the minority member must be approved by the chairman of the State Central Committee of the party of which such commissioner is a member. Apparently this procedure was designed to assure the minority party true representation and not representation through a person who would play the "friendly Indian" role to the majority members.

Structurally, therefore, the personnel agency has assumed its proper place in the state's administrative management, and has not been established as an isolated entity.

So far as its internal administrative structure is concerned, the Rhode Island personnel department follows the type of agency recommended in the report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management. All administrative and technical operations are placed in the hands of the director. The commissioners are part-time officials and function as a board of trustees representing the public interest in seeing that the system is fairly operated.

Although the commission has no administrative responsibility per se, it must not be thought that it lacks essential authority and power. The commission has important quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions in that after public hearing it approves rules and passes on classification and pay plans. It hears grievances with reference to the administration of the act. All these functions constitute strong controls over the authority of the director and serve as a check against arbitrary or capricious actions on his part.

The relationship between the civil service commission and the personnel director is confused in many personnel agencies because the laws fail to define the authority which each will exercise. Where the laws fail to define the boundaries within which each must operate, the sphere of influence over the personnel program will depend largely on the relative aggressiveness of the commission as compared to the personnel director. If the executive officer is not aggressive or professionally competent, the commission must move into the area of administrative activities, for the work must go on. If the commission members do not assume their share of responsibility, the director may engage in activities which properly belong to the commission. Both of these situations are unfortunate, for they lead to internal awkwardness in administration, and, what is worse, clumsiness in dealing with departmental authorities and the public.

The Rhode Island law wisely anticipated this problem and resolved the difficulties by clear definitions of the duties and responsibilities of both the commission and the director. Any deviations from duly constituted authority are, therefore, readily apparent and soon corrected.

It is significant to note that not only structurally is the personnel agency made part of executive management, but it is tied in functionally as well. Rules and classification and pay plans must all be submitted to the governor for approval before they take full legal effect. Personnel administration is such an important part of public affairs that it seems proper the chief executive should have a voice in formulation of the basic tools which govern its operations.

INCUMBENTS TAKE TESTS

Now let us turn to one of the operating features of the law which sets it apart from any civil service legislation passed thus far. Although public personnel administration under formal legal sanction has been known to this country since the adoption of the Pendleton act in 1883, it is surprising how many policies affecting essential operating features are still unsolved. The question of what to do with present incumbents at the time a civil service law is passed is a case in point.

The early civil service laws solved the problem quite simply by the so-called "blanketing-in" process. Under this procedure employees occupying positions as of a certain date were automatically given all rights and privileges of full civil service status. Improved methods for recruitment of personnel applied only to the selection of new employees.

In the middle 1930's there was considerable agitation for a requirement that present incumbents should demonstrate their fitness to be retained in the service through a qualifying examination and should not retain their jobs by default. This proposal found considerable favor and was characteristically employed in civil service legislation of this period.

Earlier in this article it was intimated that where the Rhode Island law deviates from standard practice it does so in no uncertain fashion. Treatment of the question of present incumbents illustrates this. Here is the Rhode Island solution for this problem:

> Sec. 25. *Status of Present Employees.* Persons holding positions which would come under the classified service as described herein at the effective date of this act shall be deemed to be holding said positions temporarily until the director can by open competitive examinations provide employment lists for the various classes of positions. The director shall establish said lists as soon as possible after the effective date of this act. When and as employment lists become available all positions in the classes or positions covered by said lists shall, for the purposes of appointment thereto, be vacant and shall be filled immediately from said lists in accordance with the provisions of this act.

EMPLOYEES FEARFUL

For a fuller appreciation of what this means, it should be added that the top name only is certified and Rhode Island also has the so-called "5 and 10 point" veteran's preference provisions.

Of great importance was the reaction of the employees themselves. Those who, under normal circumstances, should have welcomed civil service as a means of removing their positions from the fitful tossing seas of political patronage were either openly disaffected or secretly skeptical and fearful. Thus, during the early, critical days of the new personnel program, the civil service system was regarded with fear and suspicion by the very group which ordinarily would be its staunchest supporter. Civil service needs many friends to assure its continued successful operation, more particularly during the early organization days when it is still fair game for the political partisans. It mattered not that the employees would have a chance to win their right to employment in a fair competitive system in contrast to the patronage system where no such opportunity was offered. All rational weighing of advantages was put aside by the dominant emotion of fear of the competitive examination process.

The open, competitive examination program placed the civil service department between the cross fires of various groups with diametrically opposed interests.

Present incumbents hoped that the examination program would be so geared to their present duties that anyone not in the state employment would have little chance for success. Those not occupying state positions hoped that examinations would be sufficiently general in content that they would have a fair chance to obtain employment. Persons lacking formal education wanted the emphasis placed on experience. Those lacking experience wanted the emphasis placed on education. Older workers feared the youngsters would best them in the examination process and the youngsters feared the program would afford them little opportunity to gain a foothold because of experience requirements.

Underlying the hopes and fears of these several groups was, of course, the question of opposing political interests. Through these divergent interest groups the Department of Civil Service has had to chart a course which would be eminently fair to all concerned; and "navigation aids," afforded by the experiences of other agencies, were either nonexistent or of little value.

The success with which the department has steered between Scylla and Charybdis may best be shown by an analysis of examination results. These show that 56 per cent of the present incumbents retained their positions and 44 per cent failed to do so. It will be seen that persons not now in the state's employ have a fair chance to obtain positions. Of the 44 per cent representing new employees replacing present incumbents, it is interesting to note that 40 per cent are persons who have never held a state position and were for the first time attracted to the service as the result of the merit system.

It is too early to judge whether the Rhode Island plan for determining the status of present incumbents will afford the answer to this troublesome problem. Certainly the program, when completed, will put the system on a much firmer footing than any other plan. If the political system can sustain the shock of such a heroic measure, then future phases of the personnel program should be readily assimilated.

The positive service features of a personnel program cannot long survive in the rarified atmosphere of morality. The moral desire for good government, without direct responsibility for achieving that goal, places an inconsistent demand on the personnel agency. There must be not only a moral desire, but also a direct administrative responsibility. If the system is unable to survive in the rough-and-tumble environment of its political and administrative surroundings, then transfusions of the anemic blood of morality will serve only to keep it alive as a puny runt in the government family.

The Rhode Island personnel program has its roots in the administrative life about it, and this augurs well for its ultimate success. But there are still many obstacles to overcome.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before the forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1940.

Traffic and Urban Decentralization

One of most pressing municipal problems is traffic congestion in business areas; inadequate parking facilities a hindrance.

By C. T. McGAVIN
Yale University Bureau for Street Traffic

TRAFFIC and urban decentralization are closely associated. It is the purpose of this discussion to delve into this relationship and to locate the problems of traffic with respect to other forces which are at work to bring about the movement we call "urban decentralization."

Perhaps a definition of what is included in the words "urban traffic" is in order.

Urban traffic is the movement of people, goods and commodities within an urban area. It involves complete movement from point of origin to destination where the interchange of goods or services takes place. Urban traffic is not limited in its meaning to just the movement of vehicles, commonly called "traffic flow," nor is it limited to automobile movement alone. It includes all modes of urban transportation plus the problem of parking. For example, in the case of a person who wishes to go to a business district to make a purchase, "traffic" will be interpreted as including the various modes of transportation used by that person — including walking — from home to the point of entrance of the establishment where the transaction is to take place.

Traffic is playing a leading part in the changes which are taking place in our cities today. The future pattern of urban development will depend in large measure upon what steps are taken to adjust business district traffic facilities to the requirements of urban transportation.

Today we are faced with a bewildering array of changes—some of these changes even appear to be anomalous. For example, a city can have business decentralization and increasing traffic volume taking place within the same area.

In order to get a true picture of the roles that traffic and traffic facilities are playing in the dramatic changes now taking place in urban areas, it is well to get our bearings. We should ask ourselves four questions: Where have we been? Where are we now? Where are we headed? And finally, what can we do about it?

Transportation is as old as man, but its principal developments have taken place since the early 1800's. At that time, on sea the fastest ships were propelled by sails, while on land the extreme limit of speed was provided by the horse, just as it had been for hundreds of years before.

With the advent of mechanical transportation the desire for speed in urban transportation has been stimulated. Today, we no longer measure distance in miles but in minutes. The shift in location of places of residence and business in terms of accessibility in minutes is one of the vital forces in urban decentralization. Now, more than ever, time is money. The appetite for speed has been stimulated, but facilities are unable to safely and conveniently fulfill this desire.

Paralleling the growing desire for more speed is a growing desire for more comfort. This desire is as old as man. The modern manifestation of this age-old desire is sometimes called "motorist laziness."

"MODERN FACILITIES"

There are some who, upon observing this so-called modern trend, claim that our generation is growing soft and that the way to solve the traffic problem is to make it less convenient to use the automobile in congested areas. This is not in accord with sound economics nor would it achieve the ideal of a more vigorous population. Indeed, some of the urban decentralization taking place today is a result of this desire for more convenience and comfort being translated into diverted buying habits. History of urban transportation development during the past one hundred years has been largely in the direction of improved convenience. Let's examine the record.

The first strictly horse car operation was started in New York City in 1832. This was a converted omnibus with a capacity of twenty passengers.

In the early days of urban transit it was a matter of getting from point to point at all, rather than getting there in a hurry.

To illustrate the principle that our conception of urban traffic should be broad and that we should be bold in our action to overcome present traffic aspects of the decentralization problem, let us note what the San Francisco City Directory of sixty-five years ago had to say of "modern metropolitan transit facilities"[1]

> It is hardly too much to say that the modern horse car is among the most indispensable conditions of modern metropolitan growth. It is to a city what the steam car and steamship lines are to the state and country. In these modern days of fashionable effeminacy and flabby feebleness, in which one never walks when he can ride, the horse car virtually fixes the ultimate limits of suburban growth.

This is interesting for several reasons. Since we can see how far wrong the prediction was regarding the horse car virtually fixing the ultimate limits of suburban growth, perhaps we had better ask whether we ourselves have raised our gun sights high enough in the consideration of present urban transit facilities. Apparently the author of sixty-five years ago thought that the "modern horse car" marked the ultimate end of all future urban transit development. He was also wrong in his evaluation of the importance of comfort and convenience in transportation. It was called "fashionable effeminacy and flabby feebleness" to ride in a horse car. It sounds more than a little like our modern commentaries on "motorist laziness."

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[1] As quoted in The San Francisco Citywide Traffic Survey, by Miller McClintock.

These comments do not solve the problem. A study made indicates that there is a rapidly increasing resistance on the part of motorist shoppers to walking more than a distance of five hundred feet. Such facts cannot be passed off with a condemnation of "motorist laziness." They represent decisions made by people of their own free will; they are, in effect, "silent votes." Today we see evidence on every hand that these silent votes have been translated into changed buying habits, affecting urban areas.

During the past sixty-five years great improvements have been taking place in rapid succession in the convenience and comfort of urban transit. In 1865 an electric battery-driven elevated was first operated in New York City. In 1871 the first cable car was introduced in San Francisco. This mode was particularly well adapted to hilly topography. Even today very excellent cable car service is still successfully serving portions of that city.

In 1872 a great epizoötic disease broke out among horses in the United States.[2] In many cities horse car operations stopped, while in others men, oxen, and dogs were used to pull the cars. This naturally speeded up development of the electric car. The first electric car line in this country was placed in operation in 1883 and by 1905 this type service operated on over 90 per cent of the urban trackage in the country. In 1902 New York elevated lines were electrified. In 1904 the first subway service was started in New York. Since 1921 the motor bus has experienced rapid growth and development.

THE AUTOMOBILE

Following closely on the heels of electric street car development has come the automobile. While it is well known that this mode of transportation has greatly increased, it does not seem to be fully realized that the phenomenal increase in automobile ownership and use has been without precedent in the history of transportation. In 1885 there were four automobiles in the country, in 1900 there were eight thousand, in 1920 there were eight million, and today there are twenty-seven million —approximately one automobile to every 5 persons in the land.

The impact of this rapid rise in automobile ownership on the living habits and the buying habits of our urban life have been profound and may well be called the "automotive revolution." This new mode of transportation has given the motorist flexibility in choice of home location and place of business, just as the "industrial revolution" of a previous decade gave new flexibility to factory location.

Prior to the advent of steam and electric power, factories had to be located near water power for operation and near centers of population for labor and markets. The new flexibility made possible by steam and electric power acting in combination with improved methods of transportation (the canal, railroad, etc.) led to changes which had repercussions in all phases of American life. This perhaps was the first phase of industrial decentralization. As is well known, it had far-reaching consequences to New England industries.

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[2] *Transportation,* by Labert St. Clair.

Dr. Miller McClintock, director of the Yale Bureau for Street Traffic Research, foresaw some of these changes years ago. Twenty years ago he predicted that if our congested cities could not adjust themselves to automobile transportation, decentralization was sure to result.

THE TRIGGER FORCE

Since a large number of American cities are experiencing significant changes in structure, and these changes are following similar patterns in all cities, it is well to seek out the underlying forces which are at work and examine them.

In all great changes there is usually one single force which, acting in combination with other forces, swings the balance. While it cannot truthfully be said that this one force causes the change, it is true that the one force sets those changes in motion. The great epizoötic outbreak did not cause the electric street car to be developed—it merely speeded up this change. There are some who say that today the automobile is causing the changes we are now experiencing. This is not the case. It is the automobile, acting in combination with a great many other factors, which is bringing about rapid changes in urban structure.

In geology the one single force which sets in motion an earthquake is called a "trigger force." Today there are many forces at work, but transportation is acting as a trigger force to set into motion changes we now call urban decentralization. Because of the complexity of the forces that are at work, municipal government, property owners, and business establishments are somewhat bewildered by these changes. It is important that cause and effect of urban decentralization be thoroughly studied.

Wherever decentralization of business occurs, it will be observed that motor car accessibility is an important consideration. For example, in the hotel business, roadside inns are developing rapidly. Out west these roadside inns are ultra modern and choose to call themselves "motels." Downtown hotels have had to meet this situation with convenient parking facilities. In the theatre business it has been found necessary and desirable to yield to easy motor car accessibility for successful operation, hence neighborhood theatre development.

Department stores have found it necessary to do one of two things: (1) either move closer to customers by means of branch stores, or (2) move their customers closer to the store by means of more adequate parking facilities. In groceries and markets it has been necessary to abandon the central district in most cities and develop neighborhood markets and supermarkets with adequate parking facilities.

Newer office buildings have found it desirable to provide adequate parking facilities within the building or in a nearby location. Medical, professional, and insurance buildings particularly have felt the influence of automobile transportation.

An extreme type of development catering to the convenience desires of motorist trade are the "drive-in" establishments, where the motorist is served while remaining in his car. Examples are drive-in theatres, drive-in restaurants, drive-in banks, drive-in laundries and cleaners, drive-in shoe repair shops, and there are, no doubt, many more examples.

In representative cities in the 400,000 and over population group, cordon count figures indicate that increases in the number of people entering the central business district over a ten-year-period are very slight and in several instances there are actual declines. At the same time increases in traffic volume are about 25 per cent. Decentralization of business is found to be taking place right along with increasing traffic congestion. In most cities we find increasing automobile ownership and also increasing use of automobiles as reflected in increased average gallons of gasoline per registered vehicle. In most cities the passenger automobile constitutes upward of two-thirds of the total traffic stream in the central business district.

TRAFFIC REQUIREMENTS

In order to have a clearer conception of the automobile traffic problem, it is important that we consider it in its component parts. The basic requirements of all forms of transportation are four in number: good motive means, good roadways, adequate terminal facilities, economic justification. One can readily see that this classification would fit any means of transportation including the modern airplane.

Now let us examine those component parts more closely.

(1) *Good motive means.* Automotive manufacturers have been building comfort, convenience, and speed with safety into the automobile, but an examination of average travel speeds within cities indicates that over-all speeds during mid-day periods within the central business districts are quite low—on the average, approximately twelve miles per hour and often less. When one considers the fact that all cars coming off the production lines today are capable of sixty miles per hour speed under safe operating conditions of roadway, it is readily apparent that the automobile is being forced to operate far below its capacity to serve.

It is unlikely that we shall be able to move about urban areas at such high rates of speed; but the time is rapidly approaching when street traffic conditions within central business areas must be improved. The question is, what physical limitations are now placed on modern urban transportation and how may these be overcome? The problem of raising travel speeds in urban areas with safety is one of real importance. But in spite of the rapid advances and improvements which have been made within recent years, can facilities for handling urban traffic be improved in time to remove traffic as a factor in the present decentralization problem?

(2) *Good roadways.* Here the first duty of the traffic engineer is to see that the present roadway structure itself is receiving its most efficient

use. Here the three E's of traffic control are used to the maximum—engineering, education, and enforcement. When the saturation point of traffic density has been reached, there is no black magic by which more cars can be put in the same space at the same time. No increase in number of police officers, no matter how well trained, can force traffic volume over a street system incapable of carrying the load. Therefore, when the ultimate capacity of a street system has been reached, the solution lies in adjustment of the structural rather than the operating elements of automotive transportation.[3]

There is, of course, the problem of cost and the economic advantage of the improvement. Recognition of the fact that traffic congestion is an important phase of government administration in our urban business districts and that relief measures must be economically sound, the Yale bureau has undertaken an economic study of traffic congestion. This study will delve into a method for evaluating economic losses due to congestion.

PARKING PROBLEM

(3) *Adequate terminal facilities for the automobile.* It is obvious that if the automobile is to be of any usefulness at all, it must be possible for the motorist to be able to leave his car within a convenient distance of his intended destination and in satisfactory facilities at a fair cost. This immediately raises the question of whether the ideal requirements demanded by the motorist can be economically justified.

The Yale Bureau for Street Traffic Research has had a study of all aspects of the parking problem under way for over a year. It delves into methods for determining the requirements of adequate parking facilities; it analyzes the economic benefits resulting from adequate parking facilities. It attempts to discover: (1) Can "adequate" parking facilities be provided? (2) Can the required facilities be economically justified? (3) Who should undertake the solution and how?

The bureau has selected twenty-nine cities for special study. Measurements made in these cities will furnish yardsticks for application of the same principles to other cities. Tools and techniques have been carefully worked out and the coöperation of twenty-five national associations of business as well as that of all levels of government, has been secured.

(4) *Economic justification.* This involves the motorist, the taxpayer, and the city government in an equation of economic benefits to each as weighed against the costs involved in all three investments in automobile transportation—the motor car itself, the roadways, and the terminals. Some indication as to present values being paid for a service which is far from potential possibilities is illustrated in this typical example: A city in which the average motorist who parks in the central business district pays thirty-five cents for all-day parking. The average walking distance to destination is approximately five minutes. Origin and

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[3] Report to American Automobile Association by Dr. Miller McClintock.

destination studies indicate that the average person in that city lives four miles from the heart of the central district. Time studies indicate that to this area average speed of street cars is nine miles per hour while the auto has an over-all average of fifteen miles per hour. The street car fare is fourteen cents. This motorist is willing to pay fifty-five cents in actual operating expenses (gas, oil, and parking) without allowance for depreciation. It requires sixteen minutes to go to town by automobile, plus approximately five minutes to park the car and walk to the motorist's destination. The street car would require twenty-seven minutes. Allowing five minutes for walking to and from the public carrier, we have a thirty-two-minute time requirement. For eleven minutes time, plus the convenience and comfort of the automobile, the motorist is willing to pay forty-one cents per day.

WHY NOT WALK?

In cities where parking facilities are inadequate—as to location, capacity, price, and general motorist acceptance—there is quite naturally much congestion. Other elements in the traffic stream tend to retard traffic flow—the parking cruiser, parking in loading zones. Thus in cities where the parking problem looms large, operating speeds for both the public carrier and the private automobile are lower than twelve miles per hour; and occasionally this over-all speed for central business district traffic has been known to drop to four miles per hour—a walking pace.

It is evident that where such congestion exists and travel time is so reduced, the area concerned is handicapped since the incentive to visit it in order to transact business is reduced. As the difficulties of parking increase, time losses increase, comfort is reduced to a point where it becomes a minus quantity. Therein lies one of the dynamic factors in business decentralization.

In seeking to bring about orderly improvements the most logical approach is to seek the weakest link and apply the proper effort to its strengthening. In most instances, in urban transportation, this is the parking problem. The problem affects adversely all modes of transportation and also the efficient movement of merchandise within the central business district. The parking problem is a vulnerable point for attack. Solution of this problem will reduce the potency of the traffic aspects of urban decentralization.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 20, 1940.

What Can the Newspapers Do?

SOME twenty-five editors, reporters, magazine writers, and civic leaders gathered round a table at the 1940 annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League over which Karl Detzer, roving editor of *Reader's Digest* presided. Their purpose—to work out some ideas on the role of newspapers and magazines in democracy's crisis. Here are some of the salient observations.

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On the newspaper's aims:

ROBERT R. MULLEN, assistant city editor, *Christian Science Monitor*:

The press has two objectives. The first objective is to supply the raw material of fact regarding the crisis of democracy, upon which the citizenry can make its own intelligent decisions. The second objective is the editorial side, that is, the drawing of conclusions based on those facts. I think that is the ultimate goal.

* * *

On what kind of news should be served:

GEORGE E. PELLETIER, *Providence Journal*:

> *I would eliminate the editorial page of most newspapers and bring it back to where it stood fifty or sixty years ago where, when the editor really had something to say, he either put it on the front page or he led the editorial page with it, the rest of the page at that time containing news as it should. There is no reason in the world why a substantial newspaper should print editorials day by day on the life of the ant, or all sorts of foolish subjects, so that when it really has an editorial that counts and that is likely to influence somebody, it is lost in a maze of foolish editorials.*

OXIE REICHLER, managing editor of the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman*:

I should say that the great responsibility is not during a crisis when everybody is "hot-pants" about getting things done, but during the time when we've made a little victory. You must keep up the pitch; you must keep up the interest.

The press should assign itself to avoid confusion, to clarify matters, and to shatter those illusions which politicians love to build. But if no one reads us we are not effective. Many newspapers have not yet come to a point where they regard municipal government as news, hot news; they don't present it either through writing or through address or through position in the newspaper or through simple language—which is terribly necessary if the people are to get it. How can we present this material so that it will be literally eaten up the way a good juicy divorce story will be, or a sexy crime?

In Yonkers we went down into the districts, into the wards, and into the city and county committees, and we began telling stories about what makes the wheels go. We dragged in also the work of the lobbies. Does the average man in the street know who is pulling the strings? Can he get it? I think that he ought to have it made available.

We have been trying to teach our readers that city hall is no palace from which guards can bar them; that it is their house and they have a right to be there, in fact they are wrong if they don't get there.

I urge you, every one of you, to watch the public opinion column in your own paper. If it isn't as good as you think it ought to be, it's your fault. You ought to be writing to it. A lively letter column means that readers are participating; once you get participation you don't have any problems.

We tell the whole story. We tell the laughs and the tears and the human interest stories. Our government has human interest. We report in detail about city finance. We find it pretty lively. We do it also by nurturing civic groups, good civic groups. We toss apples of discontent. We find them very effective. Today's scandal is the basis of tomorrow's reform.

* * *

On which audience should be reached:

Daniel D. Mich, New York editor of *Look Magazine*:

> *I don't think there is any defense at all of political corruption but I don't see how it can be eliminated until you get at the causes. The causes, it seems to me, are too many poor people who know too little and can be deluded and bought, and too many rich people who know too much. I don't think that most newspapers get at those fundamental causes. The press in general, I think, can rightfully be accused of having neglected that field.*

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On the value of newspaper publicity in political campaigns:

Mr. Pelletier:

I think in the general attitude of those who are engaged in reform movements there lingers the thought that, provided they can get publicity for their movement, they are going to go over. It seems to me that publicity comes of itself once organizations become newsworthy, whereas if they get a lot of easy publicity they are immediately deluded with the idea that their movement is going across and forget the organization which is very important. I don't think publicity in itself is worth more than 10 per cent or 15 per cent of the entire campaign.

* * *

On a proposal for a municipally-operated or a state-operated publicity bureau:

Mr. Reichler:

> *That's bad from the public point of view because you attempt to gloss over or suppress the undesirable things and it's these undesirable things that we need terribly.*

Mr. Pelletier:

There is another difficulty, that you couldn't get the news anyway. It would be interpreted as an attempt to gag the press or at least to prevent it from getting first-hand information.

If you had three or four newspapers in one town, they'd be getting the same story.

* * *

On the kind of newspapermen we need:

WALTER J. MILLARD, Field Secretary, National Municipal League:

> *The publishers and the managing editors of the dailies of our larger cities should put on the job of reporting men who have some background and training in political science. The man with a political science background, with good reporting training, will see the significance of something that on the surface is not dramatic. He'll take those dead statistics and make them vital.*

MR. REICHLER:

The non-trained men who are good reporters will get a better story. Why? Because they'll say: "Now look, I'm thick. Explain it to me in more simple language."

If the reporter isn't too skillful in his technical knowledge, he may do a better job for the low-brow reader.

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On virtue vs. vice:

KARL DETZER, Roving Editor, *Reader's Digest*:

> *In the Reader's Digest we find that people are as much interested in dramatic city virtue as they are in civic vice. Almost always our stories of civic virtue rank way up at the top of the column and often our stories of civic vice rank far down.*

MR. MICH:

We take a reader poll too and the constructive stories rate higher than the exposé type of story. When you praise a job well done they seem to like it better.

MR. MULLEN:

> *We don't believe in crusading exposé types of stories. The other side does seem to excite interest.*

MR. MICH:

Everybody loves success stories.

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On the influence of advertisers:

MR. REICHLER:

Where are these advertisers? They come in and holler and because they holler we do the opposite. We have lost advertising but we're rich enough so that we needn't worry. But the taxpayer's group in Yonkers has now got to a point where merchants are sticking their chins out and contributing and the banks are contributing to finance the taxpayer's group. Now that's education.

Contributors in Review

IN AT least four states, in the federal government, even in Canada, **Maxwell A. DeVoe** (*Rhode Island Tries the Merit System*) has served in top-flight positions involving public personnel administration. The director of the Rhode Island Department of Civil Service—appointed in September 1939 from an eligible list established as a result of a nation-wide, open competitive examination—is a Ph.D. with major in psychology and personnel administration, has been a personnel officer in Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and with the Farm Credit Administration, and was field consultant for the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

EDUCATION plus democracy has been the concern of **Alonzo G. Grace** (*From the Bottom Up*) ever since he began as a teacher of social studies in rural schools some eighteen years ago. For the past two years Connecticut's Commissioner of Education, Dr. Grace has pursued a many faceted career as professor of education, director of school surveys, and expert in public administration. The universities at which he has taught include Syracuse (School of Citizenship and Public Affairs) and Rochester. He has been identified also with the National Advisory Committee on Education, the New York State Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Education, a Washington state survey of education, and many other surveys.

LAW, business, and government interests are welded in the career of **Mark Matthews** (*Young Men in Action*), 34-year old president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. In 1937 Mr. Matthews progressed from several years' association with New York law firms to the directorship of the Legislative Division of the office of New York City's Corporation Counsel, where he was in charge of the drafting and introduction in the state legislature of all legislation for the city. He was the youngest man ever to hold the job. Mr. Matthews has been active in the Junior Chamber for the past ten years.

PARKING and traffic questions have been the passion of **C. T. McGavin** (*Traffic and Urban Decentralization*) since 1926, when he decided to undertake a solution of these knotty problems. Since then he has managed practically all types of parking facilities, and is now heading up the parking study undertaken over a year ago by the Yale University Bureau for Street Traffic Research.

THE youngest governor ever elected in the United States, Minnesota's **Harold E. Stassen** (*Minnesota Points the Way*) is a farm boy who made good. He worked his way through the University of Minnesota at a variety of jobs, and at the same time began a meteoric political career by garnering almost every campus office. In 1929 he received his law degree, set up a law office in South St. Paul, and the following year took time out from his flourishing practice to run for attorney of Dakota County—his first political office. He was re-elected in 1934 and held the job until he was elected governor in 1937 at the age of 31. Highlights of Governor Stassen's first term—he has just been elected to a second—include a new civil service law, labor and anti-loan shark bills, reduction of state operating costs by five million dollars, and institution of a state business manager.

(Continued on Page 68)

The Researcher's Digest: January

Oregon's children study forms of government; Detroit studies juvenile delinquency; Rochester finances made understandable; Dayton voters and bond issues; Boston county ills; Duluth assessments.

THE blindly irate taxpayer, the non-voting citizen, the machine-gripped voter—like the Bowery bum, they were all young once, too. Upon the theory that by catching 'em when they're youthful these human sand particles in democracy's machinery may be prevented, the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon** has prepared a painstaking outline to be used in the schools as a guide to a realistic study of local government.

City Government Forms in Oregon,[1] prepared with the coöperation of the WPA, is an eighty-six-page mimeographed book which gives a simply worded history and description of existing forms, outlines (with individual charts) the organization of government in twenty-two Oregon cities, and provides a suggested procedure for a student survey of city government. The accent is emphatically upon forms and organization, rather than upon function. A preface remarks upon this limitation. "These sections serve merely as an introduction to or a point of departure for a complete study of the scope and nature of the services of city government. The physical proximity of the agencies of city government and the frequent contact which citizens have with their city government will enable the student to carry on his studies of city government at first hand and thus to get a realistic concept of its form and operation."

The book was sent to all city school superintendents in Oregon.

Standardizing Youthful Crime

Concerned with the young idea, too, is the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**, which publishes *Notes on a Conference for Measuring Juvenile Delinquency*.[2] The conference was called in March 1940 by the School of Public Affairs and Social Work of Wayne University because, according to the preface, "Crime prevention of necessity begins with that reservoir of potential criminals—the juvenile delinquent. . . . But in spite of the interest in the subject there exists no acceptable uniform definition of juvenile delinquency, no accurate knowledge of its amount, or where it exists or why it exists."

Some ninety or a hundred persons intimately connected in Detroit with social work and juveniles took part in the discussions of which this report is a resumé. One pertinent conclusion of the conference was that a central clearing agency be set up to correlate data on juvenile delinquency tabulated by the many different agencies in the city. It was recommended that some such organization as the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research be assigned the job.

The report lists eleven problems which should provide a basis for further investigation.

Homely Story

A straw-thatched version of the usually cold, forbidding facts on municipal finance is offered the Rochester citizen in the November 1940 issue of the bulletin of the **Rochester Bureau of**

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[1] 1939, price 50 cents.

[2] Memorandum No. 175, 1940, 11 pp.

Municipal Research. "A Homely Story of a Debt," the bureau calls it, with the significant subtitle, "Rochester Overspending." The tale begins: "Once upon a time there was a man who ran up bills at a tailor shop and a grocery store." The man's adventures with his $66 debt, the details of the aid extended him by his dad and his Uncle Lionel, his financial cogitations while lying in bed trying to fall asleep, are entertainingly related from there on. Then the bureau translates the tale into municipal terms.

Voters Like School Bonds

Still another approach to municipal finance is the **Dayton Research Association's,** "Why Do Communities Issue Bonds After All."[3] There is an ABC explanation of the mechanics of bond issuing, a list of the kinds of bonds which can be issued with and without popular vote, within and outside the Ohio debt limit, and a tabulation of the amount, purpose, and popular vote on all bond issues submitted to Dayton voters since 1914.

The bureau finds that citizens like bond issues for school buildings best; grant almost as many requests for streets and sewers and grade elimination, with the fire department also high in popular fancy. Far less favored are parks and playgrounds, bridges and culverts, courthouses, sewage disposal, garbage incinerator, county home. All of the bond issues proposed by the city of Dayton, combined, drew a 48 per cent vote for and 52 per cent vote against. The batting average for the county bond issues was about the same, but the schools were much better treated: 70 per cent for, 30 per cent against.

What Causes County Scandal

Because of recent scandals in Suffolk County (Boston), the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** publishes an extended report on the fundamentals of county government which underlie such scandals.[4]

Part I contains a review and a chart of county activities, with a consideration of county payments and payrolls and city-county relations. Part II describes the weaknesses of the system as the Boston bureau sees them. Six major reforms—"a program of citizen action"—are suggested at the end. They are: revision of county boundaries, institution of a civil service merit system for county employees, redistribution of court expenses, removal of administrative posts from politics, elimination of duplication of effort between the city and county, and effective control of county costs.

Says the bureau hopefully: "What exactly is Suffolk County? How much does it spend? What can or should be done about it? These questions occur to every thoughtful citizen who is not content with correction of temporary evils."

Erratic Assessments

An analysis of a six-year period by the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau** shows that Duluth residence property selling for $10,000 is underassessed, and would have to be increased 47 per cent to equal fair market value. On all other property the median assessment was 111 per cent of the sale price, with a spread of from 35 per cent to 377 per cent. The bureau's findings were submitted to the County Board of Equalization.[5]

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[3] *Facts,* No. 95, Dec. 2, 1940, 4 pp. mimeo.

[4] *County Government in Boston,* Nov. 27, 1940, 12 pp.

[5] 1940, 5 pp. mimeo.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessments

Memorandum and Letter Presented to the County Board of Equalization. Duluth (Minn.) Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., August 30, 1940. 6 pp. mimeo.

County Government

County Government in Boston. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Report,* November 27, 1940. 12 pp.

Courts

The Court Will Come to Order. Dayton (Ohio) Research Association, *Facts,* November 18, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Crime

Notes on a Conference for Measuring Juvenile Delinquency. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., September 1940. 11 pp.

Finance

A Homely Story of a Debt—Rochester Overspending. Rochester (N. Y.) Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research,* November 1940. 1 p.

Improvement Anticipation Sinking Funds. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Eugene, *Finance Bulletin,* September 1940. 38 pp. mimeo.

Why Do Communities Issue Bonds, After All. Dayton (Ohio) Research Association, *Facts,* December 2, 1940. 4 pp.

Forms of Government

City Government Forms in Oregon. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Eugene, 1940. 86 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

The County Welfare Hodgepodge. The Ohio Institute (Columbus), *The Ohio Citizen,* November 30, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Public Works

Let's "Look in the Mouth of the Gift Horse." Schenectady (N. Y.) Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities,* November 20, 1940. 1 pp. mimeo.

Refuse Disposal

Planning Refuse Disposal. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 26, 1940. 2 pp.

Taxation

Hidden Taxes. Dayton (Ohio) Research Association, *Facts,* October 7, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Transportation

Information Relative to Bus Franchise and Trolley Elimination. Schenectady (N. Y.) Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities,* November 29, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Voting

Again on January First. Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, *White Paper No. 253,* November 27, 1940. 3 pp.

News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Washington State Puzzle—"Split Straight Ticket"
Legislature will be asked to clarify election laws.

A MOVEMENT for revision and clarification of Washington's election laws is expected to develop at the January session of the state legislature. Officials of the state Democratic party have protested the election of Arthur B. Langlie to the governorship on the ground that many of his votes resulted from "split straight ticket" voting, wherein voters indicated their desire to vote a straight party ballot by marking an "x" at the top of the desired column, and then "crossed over" to vote specifically for one candidate in another party.

The practice has been upheld many times in opinions rendered by the attorney-general of the state over the past quarter of a century, and is generally considered to be in line with the directions appearing at the top of the paper ballot and in the election laws. However, members of both major parties have indicated the legislature might be asked to clarify the statutes governing election procedure.

Langlie, mayor of Seattle and Republican candidate for governor, was elected by a margin of approximately 6,000 votes, the final outcome having been determined in the counting of absentee ballots. All other major state positions were filled by Democratic candidates, the state legislature also being heavily Democratic.

Biggest job ahead of the new state administration is to finance the new pension plan adopted by initiative in November, and to correlate it with existing state and federal regulations.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

Cities Face Defense Problems, Seek Revenues, Home Rule

American cities, in their plans and expressions of policy for the new year, are showing their desire to coöperate in the national defense program, while holding to the traditions of home rule and realizing the perennially pressing need for revenue. As aspects of the financial problem they also oppose federal taxation of income from bonds or other municipal securities and urge more equitable rates of insurance for municipal property. A tendency toward lengthening elective terms to four years is noticeable. Extension of the social security act to include municipal employees is definitely favored in a few instances only.

The American Municipal Association has made a study of the 1941 programs of cities in thirty-three states, particularly as set forth by state leagues of municipalities, showing these general results.

The League of California Cities stresses the need of foresight and planning in connection with the effects of defense preparations on city governments, and also in contemplation of the possible future effects of a sudden decline in armament production and military or semi-military activities whenever the international situation may reach decision.

Philadelphians Work for Home Rule

City home rule enabling legislation, of state-wide application, will be introduced at the 1941 session of the Pennsylvania legislature. A strong group, led by the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, has completed the drafting of a proposed bill which would implement the home rule constitutional amendment adopted in 1922. This amendment has never been put into use because of the failure of the legislature to pass an enabling act.

Efforts are continuing in Philadelphia to bring about city-county consolidation. This requires a constitutional amendment, which must pass two legislatures and a vote of the people. A similar amendment was defeated at a referendum vote in 1937.

Master Plan for New York City

On December 5 the City Planning Commission of New York City, at a meeting arranged by the Citizens Housing Council of that city, made its first public presentation of its proposed master plan of land use, evolved after three years of preparation and in accordance with the new charter of the city. Rexford G. Tugwell, chairman of the commission, exhibited three basic maps embodying the plan, and explained their significance. The first showed the present residential and economic distribution of land use; the second, the future situation after such advances as slum elimination; and the third, a portrayal for the more distant future, when the present foresight of the planners and the direction imposed by zoning and public works will have become largely effective.

Council Manager Plan News

Traverse City, Michigan, which adopted the manager plan at the November 5 election, began operating under its new charter two weeks later, with a new city commission of seven members. It is hoped that a city manager will be engaged by January 1.

In **Munising**, on the upper peninsula of Michigan, the Munising Development Club is studying the manager plan, a form of which, according to its present charter, can be adopted by unanimous vote of the present three-man city commission or by referendum. The plan has been described and discussed at meetings of the club, which will decide later whether to seek to revise the charter or to have the commission appoint a manager under present charter provisions.

On December 2 the city council of **Kings Mountain, North Carolina,** adopted an ordinance establishing the manager plan.

Little Rock, Arkansas, at a preferential primary November 22, voted against the manager plan, 4,575 to 2,100.

Plan E—the city manager plan with proportional representation—is under fire in **Massachusetts** courts. Suit has been brought in an attempt to prove it unconstitutional. **Cambridge** adopted the plan at the November election.

The vote on the council-manager amendment to the **San Antonio, Texas,** charter on December 17 resulted in an unfavorable decision, approximately ten thousand to six thousand, in a very light vote.

Salem, Oregon, failed to adopt the council-manager plan by a vote of 6,519 to 4,516 on November 27.

A recount of the ballots cast on November 5 in **Haverhill, Massachusetts,** shows that the voters actually defeated the manager plan (Plan D) by a narrow margin. First announcement of results immediately after the election gave the plan a victory by twenty-six votes.

Voters of **Vinton, Virginia,** will go to the polls on February 4 to vote on a proposed abandonment of their town manager government.

Social Security for Public Employees

The Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada brought together in Washington on November 25 twenty-nine representatives of state and local retirement systems, with nine members of the staffs of the Federal Security Agency and the Social Security Board. This group discussed the problems involved in extending to public employees the benefits of the social security act.

Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York on November 19 announced that he was introducing a bill that would specifically exempt from coverage under the social security act all public employees already protected by pension plans under state, county, or municipal auspices; and that this would be reintroduced after January 1, 1941, if not acted on by the then congress, as was hardly likely.

Cincinnati's Night Courses for Public Employees

The value of planned, directed study to public service employees in Cincinnati is amply attested by the fact that their number constituted 9.36 per cent of the total enrollment of the Evening College of the University of Cincinnati for the school year 1939-40. The employment record of these men and women showed representation of all types of public positions in the Cincinnati area, but the city of Cincinnati employees led the list with 153 of the total of 568 employees registered for courses. Perhaps the fact that the City Civil Service Commission grants rating credit each year for work taken in furtherance of job requirements helped to swell the total of "city" students.

Nevertheless, employees of other levels of government in the Cincinnati region contributed largely to the total, including 126 United States government employees, 122 from the Cincinnati Board of Education, sixty-eight from the University of Cincinnati, twenty-eight from the Public Library, twenty-five from Hamilton County, twenty-four from the General Hospital staff, twelve state employees, and a miscellaneous group of ten from various minor public agencies.

That 6,062 persons in the Cincinnati area found it beneficial to attend the evening session of the municipal university speaks well for the courses offered during 1939-40. A look at the numbers registered in the largest classes and an inspection of the content and subject matter of those courses might provide a clue, not only to reasons for the popularity of this Evening College, but more particularly to explain the interests of public employees in these studies. Courses in accounting, business correspondence, and basic principles of economics top the list in size of enrollment, with trigonometry and business law running close behind. These courses recommend themselves as practical tools or background for public administrative posts. A wide range of choice was offered during the 1939-40 school year: eighty-two courses in commerce, sixty-one in engineering, forty-six in applied arts, and twenty-seven in liberal arts. Of the latter, courses in political and social science as well as those in correct English seemed to attract public service employees most.

The Evening College is thus providing a very real service to governmental employees in and near Cincinnati.

Melba Phillips Bowers

Municipal Reference Librarian
University of Cincinnati

Schools for City Finance Officers in Eight States

City finance officers are students in regular in-service training programs established in the states of Utah, Texas, Virginia, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Florida, and California, according to the Municipal Finance Officers' Association. The courses, like similar ones for policemen, firemen, water and sewer plant operators, and health and welfare employees, are paid for by federal funds matched by state or local money, or both, in five of the states. In Wisconsin, Florida, and California the finance officers training program is conducted without federal assistance.

City clerks, treasurers, and other finance officers study for the practical assistance they get from the training programs, which are not a part of a college course leading to a degree and are not required to conform to the conditions governing a college course.

Logan-Walter Bill Vetoed

The Logan-Walter bill, to extend the scope of court jurisdiction over federal administrative agencies to include review of rulings and regulations, which had passed the House of Representatives and the Senate—the latter by a majority of two on November 26—was vetoed on December 18 by President Roosevelt. On the same day an effort in the House to override the veto was unsuccessful.

President Roosevelt accompanied his veto message with an analysis of the proposal by Attorney-General Jackson. While stating that existing administrative procedures may well be improved, both maintained that the bill was far too sweeping, and would greatly impede efficient administration and the speedy attainment of substantial justice. The President said: "I am convinced that it is an invitation to endless and innumerable controversies at a moment when we can least afford to spend either governmental or private effort in the luxury of litigation." He believes the bill was opposed to one of the most significant and useful trends of the twentieth century in legal administration, referring to the development of administrative tribunals in recognition of the inappropriateness of subjecting the daily routine of fact-finding by governmental agencies to formal court procedure. "It is characteristic of these tribunals that simple and non-technical hearings take the place of court trials, and informal proceedings supersede rigid and formal pleadings and processes."

He announced that the Acheson committee, which has been studying the broad problem of federal administrative procedure for over a year, would report in a few weeks.

Los Angeles County Extends Civil Service Aid

In our June issue, at page 416, the statement was made that the California State Personnel Board renders certain personnel services for Los Angeles County as well as various municipalities in the state. Clifford N. Amsen, secretary and chief examiner of the Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission, writes to the effect that his commission not only does its own personnel work but also performs contract civil service work for the following cities: Bell, Burbank, Culver City, Gardena, Hawthorne, Inglewood, Manhattan Beach, Maywood, Redondo Beach, and South Gate. In some of these all functions of civil service are performed, while in others examination work only is done. In addition to this, the county has within the past fifteen months taken over the civil service work for the flood control district and the fire protection districts within the county.

State Governments More Centralized

A definite trend toward expansion of governors' administrative authority is shown by an analysis of governmental reorganizations in ten states during the last decade. The study was made for the Council of State Governments by Leonard D. White and M. Harvey Sherman of the department of political science, University of Chicago, and covered the entire country.

Reorganizations were accomplished by statute rather than constitutional amendment in all ten states—Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. These states brought to twenty-seven the number which have reorganized since Illinois started the movement in 1917. Besides reorganizations since 1930, four states made extensive revisions of original plans set up before 1930.

Significant Consolidations

The reorganizations consolidated many small agencies into fewer large departments, and provided for the appointment rather than the election of many important state officials with removal powers vested in the governors.

Increases in powers of the chief executives resulted from additional legal authority conferred upon the governor himself, and from more adequate means for making his authority effective. Problems of the depression have also increased the importance of the governor's office.

Several states during the decade gave their governors almost unlimited removal power with respect to appointees, whether or not they were confirmed by the senate. Two states—Indiana and Wisconsin—permitted the governor to make broad reorganizations by executive order, while limited powers of reorganization were given governors of Colorado and Louisiana.

One of the most significant trends during the last decade, according to the analysis, was the consolidation of various institutional and control functions into a single managerial agency, effected in eight of the ten states. Since none of the reorganizations was brought about by constitutional amendment, however, the status of constitutionally-elected officials remained practically unchanged; in the eight states one or more of the newly consolidated departments were headed by an elective official. Despite this there was a definite movement toward appointment rather than election as a method of selection for statutory officials.

Another significant trend has been toward the executive budget. In 1930 the budgets of thirty-three states were prepared by the executives, ten by administrative boards, four by legislative-administrative boards, and one by the legislature. Forty states had executive budgets by 1940.

An expansion of administrative control over expenditures, with pre-auditing or the power to examine vouchers, bills, and claims before payment, was shown by the analysis. The pre-audit is practiced in some form in every state, although in only fifteen states is the function in the hands of an administrative official appointed by and responsible to the governor. Of the fifteen states, nine have authorized this function since 1930.

Fiscal Control

The number of states that have authorized an administrative body to decrease or suspend expenditures regardless of the stipulated appropriations enacted by their legislatures increased during the last ten years, according to the analysis, from one to twenty-four. Four additional states are not included among the twenty-four, although in effect they authorized reductions in expenditures either by permitting the suspension of governmental functions or by requiring that reserves be set aside. The authority for making actual reductions lies in the hands of the governor or an officer or agency responsible to him in eighteen states, while in four the governor must have the approval of a second body. In three states the governor is a member of the agency.

The number of states authorizing an administrative body to transfer funds from one item in an appropriation act to another increased from twenty-three in 1930 to thirty-five in 1940. The governor or an officer responsible to him exercises the transfer power in twenty-two of the states, while in ten states the power has been placed in the hands of a board of which the governor is a member. In three states the governor and a council exercise joint control.

Prior to 1930 nine states had adopted statutes enabling an administrative body to restrict departments to monthly allotments of annual appropriations. This number was increased to thirty-one during the last ten years. In twenty-six of the states authority has been granted to the governor or a fiscal agent responsible to him. The other five states have made the governor and another agency jointly responsible or have utilized agencies not responsible directly to him.

Notes from New Hampshire

Conferences on government: A series of conferences was conducted at the University of New Hampshire during the month of December. On December 2 the subject of grants-in-aid was discussed, on December 9 public personnel, and on December 16 state reorganization. State and local officials were invited to these conferences to discuss with Dr. Robert P. Blood, Governor-elect, the present state policy and to suggest changes in the fields indicated.

Interest in municipal league: Seventeen interested citizens, most of whom were active officials, met at Concord, November 25, to discuss the formation of a state municipal league. The group voted to call a state-wide meeting to which towns and cities were requested to send representatives for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of such an organization. Mr. Edward J. Gallagher, ex-mayor of Laconia, is chairman of the state committee in charge of plans.

Optional charters: The New Hampshire legislature in January is certain to have before it a bill which will provide for optional city charters. Several interested groups were busy developing proposed strong mayor and city manager charters for the bill.

Lashley G. Harvey

University of New Hampshire

New Mexico Legislature Divides Session

New Mexico will experiment in 1941 with a split session of the legislature, that is, the legislature will meet on January 14 for thirty days, adjourning for a like period, and convening again for thirty days. In the first term legislation will be introduced and in the last period such legislation will be considered and disposed of.

While too much should not be expected by way of improvement in legislative procedure, we shall do all we can to assist the legislature in keeping the public informed as to the nature of pending legislation during the interval between terms.

Rupert P. Asplund

Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

BUDGETGRAMS are the latest wrinkle in citizen group publications. . . . For three weeks prior to its annual meeting at which action was to be taken on the proposed city budget for 1941, the **Yonkers Committee of 100** published daily in the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* a feature containing comments and suggestions as to possible economies that might be effected in the budget. The result was a large amount of enlightened public interest in the Yonkers budget. . . . This sounds like an excellent idea for other organizations which are fortunate enough to have the active coöperation of a local paper.

The **Citizens Union of New York** held its annual meeting at a dinner December 16, to "celebrate the victory for proportional representation and prepare the way for next year's campaign for county reform. . . . Former Judges Samuel Seabury and Thomas Thacher and a number of city officials, including Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council, were guests of honor.

The Local Government Committee of the **City Club of Chicago** has issued its first report based on preliminary work. . . . It concludes that because of Chicago's chaotic local governmental structure, it is impossible to assign political responsibility for administrative failures and that some agency should undertake the task of analyzing the existing organization and of recommending changes directed toward a simplified municipal government for all of Metropolitan Chicago.

A record crowd gathered at the Hotel Statler in Boston for the ninth annual meeting of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Association.** . . .Theme of the day was "Meeting the Challenge to American Democracy," and speakers were DeWitt C. Poole, former director of Princeton University's School of Public Affairs, Governor Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Reginald W. Bird, president, and Norman MacDonald, executive director, of the federation.

The December *Illinois Voter,* publication of the **Illinois League of Women Voters,** describes the extensive use being made of the radio by the state and local leagues. . . . Because of their special interest in civic service, emphasis has been placed on the Ramspeck bill by the use of one-minute announcements, speeches, dramatic skits, and even foreign language programs, all urging people to write to their congressmen.

The **Seattle Municipal League** has a new director, Alfred J. Westburg. Glen B. Eastburn has resigned to become manager of the Department of Aviation of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. . . . The League's *Municipal News* continues to carry regular membership reports, including a list of the names, addresses, and professions of new members.

Senator Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico was chief speaker at the annual meeting of the **Connecticut Merit System Association** in New Haven, December 3. . . . The motion picture of the **New York City Municipal Civil Service Commission,** "Merit System Advancing," was shown, and New York City Civil Service Commissioner Wallace S. Sayre spoke.

Defense Papers is the title of a new publication of the **American Association for Adult Education.** This is to be a monthly and will be devoted to problems of national defense. It will also contain a bibliography of pamphlets and books on the subject, as well as a list of radio programs and films dealing with defense.

R. M. W.

Newark Union Expects Victory in May[1]

The proposed Newark manager plan was defeated February 1940. The Citizens Union polled 32,000 votes; the City Hall 52,000.

In 1938 the Citizens Union, patterned after the New York Citizens Union, served notice upon Newark, by an eight-line announcement in a local newspaper, of its intention to oppose political machines and current political ethics. Few people read the item.

Unspoiled citizens were sought for this missionary job. To canvass without hire or a promised job—to show how local government is conducted and who does the conducting—became the obsession of thirty men and women. Soon, several hundred crusaders were possessed of this idea.

Schools for instruction in city government and public speaking were held in churches. Our classes were filled.

Precincts Organized

Then, the Union organized Newark precincts. Within two years workers, schooled in election law, served on each block. They told this story to their neighbors:

1. That intelligent and moral leaders could be elected to public office without the mortgage of political favors;
2. That the city machine could be defeated by a citizens' organization;
3. That honest graft, crooked voting, and underworld support of political machines could be abolished.

Many believed in the sincerity and ideals of our workers. Others were openly scornful and skeptical.

Election day was a political delight: physical violence, winking police, illegal voting, all the machine tricks were pulled—enough to make Boss Tweed exult. The Union had miscalculated. It had failed to protect its workers. It had trained its workers for election day services, not for prize-fights. Many of our workers, filled with theory but equally filled with fear, deserted the polls. Our pre-election plea for physical protection got nowhere. On Election Day our armaments were educational, certainly inadequate. We were brass-knuckled out of sight.

The Union men and women did a post-election canvass and discovered that thousands of illegal votes had been cast. This information was brought before the Grand Jury and there the information has languished, even to this date. Next, it was brought before the County Election Board, which subpoenaed and tried precinct election officers. The first twenty-six officers were found guilty and disbarred from future service.

Registration Lists Purged

Instantly, both parties clamored for election reform. A new commissioner of registration was appointed and a purge of registration lists instituted. This is what happened:

Seventy-six per cent of the voters of Newark were found; 24 per cent were not found. Those not found were listed in the following categories: in the army, illegal registration, vacant lot address, under age, vacant house, married and moved, voter dead, voter moved, in prison, not found, fraud suspicions, no such number, house demolished, in sanitorium, in CCC camps, insane. In short, 30,000 names were stricken from the voting lists. This was only the beginning.

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[1] Address delivered at the forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 1940.

Newark awoke. The independent voters realized that these illegal voting conditions had existed under the two-party system. They came to the conclusion that party attitude was not too sensitive. We all know that party conscience has never yet been refined to exquisite delicacy. The independent voter was shocked to find that otherwise moral men advocated illegal voting and regarded it as one of the luxuries of democracy, and that the party leaders just inherited a strange inattention to wholesale illegal voting organized by their lieutenants. At any rate, this partial election reform helped to clean up one of Newark's worst conditions.

Workers Initiated

Another good reason why Newark will survive this defeat is the experience of our workers. They have been baptized. They know who's who in the districts. Now they realize that they must adapt themselves to the prejudices and superstitions of a voter. Now our workers think in terms of district organization. They know that many people don't read the newspapers; that many people vote for individuals rather than principles; that they cannot raise the intelligence level of the voting population; that they must see these voters repeatedly in their homes, as the machine leaders do, in order to win their votes on election day.

It is the belief of the Citizens Union that, after two and a half years, new hope has been brought to Newark. Its political ethics have influenced many. Its vote of 32,000 has brought about an optimism. Fewer people in Newark now accept crookedness as the standard for positions of municipal trust. Fewer people have allowed themselves to be persuaded that cunning in politics and exploitation in office for financial gain represent the American standard. Many people believe that the political machines are overrated and that the advantages won in this last fight—election reform, business support, aroused independent vote, Citizens Union increased membership, and experience gained at the polls—will bring about the defeat of the Newark City Hall machine next May.

EDWARD FENIAS
Citizens Union of Newark, N. J.

Columbus Demonstrates How to Raise Money

This year Columbus, Ohio, put over its most successful community fund drive. The goal of $669,271 was exceeded by approximately $6,000. The project was organized and engineered by non-professional but experienced home talent led by energetic Allen Gundersheimer, president of the Fashion Department Store, who was chairman. It is the largest campaign effort made in this part of the state during the year.

For the preceding five years groundwork for the campaign was laid by professional management, and local volunteers concentrated their efforts during a strenuous three-months drive. These were successful years, but a sizable amount of the money collected was paid to the outside agency.

This year volunteers were managed by experienced local men, many of the leaders having worked on the fund since its formation in war chest days. They worked on a twelve-months basis. Money was saved, and the whole town was made enthusiastically community fund conscious.

Economical home management met the demands of hard-headed business men, who saw in it not just a philanthropic "relief," but a business-like philanthropy to aid less fortunate people in eliminating the causes which *put* them on relief.

The campaign closed in October with

a victory dinner at which the general chairman for the following year was named. Thus next year's campaign is already started.

Mr. Claris Adams, president of the Ohio State Life Insurance Company, is the incoming chairman. In the early part of January he will appoint division chairmen—civic-minded men and women who fill executive positions in all professions and branches of Columbus industry. They in turn will choose men and women to work for them. This is the foundation of the "shirt sleeve" battalion which numbered 2,500 volunteer workers this year.

The campaign developed some fine leadership among women workers. In the final scoring of teams and leaders, the first three positions were held by women.

Success Recognized

Recognition was given to individuals who did especially good work in getting contributions. This was accomplished by the use of a score board on which names of the thirty-two division leaders were posted. Each report meeting saw these leaders credited with not how much money they raised, but what percentage of the quotas assigned to them they had raised.

All industrial, professional, public service, and national firms have a quota to make, and an honor roll certificate is issued to those reaching or exceeding the unit goal.

Columbus, state capitol and home of the fifth largest college in the United States, is a conservative town where ballyhoo tactics will not go over. The publicity committee is made up of local men who specialize in that branch of business—most of them are members of the Columbus Advertising Club. A full-time publicity secretary is in charge of year-round campaign publicity.

Merchants were more than willing to donate space in their advertisements to campaign plugs. Many department stores generously gave entire windows for community fund displays, and one store did this in the midst of its October Day sales.

Publicity Efforts Successful

The manager of a theatre made enlargements of photographs used in advertising. Window display cards were used effectively to secure public interest. Street cars and buses displayed advertising cards free of charge. Twenty-four sheet posters were placed at no cost. Light poles in the business section held posters.

Space at Columbus' main intersection was given over to a spectacular sign; the overall dimensions were twenty-six by sixty feet, the inside panel, eleven by forty-eight feet. It was illuminated, and gave daily figure reports and the names of the three division leaders having the best reports for the day.

Another successful form of advertising was the use of ten radio transcriptions, purchased from the Los Angeles Community Fund at a cost of $5.50 each—a total expenditure of fifty-five dollars. Each of these transcriptions, made by Hollywood movie stars, ran fifteen minutes. The three broadcasting stations in Columbus ran them without cost. At the end of each broadcast there was a fifteen-second local announcement.

The WOSU Players gave "Our Town" over a local broadcasting station; the play, a half-hour skit, stressed the spirit of neighborliness that is the community fund. WLW, a Cincinnati station, sent its educational director, Joseph Reiss, to Columbus to supervise a fifteen-minute program. This, by long line control, was recorded in Cincinnati and later that night sent out over the network. The entire sketch was written on the afternoon of the recording by the publicity department; and the three parts in it were taken by local volunteer workers who rehearsed the script only once.

Organizations were invited to send in requests for speakers. These requests were filled by ambitious young men who, besides serving the fund, received experience in public speaking.

Visual interpretations, also sent out upon request, consisted of slides with phonographic recordings. The slides, purchased from the Pittsburgh Community Fund at a nominal fee, depicted how family and youth problems are taken care of by fund agencies.

Stories in Pictures

Long newspaper stories were discouraged. A staff photographer was on call at all times. He was paid a pre-arranged rate per picture. The photographs were true stories of community problems with explanatory captions underneath. The newspapers printed them daily during the two-weeks drive. Personalized stories were used in the rural and community weeklies.

Another important piece was the picture book. There were hundreds of pictures taken throughout the year, of which about thirty-five of the best were chosen. The theme idea was "Results Achieved." The punch headline appeal was used, and there was a complete absence of long tedious copy.

Groups of adults and high school students went on "Go and See" tours to discover for themselves where fund expenditures go.

A survey is now being prepared to show what forms of advertising drew the most interest. With this report to guide them, with the same indomitable spirit that drove the workers this year, next year's goal should be easily attained.

MARY D. MILLARD

Columbus, Ohio

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Nebraska Counties Progress Despite Defeats[1]

Budgeting, accounting, tax collecting improved

ALTHOUGH the county manager plan has been defeated once more in Nebraska, this time by the voters who went to the polls in the general election last November, a survey of current trends reveals there has been a progressive trend in the improvement of county government.[2]

Douglas County, which includes the city of Omaha and which adopted the manager plan under a law later declared unconstitutional, voted in favor of the proposed constitutional amendment, but the vote in the remainder of the state was sufficient to bring about its defeat.

Its failure was due in part to organized officialdom but probably in the main to an unfavorable public opinion on the manager plan as a result of the city manager debacle at Kansas City. For two years the press and radio had dinned into the minds of the people of Nebraska the disgraceful conditions in government prevailing in this neighboring city.

County government has improved rapidly along other channels, however, possibly as a result of interest stirred up by the manager campaigns. When the county manager act was held unconstitutional several years ago, action was immediately begun for the enactment of a strict budget law for counties. Some counties were operating in a loose financial fashion. Supplies were not bought on a competitive basis, deficits were piling up, interest on registered warrants was mounting, excessive prices were being paid for supplies, and income and expenditures seldom balanced. The law requiring county boards to set up advance estimates of expenditures but not of income had become more or less of a farce.

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[1] Excerpts from address delivered before the forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 1940.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1940, p. 755.

Budget Control

The county budget act, effective January 1938, requires a detailed estimate for each office, department, fund, and activity of the county. It requires an estimate, item by item, not only of expenditures but also a detailed accounting of estimated income. Under the budget plan a levy is made for the total of the budget minus funds on hand, reasonably anticipated fees during the ensuing fiscal year, and back taxes on hand. Provision is made for filing the budget, public hearings, and punishment for violations. Also provision is made for emergency appropriations in event of flood, fire, epidemic, or other catastrophe.

The operation of this law has placed counties on a sound business basis, has improved the public service, and at the same time reduced the cost to the taxpayers. The saving in Douglas County alone is $200,000 per year. The wisdom of the legislation is generally accepted by county officials and public alike. While the county manager act was optional and few counties would have adopted it, the budget act is mandatory on every county in the state.

The unconstitutionality of the county manager act may also be credited with other beneficial county legislation including recall of county officials and an annual inventory of all supplies and equipment of the county.

As a result of focusing attention on county government, modern mechanical equipment has been installed in Douglas County. The county has changed from a system wherein all taxing records are annually reproduced in longhand to a modern mechanical system providing for reproduction of taxing lists, pre-writing of receipts, and periodical billing of all unpaid taxes. Records and billing are prepared at a rate of ninety items per minute.

Punch card equipment now is widely used in county offices. With this equipment tax extensions are mechanically done at one hundred per minute thus supplying speed and accuracy of results. The unit ledger type of tax record has been installed to show the complete cumulative tax liability of each parcel of property, including special assessment benefits, on a single page. Eventually each sheet will become a history of such property with respect to its valuation and tax burden.

By providing better service to the taxpayer through these methods, tax collections have been accelerated and delinquencies materially reduced.

Indications now are that other counties will undertake like improvements. Nebraska's second largest county, Lancaster, has already installed modern billing and accounting equipment in the treasurer's office. Similarly a steady and conservative improvement is being made in many other parts of the state. The public will for betterment obviously is achieving substantial victories in spite of the occasional reverses it has had to suffer.

W. L. Pierpoint
Association of Omaha Taxpayers, Inc.

County Treasurers Organize in Pennsylvania

Because of difficulties arising from the business depression and because of prevailing inefficient practices in county finance, the County Treasurers' Association in Pennsylvania has been formed in an effort to improve this phase of county administration. At a first meeting held recently the association decided that its functions should be to exchange ideas on the conduct of treasurers' offices and to sponsor legislation that would expedite work and reduce costs. The immediate program adopted by the association included legislative recognition of this association on a basis comparable to that of other organizations of county officials, the establishment of uniform tax collection systems, and the initiation of improved accounting practices in county offices.

Virginia County Rejects Manager Plan

The voters of Fairfax County, Virginia, rejected a manager charter submitted to them in the general election last November by a vote of 4,537 to 1,148. The plan, known as the county executive form, was recommended last summer by a special committee on county government reform and endorsed by a mass meeting that had been called to receive the committee's report.

Henrico County's Manager Serves National Defense Board

The Board of Supervisors of Henrico County, Virginia, has accepted the resignation of William F. Day, the county's manager since its adoption of the manager plan in 1934. Mr. Day has resigned to accept an appointment as field supervisor for the Division of State and Local Coöperation of the National Defense Advisory Committee.

The board issued a formal statement in which it said: "We . . . wish to raise our voices in praise and recognition of the services of Willard F. Day, who has so successfully established in Henrico County a modern, responsive, efficient, economical, and progressive administration of the county's government."

Taxation and Finance
Edited by Wade S. Smith

Census Bureau Reports on 1937 Finances

Year's state and local figures now available

WITH publication of *Financial Statistics for Cities of over 100,000 Populatin, 1937,* just released, the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census brings to fruition one of the most important municipal research jobs undertaken in recent years. The result is a compilation whose scope, clarity, and usefulness have been tremendously enhanced.

As those familiar with this series of reports know, the Census Bureau published through 1931 an annual statistical compilation on all cities of over 30,000 population. By executive order of June 1933, however, publication was limited to cities of over 100,000, and at the same time funds available to the division of local statistics were so restricted that publication of reports for 1932 and later years was considerably delayed. Reports for the years through 1936 followed previous volumes, however, in form and content.

The 1937 report represents a change in presentation and method which has been developed since Mr. C. E. Rightor, whose work in the field of municipal finance and administration is well known to REVIEW readers, became chief statistician of the division in the fall of 1936. Working with the Special Advisory Committee for State and Local Government, a body composed of well qualified municipal finance administrators and researchers, and with the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, a new classification of accounts has been worked out.

Most important of the changes represented in the 1937 report is segregation of governmental and proprietary items in the revenue, expense, and debt summaries. In fact, where formerly data relating to municipal utilities and other proprietary enterprises were commingled with general or governmental data, in the present report the utility data are completely segregated and presented in a separate division devoted solely to this subject. In the important field of debt analysis alone, this change makes it possible for the first time to distinguish between tax-supported obligations of a given city and those obligations which are supported by utility revenues, an important distinction which had not been possible in previous reports.

Data Revised

The report also gains greatly in clarity and coherence by a revised presentation of data. The present report is in three parts: an introduction; a section on governmental revenues, expenses, and debt; and a section on utility or proprietary revenues, expenses, and debt. The explanatory textual material is shown adjacent to the tabulations to which it refers, rather than in a segregated section, and the result is a marked increase in convenience and readability.

Classification of accounts and many definitions of terms have been changed and revised at length in preparing for the new set-up, and only those who worked at the task will probably appreciate fully the extent of the job. Changes still remain to be worked out, of course, and forthcoming reports will undoubtedly show further progress in refining the data and method of its presentation. The new volume is, however, the most useful publication on city finances yet to come from the Census Bureau, and it is as welcome for its promise of intelligent federal interest in the publication of usable municipal statistics as for the pertinent information which it makes readily available to researchers for the first time on a comprehensive scale.

Publication of the city volume was preceded a month or so by the 1937 report on *Financial Statistics of States.* Here, too, accounts have been reclassified, functional groupings changed to conform to the developments of recent years, and presentation improved by rearrangement of textual comment to precede the tables and by segregation of proprietary items.

Short Term Interest Rates

Under the title above the *Daily Bond Buyer* publishes in its December 20, 1940, issue, the paragraphs appearing below. While the comment is directed at the experience of local units in New York State, it can undoubtedly be duplicated throughout the country:

> A study of interest rates paid by New York counties and cities discloses an amazing variation and raises the pertinent question: "Are local fiscal officials of many of the state's subdivisions securing the low rates to which they are entitled in the current money market?" It also prompts one to wonder whether the local bankers who make loans to their own communities have a poor opinion of their best credit or are taking advantage of it.
>
> This study was made by the State Comptroller's office and the results, in summary form, are being brought to the attention of the fiscal officers of the cities and counties throughout the state.
>
> For example, the study shows that fifty-two counties paid rates ranging from 5 per cent to 0.20 per cent and that the lowest rates were on loans made by banks outside the borrowing community. In the case of cities, the spread between the highest and lowest rates was even greater and here also loans negotiated with

outside, or foreign, banks were at markedly lower rates than when arranged locally.

The State Comptroller has disclosed a situation here which would appear to warrant further investigation.

California Tackles Tax-Deeded Land Problem

California is preparing to set up a new system of dealing with the problem of tax-deeded lands. During the past six years the state has collected $370,283 in tax delinquent land taken over and has returned property valued at $7,500,000 to the tax rolls.

Under a law which takes effect early in 1941, reports the National Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers, and Treasurers, rentals of tax-deeded property will be used to help cities and counties return such property to the tax rolls. Such rentals, according to the California State Controller, have been paying the cost of administering the 3,000,000 acres of farm and ranch land and the 150,000 city lots deeded to the state for nonpayment of taxes, and in addition have contributed materially to the state treasury.

Tax-deeded lands, under the new system, will be classified into three groups: those suitable for sale to private owners, those suitable for public use such as potential park or playground areas, and waste lands which cannot produce enough revenue to be self-supporting. The original owner of such property, under the new plan, will be permitted to bid in the tax sale, even if he has failed to redeem the property. This permission is not now given him.

Before 1925 few lands were deeded to the state for nonpayment of taxes. The largest number in any one year was in 1932, when there were 325,000 sales to the state. In some counties the assessed value of property owned by the state became as much as 30 per cent of the total assessed value.

Tax Policy League Moves to Philadelphia

The Tax Policy League, which recently affiliated with the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania, has moved from New York City to its new Philadelphia office at 135 South 36th Street. The league will henceforth be known as the Tax Institute. Transfer to the Wharton School has been made under a grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.

The institute will continue to carry on the program developed by the league. Principal features of this program are: (1) preparation of an annual compilation of tax collection findings, based on data furnished by federal, state, and local officials; (2) publication of a monthly information bulletin, each issue related to one particular tax topic and containing notes on new tax legislation and publications; (3) publication of a semi-monthly information sheet; (4) organization of a national symposium once a year on some tax problem of current importance; and (5) maintenance of an information service for the purpose of answering queries of both members and nonmembers.

Increasing emphasis in the future will be paid to the more popular type of service, designed to interest and inform the layman on tax matters.

Dr. Mabel L. Walker, who has served as executive secretary of the league since its organization in 1932, will continue as director of the Tax Institute.

Kentucky County Debt Administration

Under the county debt act of 1938 the Kentucky Commissioner of Revenue, ex officio state-local finance officer, has developed a plan for assisting counties with certain debt problems as summarized in the *First Report of the State Local Finance Officer* for the period ended June 30, 1940.

This report, which will soon be made available for general circulation, gives the Governor and the members of the county debt commission a full though brief statement of county debt administration developments. It contains a succinct summary of the dozen financing and refinancing plans handled by the department, of the procedures which have been adopted, of the impediments and problems which have been encountered, and of the attitude which has characterized the administration. It is emphasized, for instance, that eleven of the twelve funding or refunding plans submitted have been voluntarily brought before the local finance officer (i.e., only one plan involved subject matter which is *required* by law to be handled through the department).

Appended to the report is a detailed, audited statement of the operations of the centralized sinking fund accounts and of their status at the close of the year, June 30, 1940. It is perhaps significant that the last paragraph of the independent State Auditor's certificate reads as follows:

> The records are well kept and the results indicate efficient supervision by the Local Finance Division of the Department of Revenue. It is our opinion that the present policies of the division are in accord with the provisions of the law and that this service could be extended profitably to other counties through their coöperation.

Court Decisions

Much to the same effect in respect of the influence on the general county debt situation is a decision of the Court of Appeals, *Fulton County Fiscal Court* v. *Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company* (not yet reported) holding, among other things, that the constitutional 2 per cent debt limitation is to be interpreted as measured by all general credit obligations compared with the assessed valuation of property. Although Commissioner Stanley's opinion indicates that this view has generally prevailed in the past, he points out that in *Vaughn* v. *Corbin*, 217 Ky. 521, 289 S. W. 1104, the Court of Appeals under exceptional circumstances approved a bond issue to fund floating debt on the ground that such issues were excepted from the terms of the general limitation in section 158 of the state constitution. The case is expressly overruled.

Even more significant is the holding of the court that the last phrase of the words, "no county . . . shall be authorized or permitted to become indebted, in any manner or for any purpose, to an amount exceeding in any year the income and revenue provided for such year . . ." means the amount of money that can be reasonably anticipated and not the sum of the miscellaneous revenues and the *tax levy*. Although the court appears to regard this interpretation as consistent with *Shearin* v. *Ballard County*, 267 Ky. 737, 103 S. W. (2d) 292—as it is certainly consistent with common sense—the language of the Shearin case has never convinced all county officials. The present decision will be of particular assistance to the department of revenue in supervision of current budgetary administration; it will aid county finances generally in that an element of legal uncertainty is now eliminated.

County Credit Improved

These developments have all been conducive to the improvement of Kentucky county credit.

The same observation, however, cannot be applied to *Pulaski County et al.* v. *Ben Hur Life Association of Craw-*

fordsville, Indiana, et al., a case decided by the Court of Appeals, October 8, 1940. In the language of the vernacular, this case has led many owners of special highway bonds to become downright "jittery." Section 157a of the constitution provides that such bonds may be issued under special conditions and that the county may levy not more than twenty cents on the hundred to pay service charges.

In *Bird* v. *Asher,* 170 Ky. 726, 186 S. W. 663, and a number of other cases, the court held that, although a county may voluntarily contribute toward these charges from current general funds, that is, from levies additional to the twenty cents authorized by the constitutional amendment, the bondholders have no right to expect or demand such contributions. It was held that the Pulaski County road and bridge bonds, being limited to the twenty-cent levy, do not provide an *unconditional* promise to pay, and therefore lack an essential prerequisite to negotiability under the uniform negotiable instruments act. Thus, a holder in due course can have no better title than the original purchaser. The bonds obtained from the county by fraud are therefore a nullity no matter who has title.

It is understood that a petition for a rehearing in the Pulaski County case will be filed and that the grounds may be: (a) Even granting the validity of *Bird* v. *Asher,* the court erred in saying that the bonds were not negotiable; and (b) *Bird* v. *Asher* is, in point of fact, untenable and should be overruled. Whether either of these contentions will prove convincing remains to be seen. As to the first, it may be well to say that the court appears from recent decisions to be convinced that road and bridge bonds of this sort are not restricted to the specified statutory time limit. If, for example, bonds were not retired during the term for which they were originally issued they would remain valid claims against the twenty-cent levy. Thus, in effect, the promise to pay is conditional only in being restricted to the special levy and not as to the time during which the levy must be imposed for the benefit of creditors. The court conceivably could hold that this is not such a condition as would prevent negotiability of such instruments. In the second place, it could take the originally logical, but now seriously disturbing, course of holding that the general credit of the county has been pledged notwithstanding the line of cases resting on *Bird* v. *Asher.*

James W. Martin
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

P. R. Advances in South Australia

New York Testimonials Annual P. R. Meeting

THE long-continued educational work of the active proportionalists of South Australia has borne fruit in a favorable vote in the House of Assembly on a bill to provide P.R. for future elections of both houses of the provincial legislature instead of the present system of majority preferential voting.

The bill was introduced by E. J. Craigie, independent member for Flinders. Though opposed by the Premier, Hon. T. Playford, it carried on second reading on October 9 after a full debate by twenty votes to sixteen, being supported by the Labor opposition and enough other members to turn the scales in its favor. The bill then went to committee for consideration of various amendments. If passed finally by the House of Assembly, it will go to the upper house, the Legislative Council, for its action.

Mr. Craigie's proposal would inaugurate the Hare system of P.R., the only type of proportional representation used extensively in English-speaking countries, and used for House of Assembly elections continuously since 1907 in the nearby province of Tasmania. It would use the province's six commonwealth House of Representatives districts as districts for the House of Assembly, electing six members from each and reducing the total membership from thirty-nine to thirty-six. For the Legislative Council it proposes three five-member districts and one three-member district, reducing the total membership from twenty to eighteen.

An amendment to decrease the size of the districts for the House of Assembly and the number of members per district, and to give the country districts representation out of proportion to their population, as at present, was defeated in committee.

New York Charter Commission Urged P. R.'s Retention

When P.R. was submitted to the voters of New York City in 1936 as one of two alternative methods of electing the city council, it was submitted without recommendation. The charter revision commission simply presented the alternatives on equal terms and left the choice to the voters.

This fall, when P.R. was under attack, six of the nine members of the commission issued a public statement urging its retention. The statement was signed by Thomas D. Thacher, chairman of the charter commission and of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee which led the successful defense, former solicitor general of the United States; S. John Block, well known attorney, prominent in the American Labor party; Mrs. Genevieve B. Earle, twice elected to the city council under P.R. as an independent and now its minority leader; Charles E. Hughes, Jr., former solicitor general of the United States; Joseph D. McGoldrick, the present comptroller of New York City; and Charles G. Meyer, realtor. The statement follows:

"After watching proportional representation in action during two elections, and seeing the way in which it has justified the claims of its careful advocates, we earnestly urge the voters of New York to reject overwhelmingly the attempt of professional politicians to repeal it this fall.

"When we submitted the question of adopting proportional representation four years ago, some of us were frankly doubtful about it, and took no part in the campaign on its behalf. The results of its use have removed those doubts, and we now unhesitatingly advocate its retention.

"Proportional representation reapportioned the seats in the city council so that each borough has its fair voice in city government for the first time in many years.

"It gave representation to minority parties and to the better elements within parties which had been deprived of a voice theretofore by the machinery of the organizations.

"It created for the first time in many years an intelligent opposition in the city council, which forced the majority to a degree of activity unprecedented in modern times, and which, although it could not control the council's actions, did serve as a brake upon the majority.

"The proposal to re-establish the district system by which borough representation would be frozen for years to come, to the detriment of the growing boroughs, should be rejected by the voters of those boroughs which suffered too long from a similar discrimination prior to the adoption of proportional representation.

"The proposal to revert to a district system by which the Democrats would probably control thirty-two of the thirty-three seats all the time, and all of the seats part of the time, should be rejected by every voter who believes in government with an effective minority to prevent excesses by the majority rather than a one-party dictatorship.

"The proposal to turn back complete control of the Democratic membership to the party machines, taking away from the rank and file of the party its hard-earned privilege of representation in city government, should cause the majority of Democratic voters to reject this amendment. The proposal to confine representation to the Democratic nominees should cause all others to reject it.

"We urge every good citizen to vote NO on the proposition on the top line of the voting machine calling for the repeal of proportional representation."

A Labor Defense of P.R.

The following letter was sent to the *New York Times* on October 29, 1940—shortly before P.R. was upheld by the voters of New York City by 782,768 votes to 565,879—by Andrew R. Armstrong, American Labor party councilman and minority leader in the first New York City P.R. council and former president of a large local printers' union (A. F. of L.):

"May I urge the readers of the *New York Times* to vote an emphatic 'NO' on the referendum to be presented at the general election on November 5 for the abolition of the system of proportional representation in the election of city councilmen.

"At this time in particular, when democratic institutions are under severe attack throughout the world, it is of the utmost importance for us to maintain and strengthen all the democratic devices which we have made a part of our governmental machinery. Proportional representation is such a truly democratic device. Adopted by a large majority of those voting on the proposal in the November elections of 1936, and successfully defended by the voters again in 1938, this system has made possible a fair and democratic representation, for the first time in the history of our municipal legislature, of the various groupings in the community.

"Under the former system of election by aldermanic districts, the Board of Aldermen represented only one political machine. When the aldermanic ward system was in effect, the Democratic organization's percentage of representation in the Board of Aldermen far exceeded its aldermanic vote, and the minority's percentage of representation was far less than their percentage of the aldermanic vote. Thus in 1931, the minority, although having 35 per cent of the vote, elected only 2 per cent of the aldermen; in 1933, having 49 per cent of the vote, the minority elected only 25 per cent of the aldermen; and in 1935, having 33 per cent of the vote, the minority elected only 5 per cent of the aldermen.

"Proportional representation completely changed this unfair situation. In the first council elected in 1937, the Democratic machine candidates secured over 55 per cent of the final votes and actually received approximately 57 per cent of the seats, fourteen out of twenty-six.[1] In 1939 again the results indicated the essential fairness of the P.R. system. The Democrats received about 60 per cent of the final votes cast for the total number of successful candidates, and obtained two-thirds of the council seats; while minority groups such as the American Labor party, the Republican party, the Fusion party, and independent Democrats, obtained about 40 per cent of the final votes and elected one-third of the councilmen, seven out of twenty-one.

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[1] This statement counts as a Democratic organization candidate one councilman who had the party's official designation but who was actually not supported by the organization at the time of his election.—Editor.

"In addition, the system of proportional representation provides automatically for a fair system of reapportioning councilmen among the boroughs. It has induced many outstanding men and women to run for the Council. The Council has proved a far better forum than was the old Board of Aldermen for the consideration of important local laws on pensions, housing, public utilities, consumer and labor protection, transit, relief, taxation, etc.

"If P.R. were discarded and New York City reverted to plurality elections in state senatorial districts for the election of councilmen, it would constitute a tragic step backwards from the standpoint of fair city-wide minority representation. It would probably result in the election of thirty-two Democrats out of a possible thirty-three-seat membership. . . . This attempt to kill one of the most efficient instruments thus far devised for making the City Council a genuinely representative and democratic legislative body must be defeated.

"Aside from the municipal pattern of government, it is vital to emphasize that proportional representation is the decisive American answer to those oppressive and despotic systems of government abroad which crush any attempt at popular political expression."

P. R. League Holds Annual Meeting

The twentieth annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, Inc., now consolidated with the National Municipal League, was held at the Kimball Hotel, Springfield, Massachusetts, on November 19. As has been the custom in the past, the meeting was held in connection with the annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League.

Thomas Raeburn White, vice president of the P. R. League and chairman of the City Charter Committee of Philadelphia, presided.

At a short business session the League's present trustees were unanimously re-elected. They are Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League; Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics at the University of Chicago and member of the Chicago City Council; C. A. Dykstra, Director of National Selective Service and President of the University of Wisconsin; A. R. Hatton, president of the P. R. League, recently retired as head of the government department at Northwestern University; C. G. Hoag, of Haverford, Pa., honorary secretary of the P.R. League; J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pa., former assistant federal commissioner of Indian affairs; and Mr. White.

George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the league, presented a résumé of the progress of P. R. during the past year. At the close of his report the meeting voted to send warm greetings to the British P. R. Society, to whose continuing work in preparation for national and perhaps international elections at the close of the war he had referred.

Addresses were delivered by Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of the *Queen's Work*, St. Louis, who spoke on "P.R. in Private Organizations"; Thomas H. Mahony, chairman of the Boston Citizens Committee for P.R., on "Boston Needs P. R."; George H. McCaffrey, research director of the New York Merchants' Association, who reported on the victorious defense campaign in the New York City referendum this fall; and Charles J. Rohr, who reported on the campaigns for P. R. and the manager plan in Cambridge, Chicopee, North Adams, and Quincy, Massachusetts.

At the close of the addresses the session was adjourned to the afternoon, when those interested in technical matters discussed the P. R. rules drafted for the forthcoming revision of the National Municipal League *Model City Charter* by the special rules committee appointed by President Hatton in pursuance of a motion passed at the League's annual meeting the year before.

At the close of the meeting a motion was made by Chandler Johnson of Cambridge that the chairman appoint a committee to consider the present status of the P. R. movement and means to extend its effectiveness. At the mover's suggestion it was laid on the table for consideration at the meeting next year.

The evening previous a mass meeting, designed to serve as the opening of a two-year P. R.-manager campaign for the city of Springfield, was held in the municipal auditorium. Addresses were given by Mr. Dykstra, who was retiring after three years as president of the National Municipal League, and by Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council, who spoke on P.R. in New York. A demonstration of P.R. with "living ballots" was given by a class of Mt. Holyoke girls under the direction of Dr. Victoria Schuck, using a plan of presentation prepared by Walter J. Millard.

YOUNG MEN IN ACTION

(Continued from Page 11)

one business leader recently stated, "It requires no clairvoyance to see that the next five years will in all likelihood be the most vitally important ones in the history of our nation. The things to be done during that period, the legislation to be adopted, the leadership to be developed, and the reaction and response of the American people to the events which lie ahead in the struggle between dictatorship and democracy, will irrevocably fashion the pattern of life to which we young men, our children, and our children's children will of necessity conform."

Democracy is meeting its greatest test and the young men of the nation are working for its preservation. The democratic form of government means rule by the majority, and we will never have sound, intelligent government until the majority are intelligent on public affairs and we have a full exercise of the voting franchise. These are dark days but they need not be sad days if we will manifest the same spirit of cooperation, fellowship, and unselfishness that has always been so characteristic of the young men in this country.

We have faith and confidence in the future of America. Democracy has more active, vigilant defenders than at any time in recent history, and when radios are worn on the wrist and there are television screens in every parlor, and the dictators of the present are unpleasant memories of the past, the young men of the nation will still be working together in a friendly spirit, building, through their energy, enthusiasm, and ability, a greater America for this and coming generations.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 1940.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

The Federal Financial System. By Daniel T. Selko. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1940. xii, 606 pp. $3.50.

The writing of this volume was undoubtedly inspired by the report of Brookings Institution made during 1936-37 for the Senate Select Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies of the Government (the so-called Byrd Committee from its chairman, Senator Harry F. Byrd). Dr. Selko of the Brookings research staff prepared the section of this report on the financial administration of the federal government. Later when it became apparent that the Brookings recommendations on fiscal organization and methods, particularly with respect to the General Accounting Office, were at variance with those of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, Dr. Selko wrote a monograph entitled *The Administration of Federal Finances* (published by the Brookings Institution in August 1937), in which he discussed the divergent recommendations and sought to justify the Brookings proposals.

The federal reorganization which was made in 1939 dealt only in piecemeal fashion with the fiscal structure. It followed the recommendations of the President's Committee with reference to the Budget Bureau, but did not disturb the *status quo* of the General Accounting Office. The latter was in line with the Brookings proposals. Dr. Selko then undertook to elaborate these proposals by adding considerable historical and descriptive materials, the result being the present volume.

The five major parts of this volume deal with the origin of the federal financial system, the budget system, the revenue system, the fiscal system (i.e. treasury operations and management), and accounting and reporting procedures. The first part is mainly historical, being designed to present the background of the financial system.

The second part deals with the budget system as inaugurated in 1921 and is largely descriptive of the existing budgetary procedure of the federal government.

Suggested improvements are reserved mainly for a chapter on "The Executive Budget and Congressional Responsibility," in which the position is taken that "full responsibility for the financial policies of the national government" rests upon Congress. Dr. Selko largely ignores the writings on the subject by such men as F. A. Cleveland and W. F. Willoughby, and proposes to implement the legislative processes so that Congress can fashion the national budget.

The part dealing with the revenue system is largely descriptive of the collecting agencies and their administrative procedures. In a chapter on "Politics in Control of Revenue Administration," the author recommends that the principal revenue-collecting agencies (i.e. customs and internal revenue) be removed from the Treasury Department and placed under control of bipartisan commissions. He holds that this change would eliminate partisan political influences from the revenue administration. It would leave the Treasury Department with only the receipt, custody, and disbursement of public moneys, functions which are discussed in the fourth part of the book. The functions of a glorified and expanded General Accounting Office are set forth in the fifth part of the book, following two chapters of preliminary historical matter.

Dr. Selko has made out a grand case for the General Accounting Office, better than it has been able to do for itself through practice and precept during the nineteen years of its existence. He has overlooked its weaknesses and failures in a fatherly fashion and has spoken simply of its accomplishments and aspirations. He has blandly ignored such devastating criticisms of the General Accounting Office and its work as those contained in Mansfield's recent book on *The Comptroller General.* It would seem in this instance that facts which do not readily harmonize with his theories get short shrift; that evidence, sometimes piled mountain high, is disregarded when it does not serve his purpose.

Dr. Selko's proposed improvements in the character and procedure of the General Accounting Office deal largely with incidental matters; they do not get at what would seem to be the heart of the problem. That this office is now an "agent of Congress," which appears to be the author's contention, is far from the fact. Since its creation its conduct indicates clearly that it is responsible neither to Congress nor to the Executive, but that it is more or less a law unto itself. Furthermore, the machinery for making the General Accounting Office responsible to Congress does not now exist, and Dr. Selko makes no suggestions for setting up such machinery. He asserts that he favors extended legislative control over the public purse, and yet he overlooks what is perhaps the most direct approach to its attainment.

A. E. Buck

Institute of Public Administration

Municipal Public Relations. By Elton D. Woolpert. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1940. v, 50 pp. paperbound.

A Checklist of Suggested Items for the Annual Municipal Report. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1940. 18 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

In many American cities today democracy is being starved out. Citizens, theoretical basis of everything that government does, have at best the most fragmentary and inaccurate conception of what is being done with their money; at worst, they do not even realize it is their money that is being spent.

To provide some basis and organization for the increasing amount of consideration that forward-looking public administrators are giving to this problem of "public relations," Elton D. Woolpert has written an intelligent, thorough description of the municipal public relations field in so far as that field is already known to authorities. This pamphlet (which originally appeared as a series of articles in *Public Management*) is frankly deductive. There has been almost no practical experimentation on what is, or is not, good public relations practice. Hence Mr. Woolpert's exposition is in large part common sense and analytical thinking. But this limitation by no means destroys its usefulness.

For one thing, Mr. Woolpert puts neatly in their place publicity and reporting which are sometimes mistakenly considered to be the sum and substance of municipal public relations. Public relations is actually the sum total of those activities of the municipal government which in any way touch the citizen, the author reminds us. And he insists, also, that sheer efficiency of municipal services will go a long way toward providing good public relations without any special "public relations" program as such.

The pamphlet goes into such sectors of public relations as personnel practices, employee contacts with citizens, the handling of inquiries and complaints, physical appearances, and general municipal procedures, winding up with municipal reporting and publicity. Apparently no stone of public relations has been left unturned. While this work is certainly not the last word on public relations, it is one of the first significant words.

The "Checklist" for the annual municipal report, which the ICMA issues as a supplement to its earlier *Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report,* is in the same vein of deductive reasoning as the Woolpert pamphlet. It is an itemization of the kinds of data which would appear to be useful in a municipal report. It is bound to be useful to municipal administrators intent on putting out as good a report as they can, in the face of the complete lack of *experimental* data on just what is a good report. Until such experimental data is forthcoming, this checklist is common-sense and practical.

M. R.

Yankee Reporter. By S. Burton Heath. New York City, Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1940. 391 pp. $3.00.

Mr. Heath has a nose for corruption and a sixth sense of who's behind it. That combination makes *Yankee Reporter* the story of as good a prosecuting reporter as you or the Pulitzer prize committee can find.

And if his book contains a few extra personal pronouns, they can be forgiven a reporter who has put his newspaper in the midst of most of the battles for good government in the world's biggest city.

In the first chapter, "Horse and Buggy Youth," Mr. Heath divulges the origin of a conscience that distinguishes quite clearly between right and wrong—decency and indecency. It comes straight from the hills of Vermont to which the author would like to return when he winds up his chores in the city.

He once sold yard goods in a Vermont village store for six dollars a week. He edited the *Groton Times* for twelve dollars a week until he decided to enlist for the first world war.

The ex-soldier returned, tried a publishing venture of his own which failed. Then went to college and won both a wife and education. He liked college. His wife helped by doing secretarial work at the university and teaching cooking in night school, just as she helped later on in New York when Mr. Heath was out of a job in the depression depths.

Meanwhile the author found time for extra-curricular activities which began to teach him about politics. As a boy editor and publisher he had begun to show interest in how people are governed. And this interest expanded.

By the time he arrived in New York he was almost ready.

The scene changes. He is a New York newspaperman and when Mr. Heath begins to write about his crusades he ceases to be autobiographer and takes on his regular role of reporter.

You learn through interpretive narrative about the lick and a promise Governor Roosevelt gave some thorny facts in New York's public power issue.

You read how prosecuting reporter Heath helped prosecuting attorney Dewey to the top—and vice versa.

The scum of New York's political life parades across the pages and behind the bars one by one—Jimmy Hines, the Tammany big shot; Judge Martin Thomas Manton, the stuffed-shirt crook on one of the nation's highest benches; Lepke and Gurrah, the fur and prostitution racketeers; plus dozens of other great and near great crooks, with their hangers-on, hoodlums and satchel men.

The forces of reform are all here too, the Fusion campaign, La Guardia hitting with both fists on the way up, Dewey and the rest.

Partly it's an encouraging story of a

reporter's work and civic virtue triumphing over evil in the big city. And partly it's a discouraging story of crook after crook going up the river, always with many more to go. Always it's the story of a tireless and incredibly resourceful reporter turning a big city inside out, with the help of his friends. Mr. Heath is at various times detective, lawyer, accountant, psychologist, sociologist. He emphasizes that so many roles are possible only with the help of his friends.

Unfortuntely he doesn't turn political scientist long enough to consider prospects for developing reliable channels of leadership that will prevent at least a portion of these travesties on democracy.

Perhaps he'll have more time to work that out when he gets back to Vermont on a plot looking down on Lake Champlain in a little house with a basement where he can do printing as it ought to be done. Where he can take pictures, play golf, and find out whether a newspaper, operated as he's always wanted to run one, will bankrupt itself.

Up to now he hasn't even had time to see the Statue of Liberty.

E. N. T.

The Plan E City Charter. Legal Requirements and Procedure—Summary of Other Standard City Charters. By Herman C. Loeffler. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1940. 18 pp. mimeo.

Plan E Campaign Manual. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Committee For Plan E, 1940. 46 pp. mimeo.

Combined, these pamphlets form the finest aid available for citizens of any city who seek to change their form of local government to conform to the Model Charter of the National Municipal League. The first is an explanation of that charter as it is found on the statute books of Massachusetts (Plan E of optional forms of city government). The second was designed for use in the 1940 campaign to secure Plan E for Cambridge. This reviewer has helped prepare a dozen such manuals and has read more than another dozen. These two, almost entirely the work of Herman Loeffler, are far ahead of all of them.

Teachers of civics owe it to their students to present patterns for creating informed intelligent citizen opinion drafted by citizens interested in the high and worthy purpose of raising the standards of local governments. Hereafter they are a "must" in the armamentarium of everyone concerned with planning a charter campaign.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Pamphlets Received

Municipal Government

Municipal Coöperation in New York State. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, 1940. 8 pp.

Municipal Government and Administration. A Manual and Syllabus. By Russell H. Ewing. Denver, Colorado, School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance, University of Denver, 1940. 128 pp. $1.00.

Personnel

Personnel Programs for Smaller Cities. As exemplified by installations in various cities in Michigan. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. vi, 46 pp. 75 cents.

Public Employee Credit Unions. A review of organized coöperative credit among teachers and other government employees. By A. R. Rathert. Minneapolis, Minnesota State Federation of Teachers, 1940. 20 pp. 10 cents (reduction on quantity orders).

Training New York's Employees. Interim report to the Mayor's Council on Public Service Training. New York City, Bureau of Training, Municipal Civil Service Commission, 1940. vii, 51 pp., charts.

Politics

Political System. Democracy's First Line of Defense. Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia, 1940. 28 pp. 10 cents.

Public Health and Welfare

Advances in New York City's Health. Annual report of the Department of Health of the City of New York for 1939 with a review of developments from 1934-1939. New York City, Department of Health, 1940. 296 pp.

Pasadena Social Agencies Survey. By Edwin A. Cottrell. Pasadena, California, 1940. xli, 378 pp. (Apply to author.)

Public Welfare Survey. By Philip C. Ahern. Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Taxpayers' Association, 1940. 18 pp.

Refuse Collection

Factors Affecting the Cost of Refuse Collection. Interpretation of cost data—influence of extent and character of service—effect of dissimilar disposal methods, wage rates, physical and cultural aspects, and other conditions.

Refuse Collection Equipment. Description of equipment used by cities—factors influencing selection: size, capacity, loading height, appearance, covers, speed, water-tightness, safety, materials of construction.

Refuse Collection Methods. Methods of collecting refuse from curbs or alleys or from householders' premises—organizing work of collection crews—methods of doing the simpler tasks of handling containers and loading and stowing refuse in collection vehicles. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1940. 31, 58, and 55 pp. respectively. 50 cents each.

State Government

A Manual of State Administrative Organization in Michigan. By The State Budget Office, State of Michigan, and The Bureau of Government, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1940. ix, 240 pp. $1.00.

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Taxation and Finance

A Financial Report on the Government of the State of Tennessee. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1940. 12 pp. 25 cents to nonmembers.

Expense Accounts of State Officers and Employees in Nebraska. By Roger V. Shumate. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1940. 32 pp.

Municipal Indebtedness. A study of the debt-to-property ratio. By Leroy A. Shattuck, Jr. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. 145 pp. $1.25 paperbound.

Oklahoma's Deficit. A Study in Financial Administration. By Findley Weaver. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. xi, 68 pp. 50 cents.

Operation of Homestead Exemption or Preference Statutes. Chicago, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1940. 3 pages, tables.

Regulation of State Travel Expenses. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1940. x, 41 pp.

State Cigarette and Chain Store Taxes; Taxation of Pari-Mutuel Wager-

ing at Horse Races; Taxation of Real Estate in Proportion to Mortgage and Other Interests; The Problem of Local Fiscal Control with special reference to control at the county level. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 12, 27, 11, and 36 pp. respectively, mimeo.

The Excess Profits Tax. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1940. 13 pp.

The Finances of the City of New York. By Cushman McGee. New York, R. W. Pressprich & Co., 1940. xiv, 285 pp. $5.00.

Unemployment Relief

Administrative Problems of Employment Services in Eight States. By Oscar Weigert. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. iii, 50 pp. $1.00.

Unemployment Insurance Manual. Prepared under supervision of H. Eliot Kaplan. New York City, Civil Service Publications, Inc., 1940. 96 pp. $1.00.

Miscellaneous

Disaster Preparedness. A Manual for Minnesota Municipal Officials. By the Committee on Disaster Preparedness assisted by Warren C. Hyde. Minneapolis, League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1940. 47 pp.

Government and Economic Life. By Leverett S. Tyson and Victor Abramson. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1940. 66 pp.

Mosquito Control. By William B. Herms and Harold F. Gray. New York City, The Commonwealth Fund, 1940. xii, 317 pp. $3.50.

Research in the Use of the Government Corporation. An outline of suggested research topics. New York City, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, 1940. iv, 31 pp. 50 cents.

Retail Instalment Selling. By Charles Mindel. Baltimore, Research Division, Maryland Legislative Council, 1940. xii, 67 pp. mimeo.

The Enforcement of the Orders of State Public Service Commissions. By Gilbert Gillespie Lentz. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1940. 159 pp. $2.00 clothbound; $1.50 paperbound.

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

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A PROFESSOR who was practical, **Herman B Wells** (*New Frontiers*) has interlaced his academic career in economic and business administration with sorties into the art of applying his learning to the every-day problem of government. It was the now president of Indiana University on whom the Governor called a few years ago to reorganize the state's banking system. Mr. Wells was then a professor of economics at the University. Besides holding various professorships, President Wells has been field secretary of the Indiana Bankers Association, secretary of the Study Commission for Indiana Financial Institutions, supervisor of the division of research and statistics of the Indiana State Department of Financial Institutions, and secretary of the State Commission for Financial Institutions.

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Recent News Reviewed

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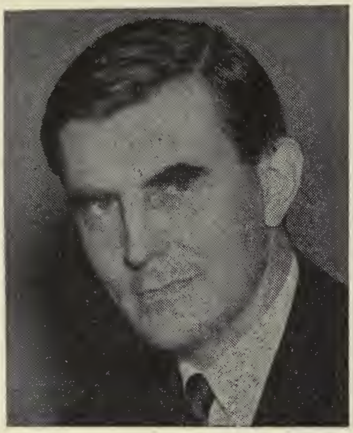
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Winant Named Ambassador to Britain

National Municipal League President chosen for vital diplomatic post after career in state, national, and international affairs.

THE long-rumored appointment as ambassador to the Court of St. James of John Gilbert Winant, newly-elected president of the National Municipal League, was announced by the President February 6.



Underwood & Underwood

JOHN G. WINANT

Mr. Winant, who was elected president of the League at the 46th annual National Conference on Government at Springfield, Massachusetts, last November, served as a member of the League council from 1934 to 1939, and then as an honorary vice-president.

His appointment to the diplomatic post which would have been the most important in the world even in a less critical time was met with universal approval both in Great Britain and in the United States during the two months he was being widely discussed.

The *New York Times*, in commenting on Mr. Winant, described him as "a liberal Republican whose humanitarian principles have far transcended party or class lines. . . . Tall, deliberate and earnest, 'an aristocratic version of Abraham Lincoln,' he has often been mentioned as a possible presidential candidate on a liberal Republican platform."

Mr. Winant was born in New York on February 23, 1889. Later his family moved to Concord, New Hampshire. He became interested in politics after graduating from Princeton in 1917 and was elected to the New Hampshire House of Representatives. His political career was interrupted soon, however, by his enlistment as a private in the World War. He became commander of the Eighth Observation Squadron and was discharged as a captain at the end of the war.

After post-graduate study in government Mr. Winant was elected to the New Hampshire State Senate in 1921 and a second time to the House in 1923. He was elected Governor in 1925 and again in 1931, when he continued in office for two terms.

During these terms he was distinguished for his social reform program and in 1935 was called to Washington to become the first chairman of the Social Security Board.

During the past few years Mr. Winant's familiarity with foreign affairs has been broadened by his service as head of the International Labor Office at Geneva. In his brief inaugural address as president of the League, Mr. Winant mentioned that he had visited and closely studied, both before the war began and afterward, all of the countries which have been involved in the current war.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Hobgoblin of the Politicians' Nightmare

EVERY ten years, when the census is taken, we face the question of redistributing the seats in state legislatures in accordance with population changes. With most state legislatures now in session, this will come in for much discussion during the next few months, but, if past experience is any criterion, little action.

It is about now that legislators begin to develop the "Yes-we-believe-in-democracy-and-the-constitution-BUT—" attitude.

Legislatures have failed more often than they have succeeded in carrying out the constitutional mandate to readjust legislative districts fairly after each census.

It has been a pretty cold-blooded proposition, and the reasons for this nonfeasance are quite well known. They include the reluctance of a dominant party to risk a diminution of its control, the desire of rural regions to keep the majorities they held long ago before the growth of cities, and the inherent fear of change held by politicians who have been successful under an existing arrangement.

Strictly on the basis of democratic theory and ideals, these reasons are without merit. But, in practically every state which possesses a large city, rural-minded legislatures conspire to keep it hog-tied with under-representation. "Down-state" Illinois doesn't intend to let Chicago get out of hand any more than "up-state" New York intends to let the nation's largest city be appropriately represented. Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Alameda Counties in California between them have 58 per cent of the state's population, yet they are represented by only 3 per cent of the state senators.

An article[1] in this issue of the REVIEW examines the situation and finds most states helpless to do anything about it when the legislature fails to act. It is questionable whether a good result is likely to be obtained even in those states which provide for apportionment boards consisting of regular officials elected on a state-wide basis. Are these officials less politically minded? Are they not almost sure to be members of a single party—party leaders, indeed, on whom political pressures would be particularly strong?

It has been suggested that the highest court in the state either act or appoint a board; but it would be a miracle if this did not plague the court with political wire-pulling, thus nullifying the painfully achieved tradition of comparative freedom from politics.

When the legislature in the state of Washington failed some years ago to give Seattle and Spokane their proportionate number of representatives, an initiative measure was approved by the voters; but this also might be classed as something of a unique miracle, very difficult of consummation even in those states which have the initiative.

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[1] See page 73.

Most states need a semi-automatic method of reapportionment which can operate despite political and regional self-interest.

Proportional representation as used in New York City would provide such a method. This system of voting promptly corrected glaring inequities in the representation of the various boroughs in the city council. The fact that New York City has a larger population than all but two states demonstrates that there are no technical problems involved which would tend to make P.R. inapplicable to legislatures.

The preliminary draft of the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution,* on which a distinguished committee has been at work for many months and which is scheduled for early publication, provides that, "After each decennial census, the secretary of the legislature shall have power and it shall be his duty to redistrict the state into districts of approximately equal population."

Especially at a time when it is so desperately important for the people of this country to maintain their faith in and respect for our "self-governing" system, it ought to be possible for legislatures to rise above petty considerations and act promptly and fairly, or to confess their incompetence and provide an alternative method. After all, the basic reason other countries have been losing such democracy as they have had was the inability of their systems to cope with problems at hand and to rise above unworthy political motives.

Installment Taxpaying as a 'Pain' Killer

ONCE upon a time, when banks were still encouraging people to deposit money in savings accounts, a middle-western banker sent a special delivery New Year's greeting letter to his entire list of checking accounts.

The greeting was accompanied by a discussion of the inconvenience of having such obligations as taxes and insurance premiums come due in large lump sums. The banker suggested to each customer that he budget all such fixed obligations, divide by twelve to determine the cost per month, and then authorize the bank to transfer that amount each month to a savings account.

Despite the fact that the special delivery letter, timed to arrive about noon, disturbed more than a few hangovers, there were many takers. A considerable proportion of them wrote letters complimenting the banker on his logic and enterprise.

It was and still is a good idea, but not as good now as it was in the '20s. A great many cities have liberalized their tax collection methods in order to speed up collection. They have taken a tip from the merchandising field which has done so much to educate people to the idea of paying gradually and painlessly.

According to figures published recently in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL

(Continued on Page 132)

Reapportionment: A Chronic Problem

Will state legislatures tackle the problem of redistricting now that new census figures are available?

By CHARLES W. SHULL
Wayne University

LEGISLATIVE apportionment in the states resembles the weather; it is a combination of factors and conditions provoking comment and controversy, seldom resulting in action.

Factors in the problem of apportionment are varied. From out of the mass of possible influences entering into the creation of the problem of representative government in the form of apportionment, we can only separate those that seem to possess significance. Of these, size is an important element, since the sheer magnitude of the task of distributing legislative memberships is a full and potent force itself.

There are involved in possible legislative rearrangements a total of 1,704 senators and 5,695 members of lower branches in the various states, to which must be added the forty-three members of the unicameral legislature of Nebraska. Grand total of all memberships involved in apportionment schemes is 7,442.

There are then forty-eight sets of apportionment acts or schemes, making allowances here for the fact that several states[1] utilize their constitutions as the medium for ordering a particular apportionment in lieu of the commoner statutory enactment. There are ninety-five legislative chambers whose personnel must be distributed in accordance with ninety-five different patterns or bases of representation. These bodies range from seventeen in the senates of Nevada and Delaware to 427 in the lower branch of the General Court of New Hampshire.

Recognition must be made of this factor of size, not because it of itself generates and encourages legal difficulties over apportionment, but because the sheer volume of the personnel involved occasions a heavy demand for exactitude in the apportionment process which oftentimes cannot be attained by reason of hampering restrictions set down in the firm, hard lines of constitutional texts. In all instances the choice of number for each chamber reflects to a considerable degree the element of chance and convenience.

Posing the problem of apportionment prospectively for 1941 and the decade to come, the question must be raised as to how to determine the size of our state legislative bodies. How do we know when a legislative body is too large or too small, too unwieldly or too easily maneuvered or manipulated? How can we tell whether 427 is too many for the House of Representatives of New Hampshire or empirically assert that a fixed number of one hundred conjoined with a moiety clause may be too few for Michigan? Are the inhabitants of New Jersey with eighty-one members in both houses and of Nebraska with forty-three in their unicameral legislature better represented, more efficiently served, than, for example, are Illinois with 204 and Massachusetts with 280?

---

[1] Delaware, Kentucky, Connecticut, and Mississippi for both branches; Idaho, New Mexico, and Louisiana have employed the constitution as a means of making one apportionment with release of the power to the legislature thereafter; the senate of South Carolina and the House of Representatives of Vermont also depend upon the constitutions of those states.

TREND IN SIZE

Is the trend toward smaller legislatures in terms of number of members and number of branches, or do the people of the separate states desire large bodies whether unicameral or bicameral in character? Professor Alvin W. Johnson has thrown some light upon this by means of his illuminating tables showing the trend in unicameral proposals away from the simplicity of the original Norris prescription of twenty-one for Nebraska and the final thirty to fifty range authorized there.[2] In the main we lack for the determination of the proper size of legislative bodies even that sage standard for the length of a term paper which, like a woman's skirt, should be long enough to cover the subject yet short enough to be interesting.

Bicameralism presupposes that there will be two distinct representative bases for its construction and utilization. Indeed it is almost axiomatic that there must be this duality of base or bicameralism is smitten with the fate of Siamese coupling: the twins are two, yet one in structure and interconnection. The *sine qua non* for the success of bicameralism even in the smallest degree is that there be those two differentiated bases of representation which can be matched with the two chambers it necessarily involves.

The national Congress escapes to a considerable extent from this dilemma; the American state legislatures never rise above it, for they are tied to the intermingled use of population and territory as the bases for representation in both houses of representatives and senates.

The representative base thus becomes a factor in our problem of apportionment. Utilizing federalism nationally, it is possible to use population as the basis for our national House of Representatives and states for the Senate, even though the effect of the seventeenth amendment may have been to rob the Senate of any special type of interest to represent.

Unitary in organization within the states themselves, we have been too lacking in daring, too traditional in our thought, to regard the most numerous branch of the state legislative assemblies as anything other than the branch in which population should be recognized. That reliance on tradition and an old pattern of thought has left us stranded when faced with the problem of finding a basis for the apportionment of the personnel of our upper chambers.

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[2] See Alvin W. Johnson, *The Unicameral Legislature,* Minneapolis, 1938. Also Constitution of Nebraska, article III, 1, 5.

Weighing the importance of bicameralism and its compulsory search for representative bases as a factor in the problem of apportionment as we face a new census decade, would it be heretical to suggest that in most of our states it would have been as well had population exclusively been represented in our upper chambers, and territory or counties frankly and openly in our lower chambers, for many of the forty-eight states would approximate the present size of their legislatures had they done so.

Examination of the current bases of representation in our states will lend color to the belief that something on this latter order was in the minds of the constitution makers who gave forth the text of the legal formulae defining their bases of representation.

MICHIGAN'S PROBLEM

At the present time the House of Representatives in Michigan has one hundred members, supposedly apportioned in accordance with population from districts which shall contain as nearly as may be an equal number of inhabitants and shall consist of convenient and contiguous territory. No township or city may be divided in the formation of a legislative district, unless by some chance a municipality sits astride county lines.

It would seem to be implied that population and its distribution into substantially equal districts was the rule in Michigan, but further analysis rids one of that illusion. The constitutional provisions[3] proceed. If any city or township contains sufficient population to entitle it to more than one representative, then it cannot be separated into single districts, but must choose its entire delegation by general ticket. Practically, Detroit is the only area thus affected since it elects seventeen members.

Each county, with such territory as may be attached thereto, shall be entitled to a separate representative when it has population equal to a moiety of the ratio of representation. Boiled down to its bare essentials the section of the constitution of Michigan relating to the Senate simply says that there shall be thirty-two districts created for the purpose of electing thirty-two senators, and that in rearranging these districts the last preceding census of the United States shall be used as the base. Furthermore, no county may be divided in the formation of senatorial districts unless it is entitled to two or more senators.

Fundamentally, so far as the basis of representation as a problem of apportionment in Michigan is concerned, there are several difficulties; chief of these in the case of the House of Representatives is the fact that there simply are not seats enough to go around. With the number fixed at present at one hundred joined with a moiety clause, it would not make much difference what the state's distribution of population was at any given period; there would still be a difficult problem of apportionment. It should be more than apparent that if one were dealing out loaves of bread, and were faced with an individual who could prove a claim to half a loaf but who must actually be given a whole loaf, there would be a shortage of bread. One cannot hand out ten whole loaves in lieu of five and have five others left to give to those entitled thereto, if the available loaves are limited. Moiety in Michigan would be reasonably fair were it not for the fixed number of seats. To abide by moiety you must violate strictly equitable apportionment. Here the difficulty is both practical and constitutional.

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[3] Constitution of Michigan, article V, sections 2, 3, 4.

In any session of the Michigan House of Representatives there can be noted three types of districts. There are earned seat districts in which the full quota has been met; there are multiple-member districts where both earned and moiety seats can be distinguished; and there are moiety districts of either single counties or combinations of counties. That is variety which becomes the spice of legislative life in Michigan.

On the other hand, the Senate presents a problem because it is too leniently set up. In the judgment of some observers, it would be possible to create thirty-two districts with some light regard for population and let it go at that; in fact, present districts range from about 65,000 to 350,000 in population and yet have not been legally challenged.

OHIO PROVISIONS

Ohio presents another situation. Her constitution[4] stipulates: that the representative quota for membership in the House of Representatives shall be determined by dividing the total population of the state by one hundred. Every county having a population equal to one-half of the ratio, shall be entitled to one representative; every county containing said ratio and three-fourths over shall be entitled to two representatives; every county containing three times said ratio shall be entitled to three representatives, and so on, requiring after the two, an entire ratio for each additional representative. When any county shall have a fraction above the ratio so large that, being multiplied by five, the result will be equal to one or more ratios, additional representatives shall be apportioned for such ratios among the several sessions of the decennial period.

On the face of it, this is a fair system; it avoids the pitfalls of a fixed number of members, and utilizes a different type of moiety from that employed in Michigan. There is a catch, however, a provision which thus far has been deliberately omitted, for the section also includes this: provided, however, that each county shall have one representative.

Consequently there are also several types of legislative seats in Ohio. Full quota, full seats for half a quota, full seats for three-fourths the quota, the representatives allotted periodically for the surpluses, and the pure county seats allotted without regard to ratios. This does not give each county one seat for the privilege rare and unique of being a county; the law merely says in effect that even if you are too poor in population to earn a seat under the other provisions of the constitution, you will have one anyway. For the Senate the same rules in general prevail, except that the quota is determined in terms of thirty-five as the divisor.

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[4] Constitution of Ohio, article XI.

To cite but one more example: Illinois provides for the creation of fifty-one senatorial districts upon the basis of contiguous and convenient territory and as nearly as equal population as may be possible, no district to contain less than four-fifths of the senatorial quota. On top of that the House of Representatives was hitched fast to the same basis as the Senate, multipled threefold by the requirement that three representatives be elected from each senatorial district.

Enough has been said to indicate the difficulty of the problem upon the score of the representative base, particularly within our bicameral systems. Reference to virtually any state legislature and its apportionment schemes would reveal confusion as much confounded.

The third factor in the problem of apportionment is that of time. How current is the present apportionment in terms of chronology? How regularly do such redistributions of members and rearrangements of districts occur?

LAG IN APPORTIONMENT

A circularization of the various states has at the time of this writing brought replies from forty-three of the forty-eight states: five replies are missing—Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Washington, and Wyoming. Several were partial and indefinite in information—Louisiana, Idaho, and New Mexico.

Accepting the proposition that in order to be deemed current in apportionment a state must have had such an event within the past ten years, here is the evidence. Twenty-three states have had legislative reapportionments within the period 1931-1940, and are to be deemed substantially current so far as this factor of time is concerned. These states are Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin with complete reapportionments within that period, and Iowa and South Carolina with reapportionments of their lower houses. Vermont reapportioned her Senate in 1932.

Excluding Connecticut, Delaware, and Mississippi where apportionment is largely, if not entirely, fixed by the constitution, making note of the ambiguous information anent Idaho, New Mexico, and Louisiana where at least one apportionment was made by the constitution, and recognizing that the Senate in South Carolina and the House of Representatives of Vermont also depend upon constitutional apportionment, we still have about 50 per cent of the states substantially current in apportionment. Of those that lag the record is this: Florida and Michigan in 1925; Kansas in 1923; Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania in 1921; Texas in 1920; New York in

1917; Minnesota in 1913; Alabama and Illinois, 1901; Kentucky by constitution in 1893; and Mississippi in 1892, later altered by the addition of seven new counties although this was amended in 1918.

The problem of time in apportionment resolves itself fundamentally into this proposition. For those states that are substantially current, how may they continue with contemporary apportionments and not lag behind; for those states that already are out of line, how to catch up, becoming current. Almost immediately we arrive at the last factor which will be treated as pertinent to the problem of apportionment—that of mode or method.

Thirty-five states[5] provide in their constitutions that the legislature shall be the proper agency to accomplish apportionment. Oregon directs that the membership of her legislature shall be fixed by law, and Tennessee says simply that the personnel of her legislature shall be apportioned. Idaho and Nevada make specific enumerations of the number of districts and legislators in their original basic laws or constitutions which allocation is to be valid until provided otherwise by statute, thus passing the matter into the hands of the legislature. In New York authority to apportion rests in the legislature, subject to review in the courts at the suit of any citizen under such reasonable regulations as may be prescribed by law. Similar provisions appear in the Oklahoma constitution which also gives priority of treatment and status to apportionment cases pending in the courts.[6]

Delaware alone of all the states retains constitutional apportionment in the sense that the distribution is embedded in the text of her fundamental law and can be changed only by constitutional amendment. It might profitably be recalled that the amending process of Delaware calls for action by two successive legislatures, so in a sense legislative control of legislative apportionment is preserved in that state.

SPECIAL AGENCIES

Two of the states give conditional power over apportionment to their legislatures, leaving plenary control and initiative in regard to the problem to those agencies, but establishing other safeguards in the event of nonfeasance by them. These are Missouri and California. In each a special agency comes into existence if the legislature fails to function in regard to reapportionment. Missouri devolves that duty upon a commission composed of the governor, secretary of state, or attorney-general, who must act within thirty days after final adjournment of the legislature. In California a reapportionment commission consisting of the lieutenant governor, the surveyor-general, the secretary of state, and the state supervisor of public instruction must complete the apportionment in the event that the legislature fails to do so.

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[5] Alabama, Connecticut, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont (Senate only), Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

[6] See New York Constitutional Convention Committee, *Problems Relating to Legislative Organization and Powers,* pp. 226-227, for a convenient summary of these data.

Other states utilize special agencies. In Maryland apportionment is consummated by the governor. Ohio uses a commission composed of the governor, secretary of state, and the auditor; action may be taken by any two of them. Arkansas also created a special board of apportionment in 1936 which includes the governor, the secretary of state, and the attorney-general. The findings of this board are subject to revision or mandamus by the State Supreme Court.[7]

If these agencies, particularly the legislature, fail to function or deliberately omit action, what then can be done? In the case of the states having legislative action alone, the answer is slightly suggestive of John of Salisbury's prescription of the method of tyrannicide. Use of the sword being barred by scripture, and poison not being sanctioned by inclusion therein, prayer becomes the proper method to dispose of a despotic ruler.

Mandamus, quo warranto, injunction, taxpayers' suits, attempts to establish breach of the federal guarantee of a republican form of government all being unavailing in the presence of the ubiquitous back door for judicial escape, the doctrine of political questions, it would seem that prayer is the only hope—unless resort is had either to the ballot box (the preferred remedy of the judiciary), or constitutional amendment to establish a successor to the existing apportionment by means of the constitution, or the establishment of a supplementary agency to perform the function in the event that the legislature does not, or to pass the power to someone else, such as the commission in Ohio and the board in Arkansas. In all of these the problem of staying current still remains. If the difficulty involved in the factors of time and mode are hitched to the base of representation and the number of members, as is true in Illinois, the situation when conjoined with the downstate-Cook County cleavage becomes almost impossible of remedy.

The problem of apportionment is compounded of these four factors: number, base of representation, time, and mode. It might succinctly be stated as follows: that the problem of legislative apportionment in the states is to arrive at the determination of the most convenient number of representatives in our legislative branches, chosen upon the most usable bases of representation having some natural relationship to the general social and economic *milieu* of the state, and finding the means to keep that numerical application to these bases abreast of change and the ebb and flow of the political tides of that state.

In the last analysis, however, no apportionment scheme matters much unless the legislature is stripped of all petty, foolish limitations, is given an honest chance to be a real lawmaking body, made a coördinate branch of government in our states.

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[7] Constitution of Arkansas, amendment 23.

Our Municipal Neighbors to the South

Latin American cities offer fertile field for study; little known of their politics and administration.

By **RUSSELL H. FITZGIBBON**
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MANY years ago county government in the United States was described as the dark continent of American politics. The characterization was apt, and the phrase itself may have been in part responsible for the considerable illumination which has been given that particular governmental area in recent decades.

If a view of the politics of the whole hemisphere be taken, the figure of speech might well be transferred to Latin American municipal government. For the politics and administration of the cities of Latin America are still in large measure unexplored—certainly unpublicized—aspects of the whole picture of government in the New World. The average person in the United States is uninformed about some of the most elementary features of governmental forms and trends in the cities of "the other America." About national governments, yes, in part; but scarcely at all in regard to the political life of the municipalities.

This is the more unfortunate because so much of the political motivation and activity of the score of Latin American republics is city-bred. That rural areas are frequently tributary—economically, culturally, politically, and in other ways—to the urban population nuclei which they surround is a well recognized phenomenon; but so obvious is that relationship in many of the Latin American countries that one sometimes encounters a situation in which the metropolis seems virtually to have swallowed the remainder of the country. In some of the smaller countries—Uruguay, for instance—the picture begins to approximate, roughly, that of the old Greek city-state in which the surrounding country was technically a part of the city.

Even in some of the larger countries, such as Argentina, the same relationship is present, though perhaps in less exaggerated form. If the general dominance of New York City plus the political leadership of Washington were rolled into one, with the features of preëminence of perhaps Pittsburgh and Chicago and Los Angeles and a few other cities thrown in for good measure, we should have something of the relationship between Buenos Aires and the rest of Argentina. Further exposition would be beside the point; the net result is that the industrial, literary, artistic, religious, and many other centers of gravity, in addition to the political, rest in urban centers in Latin America to a much greater degree than anything with which we are familiar in the United States.

Thus far, such serious study as has been given to Latin American governments has all but completely been concentrated on the topmost levels. This is natural, if not logical, in view of the historic and very general tendency of the centralized and executive-dominated national governments to extend their control into all other levels and all geographic areas of the various countries. For one thing, all but four of the Latin American republics have unitary rather than federal governments. Even in the remaining four—Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, and Brazil[1]—the centralizing tendency has generally been so strong, both politically and administratively, throughout most of the more than a century of independence, as to make the national governments partly unitary on a *de facto* if not on a *de jure* basis. Needless to say, there has been little formal obstacle to such a trend in those countries organized upon a constitutionally unitary basis, but even in the nominally federal countries the tendency has been so marked as to lead one writer some years ago (before the Vargas *coup* of 1937) to label a book he had written, *His Majesty, the President of Brazil.*[2] The almost universal acceptance in Latin America of presidential rather than parliamentary government is another factor which has facilitated executive control of the national government.

This does not justify the conclusion that political consciousness and activity exist only in the national arenas and around the national capitals. Regional politics in various Latin American countries is well organized and highly articulate. In Mexico it may be a Michoacán clique, centering around the leaders of Morelia, the state capital, competing for political control against, say, the political bosses of Sonora or Chihuahua in the north. In Brazil the picture revolves around the time-honored political rivalries of the states of Sao Paulo and Minas Geraes and, latterly, Rio Grande do Sul.

In Argentina the dominant issue of the first half century and more of independence was the contest for control between the *Porteños* (the inhabitants of Buenos Aires) and the hinterland provinces. In Nicaragua, it was a traditional battle between the Conservatives of Granada and the Liberals of León.

CITY VS. CITY

In any case, it has usually been *city* against *city,* with the political leaders of one city or another temporarily lifting themselves by their bootstraps, as it were, into rôles on the national stage. With some exceptions, though, they remained in spirit city bosses instead of becoming national figures.

Almost the whole tradition of the Iberian veneer of government in Latin America emphasized control from above. Municipal autonomy and democracy which, in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Spain had reached a high and prominent peak of development, had very largely atrophied by the end of the fifteenth century. The governmental institutions of the two mother countries were transferred with great faithfulness to their colonies. Hence, the early colonial *cabildos* and *ayuntamientos* mirrored the corresponding municipal institutions in Spain and Portugal.

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[1] It is questionable whether, since the Vargas *coup* of November 1937, Brazil can still be said to possess a federal government.

[2] Ernest Hambloch (New York, 1936).

Enough of the memory of vigorous municipal life in an earlier century in the peninsula still persisted to make the early colonial municipalities almost the only seat of self-government in the vast new world which Spain and Portugal conquered. This modicum of political self-assertiveness quickly withered, however, and for some two centuries after about the middle of the sixteenth, municipal autonomy in Latin America was almost a fiction. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, because of complicated factors associated with the nascent independence movement, municipal consciousness and activity began to revive, although in the field of politics the movement was somewhat artificial.

Another aspect of municipal life and organization which must be taken into consideration in accounting for what exists in that area today, is the aboriginal elements which persisted. It has been remarked that the implanting of Hispanic civilization involved the imposing of institutions from above. This led in some instances to the overlaying of a solid and tenacious core of native institutions with a more or less superficial veneer of Spanish or Portuguese practice. Native literatures—where they existed—were rooted out because they were so obviously "profane" in contrast to the orthodox Catholic writings which were supported by the state. Native languages, however, were not rooted out. They persist today in many areas, and some of them—Guaraní, Quechuan, Mayan derivatives—came to be historically important. The Catholic religion, closely allied with the government as it was, could obviously tolerate no open rivals, but oftentimes the forms of the church were merely superimposed on the continuing paganism of the native.[3] The natives also strenuously resisted Spanish efforts to win them away from a subsistence economy to the sale-for-profit economy of the invaders.

NATIVE GOVERNMENTS PERSIST

So it was in the field of government. In certain areas, native populations of considerable density and great development had already established well organized political institutions. This was notably true in parts of Mexico, in Guatemala and other portions of Central America, in Peru and elsewhere in the Andean highlands. So far as "national" governments developed by the natives were concerned—the Inca empire in Peru, the Aztec federation in Mexico, perhaps the Chibcha organization in northern South America—the Spanish quickly wiped them out by means of the substitution of their own large-unit forms. The local units persisted, however, and even now, in direct proportion to the retention of native culture-patterns in one area or another, reflect a good deal of vitality. In the more primitive regions of highland Guatemala, for example, one sees almost a dual scheme of local government, the *intendente* being the agent of national authority while the *alcalde*

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[3] Cf. Anita Brenner, *Idols Behind Altars* (New York, 1929).

auxiliar is chosen by and represents a tenacious nativist democracy.

The native contributions to Latin American political institutions have thus been made chiefly on a horizontal plane and on the lower levels. The interaction of the native and alien elements in the evolution of modern municipal institutions has been most interesting and significant.

MUNICIPAL STUDY NEEDED

Several studies of the governmental structures and operation of particular Latin American countries have been made within recent years.[4] These, for the most part, have been vertical in character, i.e., studies of the governments of single countries. Relatively little emphasis has been placed on municipal government and politics, important as those aspects are. No adequate study of any Latin American political institutions along horizonal lines has yet appeared, although the importance of this, in view of our new consciousness of and mushrooming interest in Latin America as a whole, would seem to be obvious.

One badly needed study, for instance, would deal with organized municipal life and activity in Latin America. If limited in scope to the field of politics and government it might logically fall to the lot of political scientists. On the other hand, if such a survey were to view the municipal life of Latin America more broadly, there obviously would be the necessity for coöperation by the economist, the sociologist, the historian, the geographer, the ethnologist, and probably other social scientists. Even if the objective of the research were primarily to trace the lines of political activity, much use would need to be made of the cognate social sciences.

An investigation of the political life of the municipalities of Latin America might be made on the basis of a considerable expansion of some such outline as the following:

Historical. What—in detail—has been the course of the growth of Latin American urban life and its political machinery? After a general survey, a sufficient "breakdown" should be made to account for the various differences of development encountered in the several parts of Spanish America, Brazil, and Haiti.

1. What municipal political inheritances are historically traceable to the Spanish, Portuguese, and French?

2. What has been transmitted to the present generation from pre-Columbian native political life?

3. What royal instructions were issued to the *conquistadores* in regard to the founding of cities?

4. What was the relationship of Latin American municipalities to the governments of the mother countries during the colonial period?

5. Careful study of various *Actas de Cabildos* is needed.

Ethnic. What population factors contribute to the present political life and governmental organization of Latin American cities? The supposition that particular racial groups have a "genius" for political activity should be examined with regard to Latin America and either substantiated or refuted.

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[4] Especially noteworthy in this respect is the series of volumes published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, four of which have been issued to date: Leo S. Rowe, *The Federal System of the Argentine Republic* (Washington, 1921); Herman G. James, *The Constitutional System of Brazil* (Washington, 1923); Graham H. Stuart, *The Governmental System of Peru* (Washington, 1925); and N. Andrew N. Cleven, *The Political Organization of Bolivia* (Washington, 1940).

1. How does the urban ethnic composition of various parts of Latin America differ from the rural composition of the same countries, if at all, and how does this affect the problem of government? What peculiar racial problems confront municipalities?

2. Are particular types of political life and governmental institutions "naturally" suited to specific racial combinations?

Geographic. How have geographical factors impinged on municipal political developments?

1. What has been the relationship of waterways, land resources, altitude, rainfall, and other climatic factors?

2. What geographical factors have contributed to the founding and growth of particular cities, especially those in the tropics in contrast to those in mid latitudes?

Economic. How are political institutions conditioned by economic aspects?

1. The problem of land utilization of tributary areas needs intensive study. How dependent is urban life and its governmental development on that factor?

2. What is the scheme of taxation and the basis of the tax structure of Latin American cities?

3. What sources of revenue other than taxation have been used and what have been their political purposes and consequences?

4. What has been the borrowing record of urban governments? What has borrowed money been used for?

Political. To what extent does a general pattern of governmental organization emerge for Latin American cities, and where (and why) do differences appear?

1. How politically conscious are the urban inhabitants of Latin America? What is the discernible trend, if any, in that regard.

   a. What municipal suffrage qualifications prevail and how are they changing, if at all?

2. What forms of party organization and activity characterize Latin American cities? Is there anything distinctive about this in contrast to such phenomena for the respective countries as a whole?

   a. To what extent is municipal politics—and administration—dominated by *personalismo* (i.e., "bossism")?

3. What political and administrative subdivisions of cities are there? What examples of functional devolution?

4. What functions, strictly and quasi-governmental, have the municipalities undertaken?

   a. What has been done, for example, in regard to municipal ownership and operation of utilities?

   b. How have education and other cultural activities been handled and what has been the relationship at such points between municipal and national governments?

(Continued on Page 103)

The "Open Back Door" —A Case Study

Experience in Michigan indicates that this provision works unmerited hardship on public employees and increases costs to taxpayers.

By **EDWARD H. LITCHFIELD**
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SINCE America has spent the last decade in earnest consideration of problems of economic security for the average man, it is not peculiar that public employee organizations should today be questioning the reasonableness of the "open back door" device.

The issue has probably been most bitterly disputed in areas of alternating party control where the provision has proved a convenient method of removing from the public service persons whose known party affiliations conflicted with those of the victorious party. Again, it would appear to have been a particularly important issue in those agencies where differences in fundamental social philosophies exist, such as unemployment compensation commissions, departments of labor, and even in tax departments.

In this latter respect the open back door controversy but reraises in specific form Laski's contention that civil service employees too frequently represent social and economic classes antagonistic to those in control of the government and, therefore, tend to undermine the program which the government has been elected to carry out.[1]

Among other points there is implied in his contention the suggestion that there should be considerable ease in removing such employees and in replacing them with others whose social and economic philosophies are not so removed from those of the government in power as to make it impossible for them to coöperate with the new administration.

In contrast with this is the employee demand for job security whatever the broad consequences of the policy.

In so far as the open back door issue is raised in these broad terms posited by Laski, the controversy moves beyond the question of employee security versus partisan freedom in appointment and removal into the larger field of employee security versus the satisfactory implementation of broad programs of social reform or retrenchment. The issue thus restated removes the question from the psychological confines of "merit" versus "patronage" or good versus evil, and permits a discussion of the question on its merits.

This paper does not pretend to discuss the whole issue. It attempts no more than a presentation of a case study showing the actual treatment of employee groups by the open back door device. It would seem to be patently true that the contention of employee-injustice cannot be satisfactorily evaluated in terms of the opposing view of greater administrative efficiency until such facts are available.

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[1] H. J. Laski, "The British Civil Service," *Yale Review,* Winter 1937; "The Colonial Civil Service," *Political Quarterly,* October 1938; "Bureaucracy," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* vol. 3, 70-73.

Michigan instituted civil service in 1937. Contained in the bill proposed by the Governor at the suggestion of a study commission,[2] and passed by the legislature, was a wide open back door.[3]

"FOR GOOD OF THE SERVICE"

Briefly, the dismissal procedure which was provided for and which has been employed ever since is as follows: the department head may dismiss an employee "whenever he considers the good of the service to be served thereby";[3] notice of the intended dismissal must be filed with the personnel director who in turn must make "such investigations of the circumstances surrounding the dismissal and the fairness thereof as he may consider desirable and shall, not later than ten days after submission of the notice of dismissal, report to the commission his findings as to the justice of the dismissal and recommend action";[3] this may be followed by a written statement by the employee concerning the circumstances surrounding the dismissal; finally, after due consideration of the statement of the employee and the recommendation of the director, the commission may recommend to the appointing authority the rescinding or at least the modification of his original action. In the event that the appointing authority proved unwilling to take either of these steps, provision was made by the commission for placing the name of the discharged employee on a reëmployment register for purposes of subsequent certification.[4]

The philosophy of this device is clear. Designed to answer the charge that civil service "breeds loafers," it holds that adequate protection is provided the state if the new employee is selected by merit procedures and that satisfactory protection is afforded the worker if, after an unwarranted dismissal, his name is placed upon a reëmployment register.

The question raised here is as to the sufficiency of the latter protection. The period selected in which to test this proposition began May 1, 1939, and terminated January 31, 1940. It was a period in which a Republican administration was installing itself in place of a Democratic administration, a new civil service was replacing the old one, and a time during which the open back door was constantly employed.

During this period there were 622 dismissals from the classified service alone amounting to approximately 7.6 per cent of the total classified service.[5]

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[2] Report of Michigan Civil Service Study Commission, (Lansing, 1936) sec. XVII, pp. 72-74.

[3] Act no. 346 of the Public Acts of Michigan of 1937, sec. 17.

[4] Rules of Michigan State Civil Service Commission, 1938, nos. 13 and 23.

[5] William E. Mosher and J. Donald Kingsley, *Public Personnel Administration,* (New York, 1936) p. 341, report an average of but .9 per cent of the classified employees dismissed in nine representative jurisdictions in the year 1932 in which there were an unusually large number of new administrations. The Michigan

For one reason or another the commission considered but 220 of these dismissals.[6] After hearing them the commission held that ninety-three were for the "good of the service" but that 127 of them were definitely unjustified.

Three questions are raised by these data. First, were the commission's findings impartially reached? This must probably be answered in the affirmative for not only did the commission follow the recommendations of a clearly non-political director in all but one instance, but the dismissed employees belonged to a party which had representation on the commission equal to that of the party responsible for the removals.

NO REVERSALS

The second question to which the data give rise concerns the number of instances in which the decision which was reversed by the commission was subsequently modified by the appointing authority. The answer is that among the 127 cases of reversal there was not a single revision of a previous decision by any of the appointing authorities involved. For all practical purposes, therefore, the review of the case by the commission served no other purpose than to determine whether or not the dismissed employee's name should be placed upon the reëmployment register. In other words, the answer to this second question does no more than concentrate attention upon the effectiveness of the reëmployment register device as a protection against arbitrary discharge.

The third question presented is in regard to the disposition of the 127 employees who were unjustifiably dismissed, who were not taken back by their supervisors after the commission's reversing recommendation, and whose names were placed upon the reëmployment register.

These dispositions are contained in the following table:

1. Employees suspended from reëmployment register for failure to respond to communications from the Civil Service Department	8
2. Service rating which placed employee so low on register as to make appointment highly improbable[7]	7
3. Class subsequently unclassified with consequent destruction of reëmployment registers for the group	6
4. Reappointed	9
5. Number refusing reappointment	5
6. Number never certified from reëmployment registers	54
7. Number certified but never reappointed	16
8. Number never reappointed for miscellaneous reasons outside their control	10
9. Dismissal too recent to be indicative	12
Total	127

Analysis of this table leads to the following specific conclusions:

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percentage is therefore between eight and nine times as great as the average.

[6] For the most part this was due to the fact that the persons dismissed frankly admitted having participated in political affairs to a greater extent than was permitted under the statute and hence raised no official protest when dismissed.

[7] The names on the reëmployment register are arranged in order of their last service rating. In some instances these were quite low. But since the ratings were those of the supervisors of the previous administration it could not be charged that they were prompted by the same motives as dictated the dismissals themselves.

1. In 15 or 11.8 per cent of the cases (groups 1 and 2 above) the employees had only themselves to blame for their failure to be offered reappointment;
2. In 6 or 4.7 per cent of the cases (group 3) the explanation is found in changes in the framework within which the whole program was carried on and hence outside the control of the specific device examined here;
3. In 14 or 11 per cent of the cases (groups 4 and 5) the reappointment device worked satisfactorily and thus modified the rigidity of the dismissal procedure;
4. In 80 or 63 per cent of the cases (groups 6, 7, and 8) reappointment was never realized for reasons beyond the control of the employee and without regard for over-all changes in the whole system;
5. Finally, there were 12 cases or 9.5 per cent (group 9) in which no conclusions may be drawn.

In other words, while in 22.8 per cent of the cases the reappointment device either worked satisfactorily or the employee had only himself to blame for its failure to do so, in 63 per cent the system by reason of its own intrinsic weaknesses failed to offer the employee any real security against his unjustified dismissal. Almost two-thirds of those unjustifiably dismissed have never had an opportunity to return to work despite their apparent willingness to do so.

If the percentage of these cases were relatively small, the student of government, as distinct from the union official, might be willing to overlook them in view of the advantages which probably result from the flexibility of the dismissal power in the hands of the appointing authority. A 63 per cent injustice, however, would appear to be higher than those advantages would warrant. The conclusion seems inescapable: the open back door procedure in this jurisdiction has not been satisfactorily mitigated by the process of placing the names of the unjustifiably dismissed employees on reëmployment registers for future certification.

LOW INCOME GROUPS AFFECTED

Additional specific conclusions may be obtained by distributing the cases into the several general class levels. When thus organized according to the rank from which the employees were removed, the data show that 107 of the total, or 84.2 per cent, fell into the compensation levels between $900 and $1,920. In other words, almost all dismissals fell into the lower income groups which, with their then lack of union organization, were the least articulate in their protestations against arbitrary procedures.

Again, it is instructive to point out that four agencies were responsible for 72, or 57 per cent, of the total number of dismissals. One agency alone dismissed 30.9 per cent of the group. The fact that one agency could dismiss so many employees without justification and without the least hindrance is indication of the extent to which the open back door may be abused. In this instance not one of the thirty-nine persons dismissed in this department was ever rehired from the list upon which his name was placed. Surely from the employee's point of view this is the open back door in its least satisfactory form.

In short, a review of the dismissal statistics covering this nine-month period indicates that, while better than the 25 per cent turnover under the old patronage system, the existence of the open back door provision nevertheless makes the government of the jurisdiction one of the least satisfactory employers in the area. Promoting the concept of job security, as it does for private employers, its practices seem the more difficult to justify.

In view of this discrepancy between precept and practice, it is certainly not surprising to find pronounced employee reaction against the government. Some indication of the extent of this reaction may be seen from the fact that during approximately this same period 1,138 out of a total of 16,666 state employees or 6.8 per cent resigned from the state service. This was a higher rate of turnover due to resignations than was reported by Mosher and Kingsley in eight out of ten jurisdictions during the years 1931-3,[8] though altered economic conditions in the period since 1933 may partially account for this variation.

Almost one third of the people resigning during this period specified the uncertainty of their jobs as the principal reason for their departure. While they were unquestionably influenced by other aspects of uncertainty in the system as it then existed in this jurisdiction, it must also be clear that the arbitrariness of the open back door was a factor which contributed to the general result.

Calculated in terms of the use of the tax dollar, the open back door would seem unwise because of the considerable additional turnover cost which it creates both directly through dismissals and indirectly through the resignations which it encourages. When the number of these resignations (1,138) is added to the dismissals already enumerated (622) a total of 1,760 employees may be seen to have been separated from the service either directly or indirectly as a result principally of the open back door.

TURNOVER INCREASES COSTS

Calculated in terms of the same general formula employed by the Michigan Civil Service Study Commission[9] this unnecessary turnover cost the state approximately \$679,332.[10] While neither the formula nor the product pretends to be precise they both give an approximate idea of the cost involved.

In short, the facts pertaining to this particular jurisdiction suggest two conclusions regarding the open back door: (1) it works considerable injustice upon the individual employee; (2) by reason of the unnecessary turnover which it creates it increases personal service costs. Judged from either point of view—employee or taxpayer—there appears to be need for the revision of the system in this jurisdiction. Finally, if the conclusions set forth in this case study

(Continued on Page 132)

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[8] Mosher and Kingsley, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[9] Report of Michigan Civil Service Study Commission, p. 43.

[10] The formula is: total payroll costs multiplied by the percentage of turnover (10.6%) multiplied by 25% (the annual cost of training a new employee).

The First Hundred Years

Despite more than a century of consolidation Boston and Suffolk County are still wrestling with vexatious problems of courts and taxation.

By **RICHARD A. ATKINS**
Boston Municipal Research Bureau

WHILE speaking of county government in large urban centers, Professor Paul Studenski has said, "The presence of a metropolitan city within the political boundaries of a county raises serious problems relating to duplication of work and conflicts of authority arising from the co-existence of two conspicuous units of local government."

Such co-existence and related problems were very much on the minds of the people of Boston when they gathered at Faneuil Hall in October 1821. Convinced that their 200-year-old town meeting had outgrown its usefulness, they instructed a committee whose membership included Daniel Webster to draft a plan for city government. Among the practical necessities behind the overturn was Suffolk County, which then consisted of Boston and its neighbor Chelsea—a town sprawled across the salt marshes to the north. Whereas the immediate point at issue was civil administration by judges, the real trouble was the "presence of a metropolitan city within the political boundaries of a county."

In outline the solution was simple and rigorous. The new city and the old county were partially consolidated by depriving the judges of their civil powers and by entrusting general county administration to the mayor and aldermen of Boston. Chelsea was quieted by perpetually exempting the town from payment of county taxes. A decade later, in 1831, Chelsea was persuaded to relinquish all title to county property. It reserved the right to withdraw from Suffolk, but for reasons which will become apparent neither Chelsea nor its offsprings (Revere and Winthrop) ever elected to dissociate themselves from an increasingly profitable settlement.

After a hundred years the basic features of the consolidation are in effect. Suffolk County today is little more than a judicial district and an area for public records and criminal prosecution. Like other Massachusetts counties, it serves as a device for local distribution of judicial costs.

In dealing with a merger of relative antiquity, it is impossible to be certain as to what, precisely, has been consolidated. For guidance one must look at other Massachusetts counties. First of all there is no board of county commissioners or county treasurer in Boston. The mayor performs the executive functions of such a board and the city treasurer is ex officio county treasurer. The city council exercises the legislative powers of county commissioners—infrequently, to be sure, but often enough to impress the members with their added dignity.

Boston's equivalent of a county sanatorium is a division of the city hospital. City pavements leave no room for county aid to agriculture or county agricultural schools. Boston abandoned its counterpart of the county truancy schools. The mysterious and rather circumscribed highway authority of the county commissioners is buried deep in various city departments. Similarly the county house of correction and the power to parole prisoners committed there are under the penal institutions department, a city agency in everything except name. Seven outlying district courthouses in Boston are likewise maintained by a division of the public buildings department of the city.

County payments and collections affecting Boston clear through city finance departments. The county budget does not go to the legislature, as is the Massachusetts practice, but rather is prepared by the city budget department, presented by the mayor, and passed by the city council. There is, of course, no separate county tax. Suffolk County requirements are merely one of numerous items of expense entering into Boston's tax levy. County debt is simply city indebtedness incurred for county structures, and it is governed by the same legal restrictions.

Inasmuch as virtually all Suffolk County departments are agents of the commonwealth, performing services which Boston as a municipality cannot furnish itself, there is little duplication of effort between city and county. District courthouses are maintained by the city; a special commission consisting of the sheriff and one appointee each of the governor and the supreme court is in charge of the central courthouse. Since the commonwealth helped build and now contributes toward maintenance of a huge PWA addition where numerous statewide activities are housed, it demanded a voice in courthouse operation. Mention has been made of city control of the house of correction; the county jail (which happens to be both a penal institution and a place of temporary detention) is under the sheriff's custody.

There is a parallel between the work of the city clerk, who records chattel mortgages, wage liens, and the like, and the county register of deeds. Police prosecute cases in the lower courts, and the district attorney in the superior criminal court. Work of the medical examiners is also allied to the police function.

No one could conceivably compute savings from the city-county amalgam, or finally judge its various benefits. Yet Boston may be grateful that its citizens long ago refused to tolerate a full-fledged county government side by side with the city. There could be no thought of approaching county questions in Boston other than in terms of the city-county merger. What follows is a review of its weak points and not a challenge to the union.

REPRESENTATION WITHOUT TAXATION

Chelsea, Revere, and Winthrop have been thorns in Boston's side as long as anyone can remember. A century ago county population and property valuations outside Boston were infinitesimal. Over the years, however, the balance of the county has grown steadily. With a population now of 92,120, it accounts for 11 per cent of the county total and contains 7 per cent of valuations in Suffolk. As matters stand, Chelsea, Revere, and Winthrop are relieved of $220,000 in legitimate county taxes.

The straightforward answer would be to detach these three places and annex them to either Middlesex or Essex County. Unfortunately Chelsea and Revere are Democratic, while Essex County politics has a federalist tinge that goes back to the period when Fisher Ames and Timothy Pickering made the north shore towns a breeding ground for plots of the Essex Junto. Middlesex County is one of the largest Republican strongholds in the country.

To fill a legal vacuum the common council is privileged to exercise the authority of county commissioners in Chelsea. Formerly the Middlesex commissioners stepped outside their own domain to act in a similar capacity for Revere and Winthrop. In return the voters of these two Suffolk County municipalities participated in the selection of Middlesex commissioners. Although all such extraterritorial jurisdiction added up to nothing, its practical importance became apparent in 1934, when results in Revere and Winthrop were enough to swing a Middlesex election for county commissioner out of its accustomed orbit.

After this vivid object lesson the legislature addressed itself seriously to Suffolk County. Its first impulse was to permit the Middlesex commissioners to act on behalf of Winthrop but not Revere—a distinction which the Democratic governor was unable to appreciate. In 1939 it decided to let the selectmen of Winthrop have the authority of county commissioners for what it was worth and to elevate the Revere council to the status of their Chelsea brethren. Having achieved its substantial ends, the legislature resumed its normal habit of regarding Suffolk County changes with indifference.

Meanwhile Boston goes on paying county bills. These take such curious forms as support for families of prisoners in the house of correction from Chelsea, Revere, and Winthrop. Possibly the most irritating payment occurred in 1938, when Boston was obliged to meet the expense of a special investigation of municipal turpitude in Revere.

EXCLUDED MATTER

While Chelsea, Revere, and Winthrop are the obviously aberrant feature of Suffolk County, other phases of the city-county merger will also be of interest. One question naturally is: What agencies are not consolidated with the city government of Boston?

The briefest answer would be the courts. Agents of the commonwealth, they employ county personnel, use county structures, and charge most of their expense to the county, i.e., Boston. At the apex is the state supreme court, which rarely ventures outside Suffolk. Two courts of special jurisdiction are the land court, sitting in Suffolk for the entire commonwealth, and the probate court. In point of jurisdiction the more important trial court is the superior court, a state-wide agency organized on a county basis for civil and criminal business. Lower courts include the children's court and the Boston municipal court serving the in-town section of the city, and the eight outlying district courts—seven in Boston and one in Chelsea.

Independent officials elected by voters of the whole county include the clerks of the civil and criminal branches of the superior court, the register of probate, the register of deeds, and one of the supreme court clerks. The district attorney and the sheriff round out the group. The sheriff requires an added word of explanation, for he is chief court officer in the supreme and superior courts as well as jailer and member of the county courthouse commission. What relation these officials bear to the city is best indicated by an opinion of the supreme court to the effect that the Suffolk sheriff is "not an officer of the city of Boston and is not subject to the supervision and control of the mayor."

Another independent agency is composed of the index commissioners, an ad hoc board appointed by the superior court to consolidate indexes in the registry of deeds. The governor names two medical examiners and their associates, who, as everyone will understand, are part of the Massachusetts answer to the elective coroner.

A CONTENTIOUS COUNTY

State and local costs of the courts in Suffolk are some $3,400,000 a year, of which Boston pays about $2,500,000. While the city's share of supreme court expense appears disproportionate, its real concern arises from the fact that it is by all odds the center of judicial business in Massachusetts. Approximately half the trial court entries are in Suffolk County, which has only one-fifth the state population.

Are Suffolk residents contentious? As the commercial core of a wide area, perhaps Boston unavoidably attracts litigation—its heavy court expense merely illustrates the accumulation of governmental requirements at the hub of a metropolitan region. On the other hand, there has always been a feeling that the laws of venue unduly penalized Boston, although the judicial council, after a statistical sampling, rejected the proposition without altogether refuting it.

In any event, Boston is powerless to affect the situation. Not only are the courts a department of state government, they are also—with the legislative and executive—one of the three great divisions of popular authority. The Massachusetts constitution contains a classic statement of the separation of powers. Issues which reach the nub of judicial expense are not a local affair. Only the legislature can consolidate courts, eliminate sessions, or abolish statutory positions.

SOURCES OF ABUSE

Much has been said about mixing administration and politics. In Boston the debate—which often moves on a theoretical plane—has come down to earth. An elective clerk of court, whose duties were as purely ministerial as those of a registrar of vital statistics, was convicted a short time ago of extorting employee contributions. At present his case is being appealed. Recently a bar association inquiry pointed to shocking abuses by the sheriff. The then incumbent resigned under fire and fled from the city. In each instance order was restored by unexceptionable interim appointments.

It seems clear that the county system lends itself to abuse. Aside from the district attorney, elective offices are dimly understood. At the same time they are eagerly sought, and the exertion necessary to win a countywide job makes it unlikely that anyone will enter office free of obligation. Suffolk County is lopsided in its politics; nomination in the Democratic primary is equivalent to election. With a multiplicity of candidates, the element of chance figures too strongly in the selection of officials who must be competent administrators and well acquainted with the law. The court clerk now awaiting the outcome of an appeal was one of fourteen contestants in a primary where 10 per cent of the registered vote of the county was enough to put him in office.

Possibly the saving grace in this absurd scheme is the regularity with which incumbents are returned. Once a county officeholder has established himself without offending public sensibility he is often as not re-elected to his post for a generation. One might add that he is assisted by opportunities for building a personal organization—a most important measure of political strength in Boston.

LOCAL CONTROL OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Review of experience elsewhere suggests that complete city-county merger is exceedingly complicated. Soon or late the consolidation process encounters a variety of state judicial and independent elective officers who for constitutional or other reasons cannot be brought under local control. Consequently, difficulties arise when the local party to the merger attempts to exercise administrative supervision over the unalloyed residue. A few examples will illustrate the point.

Boston administers a personnel classification plan and salary schedule for Suffolk County employees. Coupled with the budget power, they should give the city rather full control of the number and compensation of county personnel. Exemptions, however, are numerous and efforts to create statutory positions still continue. After meeting city opposition to a salary increase for probation officers, the municipal court judges secured a special law to make doubly certain that Boston would have no voice regarding pay for such employment. As a sample of how lightly the city is held in some circles, the bailiffs of the superior court had themselves exempted from the compensation schedule in 1938. Already as well paid as police lieutenants or fire captains, they apparently hoped for better things by having the judges fix their salaries.

Five-sixths of the county employees are outside the Massachusetts civil service as applied to Boston. Appointing authorities are so numerous that each county department is a source of personal and political patronage. How much value is placed on appointments was evident when a lower court judge in Suffolk locked in open controversy with his court clerk over the selection of an underling.

Doubt hangs over the city's budget power. It has had little success in enforcing its "no-hire and no-fire" policy among county departments. An attempt to block a lower court appointment brought a lawsuit down on the head of the budget commissioner.

Plainly Boston cannot obstruct the operation of the courts and it cannot refuse funds for purposes designated by the legislature. Changes in county budget requests are suggested and obtained; but in the absence of clear-cut authority, personal considerations weigh heavily. On the reverse side, the same type of problem comes up with respect to county payments. For a number of years Boston has been developing a system of pre-audit control. Through a working formula it has been applied to county departments. Nevertheless, the statutes are not clear as to whether the courts or the city auditor has the right of way in event of a dispute.

Voluntary action by the present sheriff in routing his jail purchases through the city removed a controversial issue from the county scene. Attention is still devoted to the office supply and printing bill of the county, not because the amount is large but rather because the municipal printing department gets only a fraction of the business. Seven years ago the city council conceived a novel, if ill-founded, idea for compelling use of the city printer; it simply withheld the office supply item in the superior court and registry offices. A stir naturally followed. Funds were provided before a showdown, but the judicial council was prompted to make a sharp comment about city "domination" of the courts.

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

Through the exercise of a little imagination it is possible to see how Suffolk County could be completely absorbed between the state and Boston. Practicalities are not so simple. The clerks of court, the register of probate, and the sheriff have a constitutional standing. Some of the obstacles to revision of county boundaries have been touched upon. County officials have never shown enthusiasm for civil service and are regularly mindful of their independence. Individuals with a county connection must be reckoned with in the legislative corridors.

Boston, nevertheless, cannot afford to let its county case go by default. It should insist, if need be, on a county confined to city limits until the legislature agrees out of sheer boredom. Recent courthouse disclosures have removed the last trace of justification for spoils in the county departments. While a tedious prospect, a start should be made to remove administrative posts from politics. Wider assumption of court costs by the commonwealth would be a logical step in the process of unifying the state judiciary and disposing of the clash of authority entailed by local control of state government.

The judicial council, the bar association, and the administrative committees of the judges are introducing improvements at a rate calculated to accommodate legal institutions. If laymen went to greater lengths to understand the aims and methods of judicial reform, the pace might be quickened and the burden of the courts would rest more lightly on the community. Thus the problems—many of them happily eliminated—arising from the "co-existence of two conspicuous units of local government" in Boston might be solved.

Canadian Cities Face Financial Dilemma

Superficial prosperity brought by war boom has temporarily aided cities; but financial reform is more urgent now than in the past.

By **LAWRENCE JACK**
Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada

THE war boom has had the effect of superficially helping out municipal finances in Canada. Even in the prairie provinces, where the wheat surplus has achieved an ominous size, the federal government has guaranteed a fairly decent minimum price for wheat and thus has maintained farm income fairly well.

Unemployment relief charges have been greatly reduced, but this has not been evenly distributed. Quebec, for instance, because of its high concentration of unskilled workers, now has 50 per cent of the total unemployed people in Canada as opposed to its normal 35 per cent.

In general, however, municipal expenditures have tended to fall off, tax collections are much better than at any time in the last ten years, a great deal of property formerly seized for tax arrears is now being liquidated, industrial construction is booming, and even home building is on the up grade.

Since municipalities are being discouraged from borrowing during the war emergency and since, with the exception of some of the larger centers, most borrowing has been done on a serial basis, the municipal debt situation should be vastly improved by the end of the war. Certainly there should be very few defaults because of refunding difficulties. There is little likelihood that the federal government will invade any municipal tax fields, although it may encroach on provincial tax sources.

This improvement, however, is bound to be only temporary if past history is likely to be repeated in any degree. There is almost certainly going to be a slump in employment after the war and before transition to a peace-time economy can once more be made.

Municipalities will, therefore, be faced again with the fundamental problems with which the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations sought to grapple. And unless some thorough overhaul can be made of the present system of passing the buck on unemployment relief to municipalities a great deal of trouble lies ahead for Canada's local governments. Thus, although the commission's recommendations may not seem so vitally pressing in view of present abnormal circumstances, the future is so loaded with dynamite that the need for reform is probably more urgent now than in the past.

A conference between the federal and all provincial administrations, convened on January 14, 1941, to consider the commission's report, collapsed after only two days' debate under the uncompromising attacks delivered by the Premiers of Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia. These three provinces enjoy the highest per capita incomes in Canada so their objections were directed primarily against dominion subsidies to the poorer provinces and loss of existing taxing powers. An added complication was the violent personal feud between the federal government leader and Ontario's Premier, even though both are members of the Liberal party.

This fiasco, however, is looked upon as only the first round in the struggle to implement the commission's report and cannot be taken as indicating total failure. It did indicate that full agreement on the report will be a long time coming in spite of the pressing need for quick action on its recommendations.

CITIES CHIEF SUFFERERS

It is notorious that in the last decade among all governmental units municipalities and municipal credit and finance were the chief sufferers from depression. In the Canadian federal system this was bound to be the case because the main depression problem—unemployment relief—was shifted as far as possible to municipalities, but in the scramble for tax revenues local governments were bound to come a poor third to federal and provincial claims.

Municipal difficulties, however, were only one aspect of the tangled mess that the Canadian federal financial system had gotten into after more than sixty years of operation. The Royal Commission, therefore, was set up in the fall of 1938 to study the problem of dominion-provincial relations and to develop a long-term solution in this sphere of federal finance. The scope of the commission's inquiry was limited because municipal activities are directly under provincial control, and Canada has never developed the type of federal-municipal relationship which has come into being in the United States, and which has developed so rapidly through activities of PWA and other agencies.

In their recommendations, therefore, the commission refrained from making specific suggestions for municipal reform except where the problem fell within the scope of dominion-provincial relations. Its guiding idea was so to relieve provincial finances that the way would be open to municipal reform through provincial action. But even with this limited approach it was inevitable that some of the commission's recommendations would be of direct benefit to municipalities if they were to have any validity at all in the wider field of federal finance.

In any event, municipal problems were recognized and considered on their merits because the commission was concerned with making Canadian federalism work better and it fully realized that sound local government is the basis of an efficient federal democracy. Since municipal authorities went to great pains to present their problems to the commission, parts of the official testimony presented a good picture of municipal difficulties in all Canada's diverse economic regions. This good work was supported by research done by the commission's staff.

The essentials of the commission's recommendations are easy enough to grasp although the detailed workings of the scheme are too complicated to be summarized here. First of all the federal government would take over responsibility for all unemployment relief. In Canada relief is constitutionally a municipal responsibility and throughout the depression, even though municipalities were patently unable to carry the load, the ultimate legal interpretation was strictly pressed and both federal and provincial governments consistently passed the buck to the hard-pressed cities.

LOANS FOR RELIEF

As a matter of fact, the federal government paid about 40 per cent of unemployment relief costs through the medium of emergency loans to the provinces (which were supposed to meet a portion of the charges) and municipalities paid only about 17 per cent of the total. In theory these federal grants were only loans, although in actuality most of them had to be written off. The difficulty lay, however, in the fact that a municipality would have to show absolute need for even such indirect aid before it could be had and this, of course, led to complete exhaustion of normal municipal resources before such a claim could be made or entertained.

The second point was that the federal government would take over all provincial (but not municipal) deadweight debt. An interesting variation had to be made, however, in the case of Quebec, where provincial debt is an extremely small proportion of combined municipal plus provincial debt because so many governmental functions have been made municipal responsibilities, whereas elsewhere the provinces assume these burdens. In Quebec, then, the federal government would take over 40 per cent of the total of provincial plus municipal debt, thereby directly relieving local governments of some of their swollen debt burden.

The third recommendation was that the federal government should administer a complicated system of direct subsidies to the provinces. Rather than distributing money to the provinces on the present indefensible per capita basis the federal government, on the advice of a projected permanent National Grants Commission, would make the new subsidies on the basis of proven need. In this manner provincial budgets would be placed in balance because the grants would be irreducible and they might be enlarged in case of future need. The guiding principle here was that poor provinces should be enabled to improve the quality of services rendered to at least the dominion average without having to resort to excessive taxation or transference of responsibilities to local governments.

In return for these very considerable concessions the provinces would be required to release to the federal government their rights to levy personal income, corporation, and inheritance taxes. This would directly affect only a limited number of communities which at present levy their own private income taxes. A less specific recommendation, however, would cut more heavily into municipal revenues because the commission took pains to point out that the federal government should discourage direct taxation which bore heavily and inequitably on business costs or consumers. It was thus their intention that municipal sales taxes, discriminatory chain store taxation, and other forms of taxes on business other than real estate levies, should ultimately be surrendered.

The result of these recommendations, therefore, would tend ultimately to reduce municipal revenues in some instances. The only really important case, however, would be the city of Montreal, where there is both an income and a sales tax, but the combination of relief from unemployment expenditures and reduction of debt load would much more than outweigh any loss arising from removal of these income sources.

The gain to municipalities in the various provinces has been worked out by the commission on the basis of estimating average unemployment relief outlays over the past few years and correcting this total for loss of municipal income taxes or provincial subsidies as shown in the following table:

Prince Edward Island	$ 64,000
Nova Scotia	194,000
New Brunswick	—40,000[1]
Quebec	12,967,000[2]
Ontario	2,388,000
Manitoba	2,457,000
Saskatchewan	500,000
Alberta	1,092,000
British Columbia	760,000

It was pointed out by the commission that direct relief afforded to municipalities by its recommendations would probably enable some reduction of real estate taxation. Canadian municipal revenues have averaged about 30 per cent of all government income in peace time and 80 per cent of this amount was derived from real estate taxation. In too many instances this has been so high as to be virtually confiscatory and has been blamed for the lag in construction when other business improved. However, direct gains to municipalities when relieved of responsibility for unemployment relief has been estimated at 8 per cent of all municipal real estate taxation. This relief would be felt chiefly in the most depressed areas, of course, but it would be measurable everywhere.

The remainder of the commission's recommendations with regard to municipalities have to do with application of what they considered to be the best theories and practices of municipal government to the Canadian situation. None of them arises immediately out of the main plan but they are useful and necessary adjuncts to the direct relief to municipal finances which would arise out of the master plan. Most of the recommendations have no novelty for municipal administrators but they may be of some interest because they are the considered opinions of men who were concerned to find the most efficient way of introducing sanity into the muddle developed by the Canadian federal system of finance. Furthermore, the commission was not afraid to recommend constitutional changes which would provide the means of coercing any recalcitrant municipalities.

To begin with, the commission felt that a new alignment of municipal boundaries was long overdue so that the costs of carrying out necessary governmental functions would correspond with ability to pay for them more closely than at present. The commission felt most strongly on this score in the cases of Canada's few metropolitan areas and purely agricultural country districts in general. In the former case the problem of bankrupt working-class dormitory suburbs was felt to be most urgent, although it was recognized that federal assumption of unemployment relief costs would greatly ease the situation as it exists at present.

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[1] Net loss due to surrender of St. John City income tax.

[2] Including estimated relief arising from removal of a portion of municipal debt charges.

POOLING RESOURCES

In the case of rural communities the need for pooling resources to maintain adequate road and educational facilities was uppermost in the commissioners' minds. In fact, it is not too much to say that the commission was in favor of pooling municipal resources and equalizing municipal services wherever it would be feasible to do so. It was recognized that this would be one of the hardest things to accomplish on a voluntary basis, especially in metropolitan areas where high-income residential districts, at present under autonomous governments, would bitterly resent being included with other areas of the city. As will be seen later, however, the commission contemplated giving the provinces a very big stick to deal with such cases.

The commission tried to formulate a rule to introduce somewhat greater equity into real estate taxation. It recognized the validity of widespread claims to the effect that the real property tax burden was generally too high, that it varied enormously in relation to income from property, that it sometimes amounted to a forced and inequitable capital levy, and that it had caused widespread abandonment and destruction of property in the last decade.

The recommendation which was made, therefore, proposed that, while property should be taxed at least enough to cover costs of services rendered to it, a rebate should be allowed on the tax applying to improvements (not to land) if it could be proved that the property in question had not been rented for, say, six to nine months in the current tax year.

It was recognized that this would make for unstable revenues under certain circumstances, but the only time when this would be important would be during a depression when revenues would have only a superficial aspect of stability in any event and would be bolstered by uncollectable tax arrears. And in such cases it was felt to be grossly inequitable to confiscate the property of those who have been the chief sufferers from adverse rental conditions. Perhaps this suggestion amounted to counsel of perfection, but it at least showed a keen appreciation of the disabilities under which real estate owners must operate.

A very welcome recommendation from the municipal point of view dealt with the taxable status of property owned and operated by a superior government, whether provincial or federal. It was strongly urged that if such property is used for commercial purposes (such as electric power plants and distribution facilities or government liquor stores) it should be taxed at the going rate for ordinary private commercial property. A harder case arises when this type of property is non-commercial, as for example military establishments. It was felt that in this case a municipality should be enabled to levy taxes that would at least cover the costs of services rendered. It was recognized that it would be most difficult to lay down any general rules, however, for the presence of such an institution may greatly benefit adjoining property and may even be the chief justification for a municipality's existence. In either of such cases excessive taxation should not be permitted.

Finally, it was recommended that constitutional amendments should allow provinces to exercise sweeping powers over municipal finance. This would extend much further than existing controls over municipal auditing, accounting, tax rates, and debt incurrence to embrace specific power to legislate in respect of municipal debt, whether or not the municipality concerned should be solvent at the time. This would be important when and if metropolitan areas should be consolidated, for then municipal units with very different credit ratings would have to be handled on the same basis, and possibly arbitrarily.

As a matter of fact, provincial authorities have already established the right to intervene when a municipality is in default. The commission, however, felt that this power should be extended as outlined above. During the depression municipal defaults arose chiefly in working-class dormitory suburbs, one-industry towns, and rural and dependent urban units where the whole area had been hit by natural disaster. Defaults in the first class, however, were the most important and the most difficult to remedy under existing conditions, so that it was felt that imposed metropolitan amalgamations would be the only feasible solution. In that event the type of power proposed by the commission would be absolutely necessary if provincial authorities were to make the changes expeditiously.

It is obvious that the commission's report is only a partial solution for municipal financial difficulties; furthermore, it goes a long way towards centralization, and this is always unwelcome to many. The first was the inevitable result of the commission's sphere of reference; the second seems for better or worse to be the main trend of financial developments in all federal countries.

Some municipal authorities were disappointed that federal subsidies for education and health purposes were not recommended. It was pointed out, however, that education was so purely a local function—and in the case of Quebec, and to a growing extent other provinces, a matter for religious controversy—that the federal government should not attempt any form of control—and if it granted subsidies control would be bound to follow sooner or later.

It was also felt that the country was not as yet ready to receive any comprehensive proposal for centralizing responsibility for health services. As pointed out before, the commission felt that if provincial finances could be put on a sound basis municipalities would enjoy substantial benefits.

Federal assumption of unemployment relief and a portion of municipal debt in Quebec would give enough direct benefits to grant a breathing spell until provincial authorities could take up the pressing question of municipal reform on a rational basis.

(Continued on Page 103)

Researcher's Digest: February

Cooperation in the Golden West; Providence describes Rhode Island's government; how reports should be made to the citizens.

THERE are forty-five cities in the Los Angeles metropolitan area whose total population, including unincorporated sections, is over 2,700,000. The unique factor in what seems to be an average American metropolitan setup is this: all of these cities are not only within a single state, but also within a single county.

That fortunate circumstance plus, perhaps, some additional courage to innovate which may be filtered out of the California sunshine and rain, has put the Los Angeles metropolitan area in the forefront of the experiments in intergovernmental coöperation. The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** has distilled this coöperative experience and put it into a sixty-one page (mimeographed) pamphlet, *Intergovernmental Coöperation in the Los Angeles Area* (December 1940, price 50 cents).

It makes interesting reading. Cooperation, we learn, extends not only to the prosaic minutiae of public administration but also to the lending of policemen for the handling of traffic for the New Year's Day Rose Bowl football game, to the joint guarding of Douglas Aircraft, to the creation of coöperative machinery in the rather awesome expectation of "major disaster."

Every municipal function is discussed in this pamphlet, with apparently complete notation of the machinery of intergovernmental coöperation, as well as of its subject-matter. Thrown in, besides, are some types of governmental activity not strictly "coöperative," such as the assumption of the weights and measures function by the county of Los Angeles. The state comes into the picture, too, in such fields as personnel administration.

State Government in Capsules

Not to read through at a sitting, but to lay by on a convenient shelf and pick up for quick reference, is *Your State, A Description of the Organization and Operation of State Government in Rhode Island,* which the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has just published (December 1940, price 50 cents). Impetus for the project came from the recent reorganization of Rhode Island state government, and from the realization that the changing economic and governmental scene on the national level has had widespread effects upon state government. Each division within each state department gets a few paragraphs in this workmanlike publication, with a listing of duties, a brief description of the organization, and a line on the number of employees and the size of the appropriation.

Dayton Asks Better Reports

A blast on inadequate governmental reporting to citizens comes from the **Dayton Research Association** in *Facts* for January 6, 1941. What the bureau wants is: words for citizens in their own language, more and clearer statements on all aspects of governmental finance, omission of bragging, too much information rather than too little.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Finance

Build on a Pay-As-You-Go Basis. Ohio Institute, Columbus, *The Ohio Citizen,* January 7, 1941. 3 pp. mimeo.

Wayne County's Interest in State Grants-in-Aid. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., November 1940. 48 pp. mimeo.

Garbage Disposal

Curb-Collection of Refuse. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* December 24, 1940. 2 pp.

Governmental Research

Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Institute of Government at the University of Washington July 24, 25, 26, 1940. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Seattle, October 1, 1940. 87 pp.

Housing

Some Problems in Housing and Rehabilitation in Detroit. By E. S. Wengert. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., December 1940. 22 pp. mimeo.

Intergovernmental Cooperation

Intergovernmental Coöperation in the Los Angeles Area. By Ronald M. Ketcham. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles, December 1940. 61 pp. Fifty cents.

Reporting

Reports Are Not For the Purpose of Selling Public Administrations to Their Citizens. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* January 6, 1941. 3 pp. mimeo.

State Government

Your State—A description of the Organization and Operation of State Government in Rhode Island. Providence Governmental Research Bureau, December 1940. 68 pp. Fifty cents.

Taxation

The Business Tax in Canadian Municipalities. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, Toronto, *Canadian Taxation,* January 9, 1941. 3 pp.

OUR MUNICIPAL NEIGHBORS

(Continued from Page 84)

c. What is the record of public health work of the cities?

5. What—in detail—is the political and/or governmental relationship existing between cities and their respective national governments?

a. To what extent is national authority limited in the cities, and in what degree and ways do the national governments limit the natural governmental activity of the cities?

b. Precisely what is the status of municipal units in regard to the question of autonomy? In regard to the problem of territorial relationship to other units of government?

c. Where—and why, for how long, in what form—do we find a peculiar political organization for the national capital?

Interest in Latin America seems now at flood tide but there is no evidence that the crest has yet been reached. It would seem desirable, consequently, that every effort be made to encourage the scientific and sober study of various aspects of the Latin American scene.

CANADIAN CITIES

(Continued from Page 101)

Further, the commission seemed to feel that its survey had emphasized the most flagrant abuses and maladjustments and its recommendations had embodied some reasonably good guides for future remedial action.

It is evident, however, that Canada must struggle along with its creaky financial structure until the political situation has changed enough to provide a reasonable chance for considering reforms.

Contributors in Review

PROFESSIONAL observation of the Boston metropolitan scene during five years with the Boston Municipal Research Bureau, of which **Richard A. Atkins** (*The First Hundred Years*) is now assistant secretary, gives him ample background for the study which appears in this magazine. His more remote past includes a term as schoolmaster and advanced work at Harvard and Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

A PARTICULAR interest in Latin America lies behind much of the published work of **Russell H. Fitzgibbon** (*Our Municipal Neighbors to the South*), which includes an outline of Latin American history and a book on Cuba and the United States, 1900-1935, and many magazine articles. He has also published a compilation of William Allen White's editorials from the *Emporia Gazette* under the title *Forty Years on Main Street.* Since 1936 Dr. Fitzgibbon has been assistant professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles.

AN ANGLO-North American training in economics and law preceded the career of **Lawrence B. Jack** (*Canadian Cities Face Financial Dilemma*) as a professional economist with private and public organizations in Canada. At present an investment economist with the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, Mr. Jack worked for a time in the research department of the Bank of Canada and for over a year with the research division of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. He studied at the universities of British Columbia, California, and Oxford (a Rhodes scholar) and is now pursuing a Ph.D. at McGill.

THE Michigan merit system and **Edward H. Litchfield** (*The Open Back Door—A Case Study*) have been actively identified with one another. He has been executive assistant to the Michigan Civil Service Study Commission, then executive secretary of the Michigan Merit System Association. Now Dr. Litchfield is a member of the department of political science at Brown University.

THE structure of state legislatures continues to be of prime importance to **Charles W. Shull** (*Reapportionment: A Chronic Problem*), who teaches government at Wayne University (assistant professor). For the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research he wrote *American Experience with Unicameralism* and is now engaged upon a study of reapportionment and unicameralism in Michigan for the same sponsor. Dr. Shull admits also to an absorbing interest in bowling and he "dotes" on congressional investigations.

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Federal Administrative Procedures Safeguarded by Proposed Legislation

Committee presents bill with report to Congress

ATTORNEY-GENERAL Robert H. Jackson on January 24 presented to Congress the report of the Committee on Administrative Procedure appointed by his predecessor, former Attorney-General Frank Murphy, now Justice of the Supreme Court. The committee is composed of eleven lawyers, judges and scholars, headed by Dean G. Acheson, recently appointed Assistant Secretary of State and formerly Under-secretary of the Treasury. It has made a widespread study of the problem for nearly two years, has held numerous public hearings, and has issued twenty-seven monographs on the procedures and practices of those federal agencies which chiefly affect private interests.

The voluminous report was accompanied by a detailed bill embodying the committee's chief recommendations, which were largely concerned with separation of judicial and prosecutive functions within the various agencies. The committee disagreed with the proposals of the vetoed Logan-Walter bill[1] to extend the scope of court review. It found present provisions for such review to be adequate and held that the best assurance of fair and correct determinations is in the improvement of the early phases of administrative procedure and in the wise selection of personnel.

Provisions of the bill include:

Creation of a new Office of Federal Administrative Procedure, headed by three men, one appointed by the president and two by the courts, to review the procedures and practices of the various agencies, conduct a continuous study of their work, receive complaints from the public, and recommend improvements from time to time.

Establishment of relatively independent hearing commissioners within each agency, nominated by the agency but appointed for seven years by the OFAP, to hear and decide litigated disputes between the agencies and private citizens in cases where the agency heads do not hear them, with the right of appeal to the agency heads. No one presenting cases may have any part in deciding them.

Regularization of rules and regulations, with more participation by the public in making and considering them before final promulgation, and with more effective notice to all concerned.

Wider delegation of authority; facilitation of informal dealings between members of the public concerned and some responsible officer, especially in minor matters.

Declaratory or advance rulings by agencies, to be binding on the agency and the citizen and reviewable by the courts.

A minority statement by three committee members agreed substantially on the problems involved and the goal to be reached but called for a wider separation of the judicial function, and a code of legislative standards of fair procedure. Another member, a federal judge, made additional suggestions for further separation.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1941, p. 45.

State Officials Elected by Narrow Margins

Several unusually close results marked the November elections in certain states. The closest probably was in the case of Frank Marsh, Republican candidate for secretary of state in Nebraska; on December 19 the state canvassing board declared him elected by an eight-vote margin out of half a million ballots.

In Kansas the Republican candidate for governor, Payne Ratner, was inaugurated on January 13, although possibility of a continued contest existed. His official margin of votes was 430 over William H. Burke, Democrat, who led in the count until the receipt of absentee ballots changed the result.

Absentee ballots also appeared to be a deciding factor in the election of Arthur B. Langlie, Republican, as governor of Washington by 5,816 plurality. Other state officers and a large majority of the legislature are Democrats.

In Indiana Governor Henry F. Schricker was the only Democrat elected to state office in November, even the lieutenant governor being a Republican; these two offices are reported not to have been held by members of opposing parties in 125 years.

On January 15 Lloyd Stark, outgoing Democratic governor of Missouri, vetoed a resolution of the state assembly, controlled by Democrats, to create a committee to investigate the election as governor of Forrest C. Donnell, Republican, to whom the official returns gave a plurality of 3,613 over Lawrence McDaniel, Democrat. The assembly committee of ten would have had a Democratic majority of two. Governor Stark announced, "I cannot approve a resolution which provides for a partisan setup in this contest."

In West Virginia both the outgoing governor, Homer A. Holt, and the new governor, Matthew M. Neely, claimed the right to appoint the latter's successor as United States senator for the unexpired term.

Constitutional Revision for New Jersey?

At the opening session of the New Jersey legislature, on January 14, Senator Robert C. Hendrickson of Gloucester County, the defeated Republican candidate for governor, introduced bills for a constitutional convention and to give power to investigate any state department to the executive. The constitutional convention would consist of eighty-one delegates elected by counties on the basis of present representation in the legislature. Candidates would be nominated by petition, with one hundred voters' signatures required.

Governor Charles Edison, in his inaugural address on January 21, stressed the need of a constitutional convention but criticized the idea of selecting delegates on the basis of the present legislative apportionment and by a costly special election. He advocated constitutional consolidation of the present eighty governmental agencies into no more than twenty, with a governor's cabinet drawn from their executives; the extension of the governor's term from three years to four; and granting the governor an effective veto power. He said that unless a unicameral legislature could be set up, existing inequalities of representation in the senate should be remedied.

189 State Measures on Ballot in 1940

A special study by the Bureau of the Census gives the number of state measures placed before the voters in the calendar year 1940 as 189; this included 151 constitutional amendments of which seventy-six were adopted, twenty initiated measures of which five were adopted, and eighteen referred legislative acts of which ten were approved. The total number voted on was fourteen less than in 1938, despite the fact that 1940 was a presidential year.

The 189 proposals dealt with 197 subjects, classified by the bureau as follows: organization, personnel, and elections, sixty-one, with twenty-six approved; tax measures, fifty-three, with twenty-one approved; bond issues, nine, with six approved; regulation of banks, liquor, etc., twenty-seven, with ten approved; special proposals for political subdivisions (individually or by classes), thirty, with eighteen approved; miscellaneous(including old-age pensions, land laws, etc.), seventeen, with eleven approved.

State Health Work Improved and Enlarged

A recent study by the Council of State Governments shows that state health departments are increasingly emphasizing principles of organization and effective administration, while the scope of activities expands.

In nineteen states the personnel, aside from physicians and a few other staff members, are chosen under civil service arrangements, and a trend toward extension of the merit system is apparent. More social workers are being employed in thirteen states.

Forty-four states have boards of health, which are advisory to the health director in nineteen states and have administrative control in twenty-five. An additional state has an advisory council; in another the department of public welfare, containing the division of public health, has an advisory board.

State health activities have been extended from quarantine, vaccination, and other forms of epidemic control, with more recent attention to such communicable diseases as tuberculosis, typhoid fever, syphilis and gonorrhea, to public health education and nursing, industrial hygiene, sanitary engineering, milk sanitation, enforcement of standards for food, water, etc., and other functions far beyond original conceptions. Twenty states require pre-marital tests, twenty-eight maintain special programs for tuberculosis control and many give particular attention to pneumonia, cancer, trachoma, malaria, poliomyelitis, etc. Thirty-seven now have divisions or bureaus engaged in the promotion and supervision of local health services.

There are some twenty-two federal agencies concerned directly or indirectly with public health; many of these work directly with the states and several cooperate with state departments in collecting data on health activities. Federal grants to state health departments range from approximately $50,000 to more than $900,000 for general public health, and additional grants are given for venereal disease purposes, and, under the social security act, for maternal and child health and crippled children's services.

Governor Urges New York Reapportionment

Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York has emphatically called upon the legislature of that state to make reapportionment of area and population for legislative elections, as called for by the state constitution but delayed for many years by partisan disputes. The last districting was done nearly two decades ago, and large shifts of population have occurred since.

The majority leader of the assembly objected to the "dictatorial" tone of the Governor's message on this point; whereupon the minority leader inquired, "Whoever heard of a dictator urging fair representation for the people?"

Vermont Improves Reports

The drive for modernization of state and local reports in Vermont is continuing, with the active help of the State Chamber of Commerce. James P. Taylor, secretary of the latter, announces that a number of state departments have made great improvement in their reports this year and have enjoyed a gratifying response from the newspapers. Governor William H. Wills in his inaugural message recommended that reports of state departments to the people be as understandable as newspapers and magazines.

More Gains for Merit System

In addition to civil service victories in Michigan, Louisiana, Kansas, and San Mateo County, California,[1] one more state, two counties, and eleven cities have installed, extended, or otherwise aided the merit system, at or since the November elections, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

In Texas the voters approved a constitutional amendment permitting indefinite tenure for appointive employees of municipalities with civil service laws. Formerly the constitution limited to two years the terms of all state and local offices for which there were no other fixed terms; competent employees could thus be eliminated by failure to reappoint after two years.

Employees of Santa Clara County, California, were placed under the merit system as a result of approval at the polls.

The merit system was adopted by the voters of seven New Jersey local governments—Atlantic County, Asbury Park, Bloomfield, Margate City, Plainfield, Pompton Lakes, and Ridgewood. The system in these jurisdictions will be administered by the State Civil Service Commission.

A city charter amendment in Omaha, Nebraska, provides for a civil service department under a three-man civil service board and a personnel director. All city officers and employees will be covered under the merit system except elected officials, police and firemen, and members of boards and commissions appointed by the council or mayor.

The city council of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, on November 18 adopted an ordinance creating a civil service system for officers and employees of that city and providing for a three-man civil service commission. Police and firemen are already under a merit system.

The citizens of Detroit, Michigan, approved a charter amendment providing for extension of the merit system to the Board of Health.

The police department of Blue Earth, Minnesota, has been placed under civil service by a recent ordinance.

In Lima, Ohio, a charter amendment was adopted placing all city employees except elected officials, heads of departments and their deputies, and a few other excepted employees, in the classified civil service.

More than 1,100 state, city, and other jurisdictions now have at least some employees under civil service, the assembly reported. The greatest recent growth in the use of merit systems has been in municipalities. The number of systems in such jurisdictions increased from slightly less than 400 in 1930 to nearly 900 in 1940. States with merit systems increased from nine to eighteen in the same period.

Advances in City Planning During 1940

A report on planning during 1940, by the American Society of Planning Officials, shows a striking increase in interest in city planning, both in public administration circles and among private groups, especially in more recent months.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1940, pp. 768 and 818.

The revival was marked by strong support for searching analysis of causes and coördinated efforts in rehabilitation for blighted central business districts, according to the report. The mayors of Boston and Detroit appointed committees of prominent citizens to work with their planning commissions and other public agencies to support legislation, devise programs of rehabilitation, and analyze decentralization trends.

Minneapolis and Newark are among other cities where groups of business men are working with city officials to develop programs for rehabilitation of run-down areas, and for dealing with problems accompanying the movement of business and population away from the centers of cities, including serious declines in property values and assessed valuations.

Creation by the National Association of Real Estate Boards during 1940 of an Urban Land Institute to examine the causes of blight and suggest remedies is another indication of expanding interest in city planning. This institute is making surveys in several cities. Other indications are urban redevelopment bills drafted by the Merchants' Association of New York City and the Chicago Building Congress for consideration by their state legislatures.

The association reported also an increase in 1940 over 1939 in the number of cities in which planning was revitalized and in cities where planning agencies were established for the first time. In Tennessee fourteen local planning commissions have been created within the last year, half of them embracing areas of more than one local jurisdiction. The Chattanooga and Knoxville commissions, which had been inactive, were reëstablished. A number of Michigan communities established planning agencies, including Lansing and several Detroit suburbs. Plan commissions were created in three Wisconsin towns. California continues an increasing interest in planning at state, county, and city levels of government.

Many shifts of planning personnel during the year indicate the extent to which reorganization and expansion of planning programs are proceeding, the society reported. Another indication is the number of civil service examinations given for city planning positions—as in New York City, Los Angeles, Flint (Michigan), and Washington, D. C.

Many developments in city planning were coincident with the beginning of the national defense program, and city planners are assisting local and state defense councils and the National Defense Council.

Council-Manager Plan News

Rapid City, South Dakota, on January 14, at the largest municipal election in four years, voted to retain the manager plan; 1,777 votes were for the present charter and 1,243 for abandonment of the manager plan. The petition asking for the election was filed December 27, 1940.

In **Mankato, Minnesota,** the proposed council-manager charter was defeated at a special election January 6. Although it received a majority of the vote—1,682 to 1,468—a four-sevenths majority is required for adoption. The charter had been previously voted on, and failed to receive a majority, April 8, 1940. In the new election it received 117 more favorable votes than before, while the unfavorable vote showed a shrinkage of 354. On each occasion the first three of the city's six wards voted strongly against the charter, and the other three wards in favor. Members of the city council are considering a proposal to submit several amendments to the existing charter at the spring election.

A home rule measure that would enable municipalities to adopt city manager or other forms of charter by local action was introduced in the **Pennsylvania** Senate on January 13, by Senator F. S. Edmonds of Montgomery County.[1]

At a meeting of the Merchants' Committee of the borough of **Columbia, Pennsylvania,** on January 9, the manager plan was discussed and the idea of a borough manager for that municipality was endorsed.

Columbia, Tennessee, has voted twice in the last two years for council-manager government, and a new charter is to be presented to the state legislature for approval.

In **Chattanooga, Tennessee,** where Mayor E. D. Bass has recently advocated the reduction of the city commission from five to three members, Dr. Frank W. Prescott, head of the Adolph S. Ochs Department of Government at the University of Chattanooga, on January 7, expressed his opposition to the reduction and urged instead the adoption of the council-manager plan.

In **Topeka, Kansas,** a manager movement is gaining strength. Frank Long, county welfare director, favors the manager plan and may run for mayor on a platform calling for a manager charter. Mayor John F. Scott is reported to be unofficially in favor of such a charter.

Alaska is showing interest in the council-manager plan. A bill is expected to be introduced in the territorial legislature to enable municipal corporations to establish the manager plan by a majority of the votes on the question at any general municipal election or at a special election called for that purpose on filing of a petition signed by one hundred qualified electors. The bill also provides that the council may, by majority vote, without being petitioned, place the matter upon the ballot at either a general municipal or a special election.

The Governmental Affairs Committee of the Coahoma County, Mississippi, Junior Chamber of Commerce is interested in promoting a state-wide campaign in **Mississippi** to enable cities to adopt the manager plan if desired, and intends to work with the State Junior Chamber of Commerce for the purpose.

In **Poughkeepsie, New York,** a recommendation that the city charter commission submit a council-manager charter was passed January 3 by the Board of Directors and the Government and Finance Committee of the Chamber of Commerce at a joint meeting. The group also decided to seek to arouse the interest and coöperation of various service organizations.

In **Wilmington, North Carolina,** the Junior Chamber of Commerce is continuing a drive for a manager charter. A bill which would make it mandatory upon the county board of elections to call an election on the manager plan, with 2,300 signatures attached, has been filed with the legislators of Hanover County.

The **Charlotte, North Carolina,** *Observer* has conducted a poll of residents of that city on various questions, including the form of city government. Results were published January 5. Out of 870 ballots dealing with the governmental question, 518 favored retention of the council-manager form, 204 were for the commission form, and 148 favored the aldermanic form.

Petitions for a vote on the manager plan, sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce and containing 3,841 signatures, have been filed with the **Great Falls, Montana,** city clerk.

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[1] See also page 123.

A home rule amendment to the **Indiana** state constitution, which, if passed, would make it possible for Indiana cities to adopt the manager plan, has been introduced in the legislature.

A bill authorizing the town of **Canton, Massachusetts,** to vote on the manager plan is now before the state legislature.

Several hundred signatures have been secured to a petition being circulated in **Cheboygan, Michigan,** calling on the city council to submit to the voters the question of a general revision of the charter to provide for the manager plan.

Petitions are also being circulated in **Ottumwa, Iowa,** asking the council to call a special election for submission of the manager plan to popular vote.

The **Newport, Rhode Island,** Charter Revision Commission has before it a proposed council-manager charter for its consideration. The charter was prepared by a special committee of the Newport Charter League, a group of citizens organized last summer to promote the manager plan for their city.

A proposed manager charter for **Port Huron, Michigan,** drawn by the charter commission elected in the fall of 1939, has recently been submitted to a public hearing.

Springfield, Massachusetts, Seeks Unicameral Council

At the request of Mayor Putnam and the city council of Springfield, Massachusetts, a bill has been introduced in the legislature by Representative Clampit providing for a council of seventeen to supersede the present two-chamber body. It would consist of two qualified voters of each of the eight wards, one to be elected by the voters of the ward, as is the case with the present councilmen; the other to be elected by the voters of the entire city, as with the present aldermen; the seventeenth member would be nominated and elected from the city at large. A similar measure failed to be reported out by the legislature nearly three years ago.

Ask Tenure for Poughkeepsie Employees

In Poughkeepsie, New York, where a commission is working on a new charter, one point at issue is the provision of the present charter permitting wholesale changes of department personnel on January 1 of any year. At a public hearing on January 8 this provision was both criticized and defended, the chief advocate being Alderman Kirchner, who attacked civil service tenure generally. Charles L. Campbell, director of classification of the State Civil Service Commission, presented arguments against one-year tenure and in favor of civil service status as in most cities having any form of the merit system.

Drastic Changes Urged in Boston

The Urban Land Institute, organized by national real estate interests to study blighted areas and other urban land problems, has been making detailed studies of certain large cities, and has recently made public the results of its study of the central Boston area. One drastic conclusion was that the city apply to the legislature for so-called receivership, as was done by Fall River in 1932, and thus obtain financial relief and the time and opportunity to reorganize the city on a sound business and financial basis.

Other recommendations were: annexation of the residential communities of Chelsea, Revere, Winthrop, and others where mutual advantage appears;

A new form of county government in the interest of economy and efficiency to furnish municipal services to all municipalities in the vicinity, including those served by the state-appointed Metropolitan District Commission;

Traffic relief by various means, including severe limitation of taxicabs and trucks, relocation of the market district, improvement in highway and transportation facilities, and other city planning changes;

A well financed study to revise zoning regulations and permit "neighborhood unit" development;

Greater financial support for city planning commissions;

A general revaluation of real estate.

Loose-leaf Codes for Wisconsin Cities

As a means of eliminating the difficulty of keeping codes of ordinances up to date, which has discouraged codification, it has become quite prevalent in Wisconsin to publish the code in loose-leaf form, so that, as new ordinances are enacted or as amendments are adopted, they can be inserted in their proper places. For this purpose a binder which can be locked is used. The first city to adopt the method was Appleton, followed by fourteen other cities and villages. Other codifications are now in process. The usual practice is to fix a price for such codes to include changes as issued.

FREDERICK N. MACMILLAN
League of Wisconsin Municipalities

National Public Housing Conference

The tenth annual meeting of this organization was held at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York, January 24-25. Discussions were directed toward federal aid for additional local housing projects, making such aid serve a wider area of the population, and building up public housing information and support. Officers of the conference are Mrs. Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, president; Louis H. Pink, chairman, Board of Directors; Frank A. Vanderlip, Jr., treasurer, and Helen Alfred, secretary and executive director.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

COLLEGE students who have reached voting age often fail to vote because they are away from home and the laws governing absentee voters, differing as they do from state to state, make the problem a complex one. To counteract this situation the **University of Wisconsin League of Women Voters** conducted an educational campaign on registration and election laws prior to the last national election and for two days provided notaries and manned information booths in university buildings. Sounds like a worthwhile civic project which might well be carried on by any citizens organization located in a college town. . . . This is just one of the interesting items mentioned in the January issue of *Member's Magazine,* publication of the **National League of Women Voters** which was inaugurated last fall

In addition to news notes about activities of local leagues, the January *Monthly News* of the **New York State League of Women Voters** contains detailed reports of its Department of Government and Public Finance and the Department of Government and Economic Welfare. Each item in the programs of these departments is discussed under three headings: background, league action, and possible developments.

Long-range community planning is claiming an increasing amount of attention of citizens. . . . The **Livingston, New Jersey, Citizens' Planning Federation** has been established for the dual purpose of assisting the city's official planning body and sponsoring neighborhood civic groups interested in the community's orderly growth. . . . Planning groups are springing up in a number of communities either in conjunction with official bodies or organized independently. . . . The **Baltimore Museum of Fine Art** has opened an exhibit, "The City," which is designed to give citizens a clear idea of the problems faced by the city and certain possible solutions and particularly to stress the value of long-time planning.

Another effective method of giving citizens a sense of participation in their local government is being used in Los Angeles, where the civil service department has asked persons successful in various professions and lines of business to assist in the preparation and conduct of civil service examinations. By this method, it is claimed, citizen-examiners usually develop a continuing interest in the merit system which keeps them alert to any possible encroachments on that system and thus develops active and effective friends of civil service. In addition, most of these men have civic, social, and business contacts which enable them to spread the doctrine of merit employment over a wide section of public opinion.

Citizens groups organized for a particular political purpose are not relaxing their efforts, although it seems a long time until another election in most communities. . . . Dean James M. Landis, chairman of the **Cambridge Committee for Plan E,** has announced that that group is increasing its activity on all fronts and presently will launch a new membership drive. The committee is undertaking an educational campaign to instruct voters on the manager plan and proportional representation, under which the city will operate beginning in January 1942. The committee will also select candidates which it will sponsor for election in November. . . . The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee,** another group which faces a November election in which it will participate actively on behalf of its candidates, is making good use of this interim period and has issued a special promotion report outlining the aims, problems, and plans of the organization. . . . The **New York City Citizens Union** has announced its legislative program for 1941 and already has its secretary in Albany acting as its legislative representative.

The January 2 *Greater Cleveland* outlines important tasks for 1941 as conceived by the **Citizens League.** At the top of the list is placed consolidation—of local governments within the county, of inferior courts, and of public utilities. Other issues are mentioned and the League's recommendation in each case set forth. . . . In the January issue of *Civic Searchlight,* published by the **Detroit Citizens League,** dates for the spring primary and spring election are given under the heading, "If you don't vote, don't kick." . . . The January 14 *Bulletin* of the **Yonkers Committee of 100** contains a report on the first year of manager government in that city. Besides the progress noted, there is a list of three items under the heading, "Some of the principal disappointments during the year." Thus the citizen can easily discover where the new form of government or its officials have fallen down.

In preparation for a spring election the **Seattle Municipal League** is running a series of forums during the next few weeks. At the first, held on January 21, highlights of city affairs during the past three years were reviewed, while the later forums will center attention on specific issues in the campaign. Members of the League's Town Criers (see Citizen Action section, October 1940 REVIEW) will again be available for talks before all community and service groups. . . . The first 1941 issue of *Fact,* a sheet distributed by the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** announces that the organization will again sponsor town hall meetings (see Citizen Action section, July 1940 REVIEW) throughout the city on the general subject of "Civic Armament for National Defense." R. M. W.

Adult Education and Defense

Plans to relate the nation-wide adult education movement to the national defense program were announced recently by Morse A. Cartwright, director of the **American Association for Adult Education.** The plans call for an increase in the number of community adult education councils, which offer to serve as the educational arms of local defense committees; a series of regional conferences, held throughout the country, on adult education and defense; and the issuance of publications relating to defense.

The first of the publications—*Defense Papers, Defense Digests,* and *Community Councils in Action*—have made their appearance. All deal with defense in its broadest sense, "the defense of American culture."

Defense Papers and Defense Digests are written primarily to bring about discussion of national and international issues in clubs, forums, civic organizations, schools, colleges, and in informal discussion groups. Each number of *Defense Papers* carries six to eight short, readable articles—aid to Britain, shall we feed Europe?, training for defense, civil liberties, etc.—followed by aids to discussion in the form of questions based on the articles and lists of pertinent motion pictures and radio programs.

Similar aids to group discussion are found following the single long article that comprises each issue of *Defense Digests.* "Our Policy in the Pacific" and "Freedom of Assembly" are the titles of the two issues which have appeared to date.

Community Councils in Action in the words of its editor "is designed to serve all interagency organizations primarily concerned with the education of adults. It addresses itself to councils and associations of adult education, whether local, state-wide, or regional. It addresses itself also to workers in other types of community organization which are intended to foster public enlightenment and education participation in democratic processes. The purpose of the bulletin is to provide for the exchange of experience."

The publication of this bulletin is another step in the association's program to encourage the formation of new local and regional councils and to provide councils already established with a means of exchanging experiences. These councils are the only apparent means of giving local direction to rapidly expanding programs of adult education in terms of community needs rather than in terms of organizational interests. The membership of the local councils is made up of representatives of the public schools, schools for adults, libraries, settlement houses, churches, museums, and the many other agencies that give educational service to the adult in the community.

There is no common body of activities recognized as applicable to all councils. Virtually all try in some way to exchange information with respect to objectives and programs of constituent organizations by means of general meetings, committee reports, institutes, or conferences. Many have made more or less comprehensive surveys of community resources for adult education.

Some maintain a central file or information bureau which may be operated by the council itself. This is true of the **New York Adult Education Council** and the **Chicago Adult Education Council,** for example. A few councils offer programs to their members and to the public—lectures, concerts, forums, etc.

During the coming year the councils will assume a new role as the educational division of the local defense committees in many centers. Each issue of *Community Councils in Action* will encourage the councils to undertake this duty, and will carry articles making suggestions for procedure based on the actual experience of many councils in different sections of the country.

Civic education is one of the aspects of adult education that will be stressed. The **Cincinnati Adult Education Council,** for example, is reported as working on an adult citizenship training program. Briefly, the council is endeavoring to develop a flexible leadership program-building service for already existing organizations.

An essential feature of the program is the discovery and training of leaders within existing organization units and in the community at large. The council will sponsor leadership training institutes for volunteers who are willing to offer their services to community organizations. The first of these institutes opened February 1. Following this intensive training leaders will be called together at regular intervals to exchange experience, define and clarify issues, and coördinate their activities.

A special series of interlocking committees is at work sifting materials, facts, and principles for use in the training course and for presentation through other channels. In addition, the council plans to offer organizations a number of services, like volunteer leaders, trained in both techniques and subject matter, to conduct discussion series related to "citizenship in a democracy."

The **Denver Adult Education Council** last spring appointed a Civic Education Committee which has concentrated its attention thus far upon increasing the intelligence and responsibility of the city's electorate. The committee included members from the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver Women Citizens' League, Civic League, City Club, University of Denver, and Denver WPA Adult Education Program. On the basis of its experience in the last election, the committee will get an early start in the next election, stimulating participation in party caucuses and making known the available sources of information on campaign issues.

The **Knoxville-Knox County Adult Education Council,** by focusing attention on civic problems through forums on such subjects as the need of a public recreation program and the activities of a local law and order league, has made citizens more highly conscious of their community problems, responsibilities, and opportunities.

The American Association for Adult Education has made a number of broad recommendations to councils to assume active educational leadership in a time of national emergency. First, it suggests that councils examine and define adult education's role in the support of democracy; second, that councils find a way to affect the community adult education program in accordance with agreements about its role in defense; and third, that they find a way to coöperate with other like-minded groups.

In many places local defense councils have not yet been organized, and the association suggests that the adult education council take part in helping to give the community defense program its impetus and pattern.

A series of regional conferences on adult education and defense, sponsored by the association and local and regional councils, has been scheduled. Among those to be held during February, March, and April are: Midwest Regional Conference in Chicago, Illinois; Great Lakes and Ohio Valley Regional Conference in Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis Regional Conference in Indianapolis, Indiana; Mountain-Plains Regional Conference in Denver, Colorado; Fourth Pacific Southwest Regional Conference in Los Angeles, California; Second Southwestern Regional Conference in Austin, Texas; South Central Regional Conference in Stillwater, Oklahoma; Pacific Northwest Regional Conference in Spokane, Washington; Middle Atlantic States Regional Conference in Albany, New York; Southeastern Regional Conference in Norris, Tennessee; Mississippi Valley Regional Conference in St. Louis, Missouri; and the Conference in Hawaii on Adult Education and the National Defense.

Field representatives of the association are assisting local councils in planning these regional conferences. They are open to representatives of all civic groups and to interested citizens.

The purpose of all these nation-wide efforts to correlate adult education programs and defense is to increase public understanding of the issues involved in preparations for the nation's defense and, by creating this understanding, to ease the stress that inevitably accompanies a great national emergency.

Dorothy Rowden
American Association for
Adult Education

County and Township
Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Merit System Moves Slowly

Counties of three states form bulk of those which use the merit principle.

THE Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, in a report issued last year, announced that only 173 counties had a merit system in any degree at that time. Additional adoptions have now increased the number to 177.[1] And, as will be pointed out, even this figure is an optimistic one since many of the counties of New York State and Ohio, while nominally under the jurisdiction of their state civil service commissions, have few positions under the merit system—sometimes none.

Distrust of centralization, opposition by local government employees, public inertia, and insufficient appropriations explain the slowness of the movement and the inadequacies of administration where adopted.

The Ohio constitution has provided since 1912 that: "Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, the several counties, and cities shall be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained, as far as practicable, by competitive examinations."[2]

This apparently mandatory provision, however, has been almost completely ineffectual in establishing the merit system for county employees. Although the State Civil Service Commission is authorized by law to administer it, the state legislature has not seen fit to appropriate sufficient funds to the commission to enable it to abide by the constitutional mandate. Hence the commission has extended the merit system to only a very limited number of county employees.

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[1] *Civil Service Agencies in the United States, A 1940 Census,* Chicago, 1940. See also this Review, page 108.

[2] Art. XV, sec. 10.

In Cuyahoga County, however, where the problem was most pressing, the state commission succeeded in delegating its powers to the Civil Service Commission of Cleveland under an act of the 1925 state legislature. Resulting primarily from lack of funds, but due also to partisan pressures, unsympathetic courts, official resistance, and a commission interested primarily in the city service, after fifteen years of operation less than one-third of the 2,500 county positions have been placed under the merit system.[3]

New York Counties

In the state of New York past accomplishments and future prospects in extending the merit system to county government are considerably more heartening. New York adopted its first civil service law in 1883, the year in which the federal government adopted its famous Pendleton act. In 1894 the New York constitutional convention attempted to insure the merit system for state and local government by the following provision: "Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examination, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive."[4]

In spite of the mandatory language of the constitution, the merit system moved slowly into the field of county government. Most counties at present have only a few positions filled by the merit system under the direction of the State Civil Service Commission; in only the seventeen most densely populated counties have most of the employees been placed under its supervision. In addition Nassau County, under its home rule charter which went into effect in 1938, has set up its own commission. As in the case of Ohio, the New York violation of the constitutional mandate is due primarily to the state legislature's unwillingness to make necessary appropriations. In explaining the forty-six-year lag in extending the service, the commission reports, "This commission simply did not have staff, equipment, or funds to carry a bigger load than it already had."[5]

Apparently a more rapid extension of the merit system is about to result from some rather vigorous rebukes emanating from the New York State judiciary. In November 1937 public officials were startled by a suggestion from the highest court of the state that the constitution meant what it said and that the court might invalidate all appointments made contrary to its provisions.

The court declared, "An employment which in its inception violates the provisions of the constitution is illegal and against public policy, regardless of the good faith of the parties. It is the duty of the appropriate administrative officers of the state or its civil divisions to discontinue an illegal employment when they note its illegality. . . . Regardless of whether the legality is challenged or not, a court must refuse to sanction such an employment which violates the mandate of the constitution whenever the illegality becomes apparent to it. . . . Failure of the legislature and the Civil Service Commission to make such provision (for examinations) might render compliance with the constitutional mandate difficult; such failure could not render lawful a contract of employment which violates that mandate."[6]

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[3] The Citizens League, *Greater Cleveland,* December 19, 1940.

[4] Art. V, sec. 6.

[5] *The New York State Service,* Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the New York State Civil Service Commission, Albany, 1940, p. 11.

The 1938 legislature deferred action in the belief that the constitutional convention meeting in the summer of 1938 might amend this portion of the constitution, but when it remained unchanged the 1939 legislature created a special commission to consider extension of the civil service.[7] The gravity of the situation resulting from this judicial warning is revealed by the following statements in the first report of the special commission: "Late in the year 1938 it became apparent that a dangerous situation existed. Many employment contracts, made in good faith, were found to be invalid. In many of our counties, and in practically all of our towns, villages, school districts, and special districts, any taxpayer might question the right of employees to their offices or positions. Several taxpayers' actions challenging the right of local employees to receive their salaries and to hold their positions were instituted and many more were threatened. . . .

"The solution of this problem cannot long be delayed. The courts have held that the failure of the legislature to act does not nullify the mandate of the constitution and that the burden is on the state civil service commission to extend civil service administration to units of government not now covered. . . . The court held that the state civil service commission was required to hold examinations within a reasonable time . . . and pointedly declared that the existence of a legislative commission to study the problem and submit recommendations for consideration by the legislature was not a sufficient excuse for the failure of the commission to act."[8]

The commission is now at work on plans for a complete extension of the merit principle to the employees of all local governments throughout the state. These plans will be submitted to the present session of the legislature.

Jersey Counties Vote

New Jersey deviates from the Ohio and New York plans in a fundamental manner. By a statute enacted in 1908 it permitted counties as well as other local units by referendum vote to determine whether they wished to permit the state commission to administer their personnel functions.[9] Twelve of the twenty-one counties have chosen to come under this plan, while only thirty-seven of the 565 municipalities and one of the 542 school districts have done so.[10] While the plan was originally a concession to local home rule advocates, there now is a growing belief that the optional provisions should be abandoned in favor of compulsory provisions covering all local units.

Thus the counties of Ohio and New York and twelve of those of New Jersey account for 162 of the 177 counties listed as under the merit system at the present time. The remaining counties have had the merit system extended to them by special act, and all except Dane County, Wisconsin, have their own local civil service commissions. They are as follows:

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[6] *Palmer* v. *Union Free School District No. 2, Town of Geddes,* 276 N. Y. 222 (November 1937).

[7] Ch. 862, L. of 1939.

[8] *First Report of the New York State Commission on Extension of the Civil Service,* Albany, 1940, pp. 8, 18f.

[9] New Jersey Statutes Annotated, 1939, 11:3 Chs. 19-26.

[10] Messick, Charles P., *The New Jersey Pattern,* speech delivered at National Municipal League's Forty-sixth Annual Conference on Government, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1940.

ALABAMA
- Jefferson (1935)
- Mobile (1939)

CALIFORNIA
- Alameda (1927)
- Los Angeles (1913)
- Sacramento (1937)
- San Diego (1935)
- San Mateo (1940)
- Santa Clara (1940)

ILLINOIS
- Cook (1895)

NORTH CAROLINA
- Mecklenburg (1935)
- Hanover (1939)

OREGON
- Multnomah (1929)

WISCONSIN
- Dane (1937)
- Milwaukee (1918)
- Waukesha (1938)

Although only a small percentage of counties are under the merit system, a consideration of the nature of the areas served indicates there is a tendency to adopt it where the need is greatest. Thus eleven of the New Jersey counties adopting the merit system are those most densely populated. Most of the large metropolitan centers are served by counties operating under the merit system. All five counties in New York City and the two bordering it, as well as Hudson County, New Jersey, directly across the river, at least ostensibly operate under merit systems.

The conclusion seems inevitable that while spoils politics remains openly apparent in most counties, and has become only slightly less obvious in some others that have been clothed with the machinery of civil service, the trend is in the direction of merit and the future holds promise of its achievement.

Manager and Merit System for Georgia County?

The Atlanta Local Government Commission, created a year ago by grand jury, has made the following recommendations in regard to Fulton County:

1. We strongly urge the adoption of a civil service system for Fulton County. . . . Civil service should extend to all non-policy-performing employees of the county, including those in the offices of elective officials. . . .

2. The functions of the tax collectors, tax receivers and assessors, city and county, should be coördinated; further, the county tax receiver and collector should be combined. . . .

3. The present system of commission management should be revised. . . . The county commissioners now act in the dual capacity of a legislative and administrative body, and is headless. It is our opinion that they should act as legislative or policy-making body only, and that a county manager should be elected by them to carry out the policies determined by the commissioners. . . .

4. We recommend the passage of a local law specifying the powers and duties of the county manager which should include provisions that:

   (a) The manager should be well qualified by reason of ability, experience, and training in public administration. The choice should not be limited by reason of former residence.

   (b) The manager should be the sole administrative and appointive head of the county.

   (c) His term of office should be indefinite and based on satisfactory service. . . .

Also recommended for Fulton County were a study of park facilities and needs, liberalization of relief provisions, an improved pension system, a detailed annual audit, extension of fire protection and sanitary services, and the consolidation of city and county health departments.

Tennessee County Considers Manager Plan

A bill providing for the manager plan for Hamilton County has been introduced in the Tennessee state legislature, and has already passed the Senate. Another bill calling for a commission form of government is being proposed also, but the Chattanooga Real Estate Board and other groups have announced themselves definitely in favor of the manager plan and opposed to the commission form. County reform and especially the manager plan were issues sponsored by the county's successful candidates for the legislature in the elections last year.

County Housing Authorities Cooperate

Eleven housing authorities of adjoining counties in southwest Georgia have adopted an agreement whereby each will appoint a member of an executive committee, which in turn will appoint an executive director and act as a general advisory board. The executive director will serve all eleven counties, and he will be head of the central administrative staff. Although the individual county authorities will not lose their identities, they will operate as only one unit.

The agreement was approved by the Georgia State Housing Board and the United States Housing Authority. No changes or withdrawals will be possible without their consent.

The coöperating authorities anticipate many advantages in having a single organization construct and manage all rural low-rent housing projects in the area. Standardization of purposes and methods is expected to result in savings in purchases, construction and management. According to present plans the projects will cost $1,293,000 for 648 rural homes averaging $1,545 per dwelling.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Water Deal Brings Jury Charges

Indictment of local officials as well as bond dealers recommended

MUNICIPAL purchase of a privately owned water system has exploded in a barrage of grand jury presentments in Chester, Pennsylvania, where a $6,000,000 water revenue bond deal has been labelled "a story of greed and corruption" by the Delaware County Grand Jury, which on January 17 recommended the indictment of thirteen persons on conspiracy, fraud, and misfeasance and malfeasance charges.

The story in its detail is told in the presentment handed up by the grand jury and printed almost verbatim in Philadelphia papers. All apart from the personalities involved, which include individuals prominent in Delaware County political circles, local officials, and officials of a Chicago bond house, the situation is interesting in that it emphasizes the necessity for critical scrutiny of negotiated purchases of private property by public bodies.

According to the grand jury presentment, the conspiracy began in 1938, when the Federal Water Service Company, a holding company owning all the common stock of the Chester Water Service Company, decided to sell the Chester company to the city of Chester or to an authority created by the city. The company was allegedly informed that to do this it would be necessary to secure the coöperation of the county political boss, John J. McClure, and a Chester attorney active in local taxpayers organizations, James L. Rankin. McClure was approached, and after several conferences a scheme was concocted whereby the common stock of the Chester Water Service Company was to be sold to a third party in Philadelphia for $750,000 and then resold for a $250,000 profit to the Chester Municipal Authority, whose creation under enabling legislation was to be facilitated by McClure. Rankin was approached and offered a $15,000 retaining fee for his coöperation, but he refused to have anything to do with the affair and appears from the grand jury presentment to have been instrumental in bringing the case into the open. The necessary legislation for the creation of the authority was enacted, and the authority created, with the mayor and four councilmen of the city of Chester serving as chairman and directors. The $250,000 profit on the stock deal was split six ways, $30,000 going to a representative of the Chicago bond house of C. W. McNear and Company and the remainder to McClure and four of his associates.

Subsequently, the grand jury charges, the authority sold its bonds in the sum of $5,910,000 to the Chicago bond house at a price of 98.02 "whereas in truth and in fact, the said issue of bonds . . . was worth at least 104.25 at par," the authority being thereby defrauded of approximately $375,000. In this sale and in the deal involving the purchase of the common stock the four members of the authority board, who are also Chester city councilmen, are charged with misfeasance, malfeasance, and non-feasance in office, and not with participating in the division of the profits. The jury commented especially on their action in purchasing the stock without making any reasonable effort to determine its real value, and in acquiescing to the private and secret sale of the authority bonds.

Villages Quarrel with HOLC

Action of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in seeking reductions of assessed valuations on properties under its control has been attacked by local officials in wealthy Westchester County, New York. The Westchester County Village Officials Association at its regular meeting early in January petitioned the United States government to "require the withdrawal" of actions instituted by the HOLC, which after conference with the Assessment Boards of Review had proposed to enter certiorari proceedings in an effort to have the valuations reduced by the courts.

The petition is especially interesting in that it attacks the proposed reductions mainly on the grounds that the maintenance of high assessments is necessary, and is agreeable to 99 per cent of the local owners of local property.

Bond Prices Hit New Highs

A new low was hit by *The Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields on January 1. This index reflects bond prices, the trend of bond yields being inverse to the trend of bond prices. For twenty representative municipalities the bond index at the beginning of 1941 was 2.14 per cent and for eleven first grade bonds it was 1.80 per cent, figures which compare with 2.59 per cent and 2.24 per cent respectively a year earlier.

The trend of municipal bond prices was upward through 1940, save for slight breaks in February, March, and June. As a consequence local governmental units whose affairs were in even tolerably satisfactory shape found the money market extremely advantageous for the flotation of new bond issues, and numerous claims of "the lowest interest rate in the city's history" have been made following such sales.

Tax Proposals Unpopular with Voters

Of some fifty revenue proposals—constitutional amendments or initiated or referred measures—submitted on November 5 to the voters of nineteen states, approximately three-fifths were rejected. Measures covered property tax exemptions, sharing of state-collected revenues by municipalities, tax limitations, new tax sources, etc., according to a recent study made by the Council of State Governments.

Graduated land tax proposals were rejected in Oklahoma and North Dakota; both amendments would have resulted in application of low property tax rates on small holdings and higher rates on larger holdings. Arkansas refused to approve an amendment exempting single and married persons from $50 and $100 worth of personal property respectively. In Florida, however, voters expanded property tax exemptions for widows by making the exemption $500 regardless of dependents.

Arizona rejected an amendment granting homestead exemptions up to $5,000; California voted down an amendment to exempt from local taxation until 1955 all vessels, except yachts, of more than fifty tons registered and operating out of California ports; and Louisiana rejected four tax amendments, including a proposal to exempt certain new industries from property taxation until 1944.

Arkansas approved amendments allowing cities of 5,000 or more population to levy a one-mill property tax to maintain public libraries, and authorizing first and second class cities to levy a tax of not more than two mills for pensions for police and firemen. Washington approved a referred statute continuing the property tax limitation at forty mills. Colorado turned down an ad valorem tax on intangibles.

Two states rejected proposals concerning their income taxes—Colorado defeated an amendment to make the present income tax rates mandatory, and Louisiana refused approval of a proposal to impose a graduated income tax and to authorize the taxation of the income of public officials.

An initiated statute which would have resulted in a new source of Colorado state revenue through legalization of horse and dog racing under a pari-mutuel system of betting was rejected, as was a similar initiated proposal in Arizona to authorize the licensing and operation of gambling devices and games.

Only one out of four proposals for local sharing in state-collected revenues was approved—Florida voters authorized by an amendment the distribution of race track revenues among counties. Arizona and Oklahoma rejected initiated proposals for greater sharing by localities of gasoline and motor vehicle revenues, and California turned down an amendment to allow local governments a share of revenue from the state alcoholic beverage act.

Three states—Idaho, Nevada and South Dakota—approved proposals prohibiting use of state highway funds for purposes other than construction and maintenance of state highways.

Other results: Louisiana approved an amendment raising the state gasoline tax from five to six cents, and another prohibiting local taxes on motor fuels; Missouri rejected an amendment to reduce motor vehicle license fees and abolish municipal gasoline taxes; and Maryland defeated a proposal which would have resulted in a tax on oysters.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Progress Depends on Home Rule

Pennsylvania and Boston seek legislative action

EVER since the people of Pennsylvania passed a city and borough home rule amendment to the state constitution in 1922, and the ensuing legislature refused to pass the general home rule legislation presented to it to give the amendment effect, efforts to get home rule powers in Pennsylvania have been largely confined to asking the legislature's permission to submit specific plans to the voters. For many years well supported bills making the city manager plan and proportional representation available by petition and popular vote to Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, third class cities, and boroughs were presented to the legislature at each session, and at the last regular session, in 1939, such bills for Philadelphia and Pittsburgh actually passed the State Senate, only to be killed in committee in the House of Representatives.

This year municipal reformers have decided to abandon specific legislation and try once more for general home rule powers for all the cities of the state. On the first day for introducing bills Senator Franklin Spencer Edmonds of Montgomery County, which adjoins Philadelphia, introduced a bill to permit any city to revise its charter by any one of three methods:

1. By a two-thirds vote of the city council, followed by popular approval of the council's revision at a referendum.
2. By electing a charter commission on the initiative of two-thirds of the city council or of a petition of 20,000 voters in Philadelphia or Pittsburgh or of 15 per cent of the registered voters in any other city. The people of the city would vote on the question of a charter commission and at the same election vote for members to serve on the commission if authorized, using a nonpartisan ballot and a limited vote to assure some minority representation. The charter commission's proposal would be submitted to the people for final adoption.
3. By direct petition and popular vote, the petitioners required for this purpose being 25,000 in Philadelphia or Pittsburgh or 20 per cent of the total registered vote in any other city.

This plan, somewhat similar to an Edmonds bill which passed the Senate at the end of the last session, is receiving widespread support throughout the state. Senator Edmonds is a member of the Republican majority in the Senate, where the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh charter bills passed two years ago, and this year even Joseph N. Pew, Jr., state Republican leader, has indicated publicly that he is inclined to favor home rule charter powers for Philadelphia though he is against their being used to get P.R.[1] The House of Representatives, where a large Republican majority "pickled" the charter bills in 1939, has since gone Democratic and the Democrats are on record in favor of municipal home rule.

P. R. Campaign Continues in Boston

The Boston Citizens' Committee for Proportional Representation, backed by the League of Women Voters and other civic groups, has announced another campaign to get the right to use P.R. extended to Boston. In 1937 all other cities and towns in Massachusetts were given the right to adopt P.R. by petition and popular vote for their councils and school committees and the corresponding Hare system of majority preferential voting for their mayors. Boston was included in the optional powers for school committee and mayor but not for council. The next year all other cities were given the right to adopt by petition and popular vote a new Plan E, the city manager plan with P.R. for council and school committee, but again Boston was excluded. Plan E has since been adopted in Cambridge, where the first P.R. election is scheduled to be held this fall. Boston proportionalists now urge, with good newspaper and civic support, that Boston be given the same rights to P.R. that are enjoyed by other cities in the state.

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[1] His opposition to P.R. is understandable in view of the fact that the Republican party, with a small majority of Philadelphia votes, has twenty members out of twenty-two on the Philadelphia city council.

Strong reasons for electing the Boston city council by P.R. were given by Thomas H. Mahony, chairman of the Boston Citizens' Committee for P.R., at the recent meeting of the P.R. League held in conjunction with the annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Springfield. Mr. Mahony expressed the belief that P.R. would be helpful even if the city could not, like Cambridge, immediately get the ideal combination of P.R. with the city manager plan. He said in part:

"We have in Boston at present a mayor nominated by petition signed by 3,000 voters and elected upon a nonpartisan basis for four years with complete executive responsibility, with sole power to initiate appropriations and loans. We have, too, a City Council of twenty-two members, each nominated upon a ward basis by petition signed by 300 voters of the particular ward and elected upon this ward basis for a term of two years.

"We maintain that Boston needs P.R. because its present charter:

"1. Not only permits but fosters undemocratic election results;

"2. Has developed an inefficient and unbusinesslike administration.

"From 1925 to 1937 we had eight councils elected in seven of which more than half of the members were elected by a minority in their electoral districts, and in five of which approximately two-thirds of the members were so elected.

"In a recent council election to fill a vacancy from one ward we find that ten candidates ran for the office. The registered vote of the ward was 12,470, the votes cast numbered 6,915 or 55 per cent of the registered vote. The winner polled 2,300 votes or 33 per cent of the vote cast and 18 per cent of the registered vote. We have likewise had a councilor elected by as few as 23.1 per cent of the votes cast in his ward.

"As there are no primaries in the mayoralty or City Council contests, there is nothing to prevent a multiplicity of candidates for the various offices and the attaining of the undemocratic and vote-wasting results which have been mentioned.

"Proportional representation and preferential voting are needed to remedy this evil, not only to insure proper minority group representation but to insure proper majority control and responsibility.

Taxes and Expenses

"The inefficient and unbusinesslike administration of municipal affairs is probably best revealed in the matter of taxation and expenditures.

"A comparison of Boston's tax rates with the P.R. cities of Cincinnati and Toledo[1] is most illuminating.

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[1] These cities have the manager plan as well as P. R.—*Editor.*

Tax Rates per $1,000 Valuation

	Boston	*Cincinnati*	*Toledo*
1930	$30.80	$22.10	$27.00
1939	39.90	19.98	19.00

"During the year 1939 Boston's tax rate of $39.90 was the highest upon an adjusted basis of any of the thirteen cities of the nation having a population of over 500,000 people.

"While Cincinnati from 1930 to 1938 inclusive reduced its debt by $25,000,000, Boston's net funded debt increased from $102,176,784.81 on January 1, 1930, to $130,156,316.50 on January 1, 1937, an increase of about $28,000,000.

P.R. Would Help

"The council may adopt or reject or reduce any appropriation initiated by the mayor. It may, with the mayor, reorganize, consolidate, or abolish departments in whole or in part and reduce or abolish salaries of departmental heads and board members. These powers are sufficient to influence and to restrain even a profligate mayor in the increase of annual expenditures and of the city debt. These powers are sufficient only if the members of the council are of a character and ability to consider and act with regard to the interests of the city as a whole rather than the interests of each particular district, ward, and precinct.

"We find that generally the councilors elected by wards are continually striving to secure advantages for their own wards and constituents and are disinterested in the general welfare. We find that as a rule the councilors have no experience in the conduct of a business. We find also that general criticism has been levelled at various members from time to time, if not for alleged corruption, for unwisdom and impropriety.

"Taxicab, dog track, market rental, City Hospital administration graft scandals have in the last two years attracted the public attention if they have not shocked the public conscience. From time to time our newspapers have editorialized and suggested that something should be done to remedy the evils of the present system. The following editorial from the *Christian Science Monitor* is indicative of the periodically aroused public conscience.

> 'Overriding by the City Council of the Mayor's dog-track veto in the face of strong public opposition and the Finance Commission's charge that four councilors tried to determine how much they could get for votes in throwing taxi stands open to competition emphasizes the need for drastic Council reforms. One of its own members has characterized the Council as a "powerless group that can be bought for a constable's position." Another has summed up the average yearly duties of a councilor as: "Fixing about ten traffic tickets a week; demanding and receiving about one hundred jobs a year for constituents; tossing a few city contracts to friends."
>
> 'Much of the difficulty lies in the present system of electing councilors by wards for it encourages members to vote for each other's projects in order to obtain votes for their own.
>
> 'Such log-rolling places an unwarranted burden on the taxpayer. This is certainly one reason why the tax rate has nearly doubled since 1924, when Boston stopped electing its councilors at large. Another fault lies in the unwieldy size of the Council, with its twenty-two members. But perhaps most serious of all is the fact that many competent men are discouraged from running for the Council because they feel the present voting system militates against candidates who refuse to align themselves with machine politics.
>
> 'Some of these faults doubtless could be eliminated by adopting the proportional representation method of choosing a council. It would provide elections at large, reduce the number of members to nine; and its preferential system of balloting and simplified system for nominations foil the standard devices of the political bosses. Thus it attracts a higher type of candidate.

> 'At this time, when the Council is the subject of much public dissatisfaction, it is encouraging to know that a committee has been formed and a campaign projected to bring Boston this type of council.' "

Prize Contests on Election Methods

Two prize essay competitions have recently been announced by British friends of representative government, one open to "all graduates, undergraduates, and students, without distinction of sex or nationality, of any university or university college in Great Britain or Ireland, who have not attained the age of twenty-five years," the other to "all Indian-born graduates, undergraduates, and students, without distinction of sex, of any university in India, who have not attained the age of twenty-five years." In each case there are three prizes, of £50, £30 and £20 respectively.

The subject of the British essay contest is stated as follows:

> To consider the working of the Representation of the People Act, 1918, as exemplified in the general elections held since the passing of the act and to indicate what changes, if any, should be made in the method of electing Parliament in order to assure, so far as is reasonably possible, that the post-war House of Commons shall be representative of the nation, and shall contain within itself the highest political ability and leadership, irrespective of party, available for national service.

The Indian essay subject is:

> In respect of any new constitution for India, with special reference to the method of electing parliamentary bodies and the formation of executive governments, and to the rights of minorities, political and other, in relation thereto, what constitutional provisions are the most likely to promote the coöperation in the tasks of government of all communities in India?"

In introducing the British contest the announcement says:

> On the occasion of the introduction of the Prolongation of Parliament Bill, October 1940, a declaration was made on behalf of the Cabinet in both Houses of Parliament indicating that before the next general election took place there would be an opportunity, if Parliament so desired, "to consider questions connected with changes in our electoral system."
>
> In a debate on electoral reform in Parliament, the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, always a devoted upholder of our parliamentary institutions, said: "It is our duty to strengthen the House of Commons. Parliament is all we have and the House of Commons is the main part of it. . . . Surely care of this central instrument ought to be a sacred trust."
>
> Care is specially required in respect of the House of Commons that will be elected at the end of the war; it will bear unparalleled responsibilities in respect of both international relationships and national reconstruction; its composition will be of the highest importance to Great Britain and to the world.

In the spring of 1940 a somewhat similar contest was staged in New York City, on a less ambitious scale, by the Joint Committee on the Council Election, a committee of representatives of leading civic organizations interested in proportional representation and in education to enable the citizens of New York City to make the best use of its opportunities. Prizes of $20 and $10 were offered to students in the city high schools for essays on the subject of P.R. A number of papers were received which showed a good comprehension of the subject and its importance to the city as well as talent in writing. First prize was awarded to Spencer Dvorkin of the Bronx High School of Science, second to David L. Hurwitz of the High School of Music and Art.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Accounting Procedures of the United States Government. By E. F. Bartelt. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. xii, 155 pp. $2.00.

This book presents in brief compass the first authoritative treatment of the federal accounting system from the standpoint of the Treasury Department. It consists of a series of papers prepared by the author over a period of more than two years. While these papers were not intended at the time to present a well rounded treatment of the accounting system, they have been so skillfully edited in bringing them together for this small volume that they now give an excellent picture of the whole accounting and reporting procedures. Numerous charts have been added which serve to illuminate the textual matter. The one weakness of the volume from an editorial standpoint seems to be the omission of an index, though it may be argued that since the text is not very long, an index is not needed.

The author, who is now chief accounting officer of the Treasury Department, has worked for twenty years in that department during which time he has been intimately associated with all phases of accounting work. Although he has actually lived with this work day after day and year after year, he is by no means blind to the shortcomings of the federal accounting system. For some time his best efforts have been devoted to improvement of the accounting methods and procedures of the government. With this in mind, he prepared the series of papers which constitute the present volume as a means of enlisting support of public men, accountants, and students of government in the reform of federal accounting and reporting.

The papers have not been arranged chronologically as they were written, but rather in the order of their development of the subject matter. The first paper presents a description of the Treasury Department and its functions in the light of its historical background. The second paper deals with changes in the Treasury accounting methods, again mainly historical in approach. Subsequent papers discuss the general accounting system, accounting for emergency relief expenditures, control of federal expenditures, and a plan for integrating the accounting work of the government. A final paper is concerned with the fiscal and accounting relationships now existing among the principal governmental agencies, with suggestions for improvement.

Those of us who are interested in better accounting and reporting methods for the federal government are greatly indebted to Mr. Bartelt for preparing these papers and to the Public Administration Service for bringing them out in printed form.

A. E. Buck
Institute of Public Administration

Public Finance. By Alfred G. Buehler. New York City, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1940. 846 pp. $4.00.

The second edition of this voluminous textbook by the associate professor of public finance at the Wharton School of Commerce and Finance contains over eight hundred pages of almost solid reading matter. Therefore it cannot in any sense be "reviewed" in a few hundred words.

Taxes and their problems take up nearly half the pages and provide excellent reading—the best in the book. Two chapters stand out particularly: Shifting and Incidence and Equitable Distribution. In fact if this part of the book were published separately it would doubtless have wider use.

Teachers and students of other phases of public finance must admit that, except for what is noted below, the discussions of Spending, Control of Spending, and Income Producing Enterprises, are adequate. The "selected references" will be necessary, however, to give aid in practical problems.

The exception noted is on Governmental Borrowing and much of this is thorough and worthwhile. But on page 167, Exaggerated Notions of Expenditures, the reader gets the feeling he is shown two caricatures of extreme positions. Not enough space is given to certain schools of thought that are not extreme. It is significant that though Leo Wolman's study is listed, it is not discussed; *Controlling Depressions* by Paul H. Douglas is not even listed. On the other hand much is made of the League of Nation's *Report on Public Works in a Depression.* The inadequacy of this section appears to this reviewer to rest upon the fact that, though the views of Irving Fisher on some subjects are presented, his views and those of many other conservative economists on the relation of modern money to bank credit, and therefore to the whole question of public as well as private finance, is ignored.

At the bottom of page 721 the paragraph, The Purposes of Borrowing, leaves out the most important reasons governments now "borrow" in a depression, that is, to bring circulating medium into existence to replace that whose destruction has caused the depression, and incidentally to deprive the hoarders of masses of currency of the unfair advantage they obtain when prices fall fast.

The author points out that much of such money "borrowed" by governments in a depression is wasted. All will agree with that. But whoever is granted by bankers the right to use bank credit money gets something for nothing when he proffers it, and when a government gives it to a man technically called "unemployed" it may not get much "something" for its "nothing." However, this is a small price to pay for the production and consumption of wealth which the new bank credit dollar will lead to in one year of exchanging.

The book has one great value to readers of this REVIEW. Every paragraph or so discusses matters which affect the problem of whether those being taxed to support a local government will find that burden easier or harder. The book makes clear that the financial policy of one unit and level of government has repercussions on all others.

W. J. M.

Problems in Service Levels. The Readjustment of Services and Areas in Local Government. By William Seal Carpenter. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1940. 234 pp. $2.50.

The focus of the problem discussed in this book is a center of conflicting theories and practices. One controversy has to do with the search for efficiency in government—a search generated by high taxes, tax delinquency, local government bankruptcy, and the growing unwillingness of well-to-do areas to subsidize rural and urban slums. The drive toward greater efficiency moves toward annexation, consolidation, deorganization, centralization—toward reducing overhead costs and raising the standards of administration. The task is to discover the size of unit, relative to function, which will best render the needed service at the lowest cost.

The second area of controversy is one of control. On the one hand there are the theories of the right of self-government, the dangers of concentration of power, the greater probability of locally controlled government meeting more satisfactorily local needs. On the other hand such theories in practice often cloak the vested interests of office-holders or the ignorance of taxpayers as to the relation between taxes and benefits.

In his first chapter Professor Carpenter discusses historically the basis for local government in the United States. It is a somewhat truncated discussion for it breaks off after describing developments to about 1800 and the second chapter immediately launches into the discussion of "inter-jurisdictional agreements." Such agreements cover a wide range of subjects —police and fire protection, sewage disposal, construction and maintenance of institutions, health services, purchasing, planning, broadcasting, flood control, exhibitions, and so on. Comprehensive state laws authorizing such agreements are rare.

The third chapter reviews methods and progress of consolidation and annexation and the fourth reviews deorganization. State laws on these subjects are usually permissive though new developments of some promise are that the state pay bonuses for elimination or consolidation of grossly inefficient units, or for the state by law to make the private property of inefficient jurisdictions liable for its debts and thus encourage a willingness to consolidate or deorganize. Throughout these chapters and the last on conclusions, Professor Carpenter gives advice and suggestions on improving statutes, contracts, and techniques. His discussion takes up 139 pages, yet is hardly more than an introduction to the subject. It makes little attempt to set forth criteria for standards of service, or to analyze the equally difficult problem of the relation of local self-government to democratic control of government generally. There is no examination of the effect of deorganization or consolidation on voting habits, or the quality and responsibility of elected officials.

Pages 143-227 contain a bibliography, in which, according to its author, Miss Lee Virginia Wingfield, "emphasis has been placed upon materials that treat the theory of the problem or of its solution; that indicate general and significant developments in local readjustment; or that explore specific situations as examples of sound technical approach." The items are classified under three main headings: reorganization, readjustment of services, and readjustment of local areas.

The problem is a dual one: on the one hand it is a cost accounting problem—one of technical efficiency in the construction, organization, and management of administrative units; on the other it is a problem in democratic government—in the relation of self-government to the character, conduct, and welfare of people. If self-government is an end in itself, an integral part of education for good living, then some sort of over-all social audit is required and the problem as a whole necessitates a much more comprehensive and intensive study than it has received here.

HARVEY PINNEY
New York University

The Legal Basis for Municipal Functions in Toledo. By Harold T. Towe. Fastoria, Ohio, Gray Printing Company, 1940. 328 pp.

How does a city get that way? In this book Mr. Towe gives a case history of the evolution of one city which should shed light on the functional evolution of all cities. With scholarly meticulousness he has traced down through more than a century the origins of everything that the city of Toledo does—and citizens take for granted today. A spirited preface by O. Garfield Jones comments pointedly: "It is only upon the basis of many such detailed studies of the evolution of many municipal corporations that an accurate history of municipal development can be written either for Ohio or for the United States. The rampant individualism of the American frontier was reflected in the municipal development of that period. And the random course of this evolution was aided and abetted by the vicious special legislation for cities which was prevalent in so many of our states in the last century. It was fortunate indeed that Mr. Towe's legal antiquarian interest fastened upon so typical an industrial city as Toledo in so typical a state as Ohio."

M. R.

Additional Books and Pamphlets Received

Accounting

Local Government Accounting—The Secret to Better City and County Management; **Minimum Accounting Standards** for Tennessee Counties and Small Municipalities. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1940. 29 and 60 pp.

Assessments

Measuring Inequalities in Farm Property Assessments in Maryland. By William Paul Walker and Earl E. Miller. College Park, University of Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, 1940. 40 pp.

Papers Presented at the Seventh National Conference on Assessment Administration. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1940. iii, 74 pp. $1.00.

Report of the Committee on Assessment Organization and Personnel. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1940. 28 pp. mimeo.

Conservation of Natural Resources

Forest Depletion in Outline; Pacific Northwest Resources in Outline; Soil Conservation in Outline. Portland Oregon, Northwest Regional Council, 1940. 45, 64, and 45 pp. mimeo. Twenty-five cents each.

Northern Great Plains. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1940. 44 pp. Ten cents.

Our National Resources, Facts and Problems. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1940. 45 pp. Ten cents.

Pacific Northwest Problems and Materials. An Introduction. Portland Oregon, Northwest Regional Council, 1940. 190 pp. Fifty cents.

Democracy

Education and the Defense of American Democracy. Washington, D. C., Educational Policies Commission, 1940. 23 pp. Ten cents.

The Dangers to Democracy: What

Can Be Done About Them? (Booklist). Chicago, American Library Association, 1941. 28 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Education

Administration of State School Lands and Public Trust Funds in Nebraska. By Roger B. Shumate. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1940. 59 pp.

Free Textbook Programs. Survey of Legislation and Administrative Practices, Methods of Financing and Installation in Other States, and Possible Application to Kansas. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1940. xii, 56 pp. mimeo.

Know Your School System. By Frances N. Anderson. Washington, D. C., National League of Women Voters, 1940. 15 pp. Ten cents.

Report of a Survey of the Public Schools of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. By Division of Field Studies, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. xviii, 564 pp. $1.50.

Fire

A Survey of Fire Hose Prices and Purchase Policies in American Cities. By Research Department, City of Houston (Texas), 1940. 15 pp. mimeo.

Initiative and Referendum

Initiative and Referendum—A Bibliography. Compiled by Josephine Ver Brugge Zeitlin. Los Angeles, The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, 1940. 97 pp. mimeo. Seventy-five cents.

Legislatures

A New Legislature for Modern California. By Dean E. McHenry. Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1940. 30 pp. Ten cents.

Proposed Bills Submitted to the General Assembly of 1941. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, 1940. 212 pp.

Report of the Legislative Council, State of Connecticut. Hartford, Connecticut Legislative Council, 1940. 64 pp.

Report to the General Assembly of 1941. Baltimore, Maryland Legislative Council, 1940. iv, 65 pp.

Liquor Control

Liquor Control—or Chaos. Detroit, Michigan Liquor Study Committee, 1940. xii, 85 pp. Charts, illus. Two dollars. (Apply to Murton Peer, secretary, 6432 Cass, Detroit.)

Municipal Government

Battle for Municipal Reform. Mobilization and Attack, 1875 to 1900. By Clifford W. Patton. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. 91 pp. Clothbound, $2; Paperbound, $1.50.

City Problems of 1940. The Annual Proceedings of the United States Conference of Mayors, New York City, September 19-21, 1940. Edited by Paul V. Betters. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1940. iv, 115 pp. $3.00.

The Municipality and Cultural Life. By H. E. Varga. Cleveland, Western Reserve University Press, 1940. 38 pp.

Personnel

The Balance Sheet. A Merit System Progress Report 1933-1940. New York City, Civil Service Commission, 1940. 16 pp. illus.

The Recruitment, Training and Education of Local Government Officers. By L. Hill. London, National Association of Local Government Officers, 1940. 56 pp. illus.

Training Your Employees. Suggestions to Executives and Supervisors. By Milton Hall. Washington, D. C., Society for Personnel Administration, 1940. 26 pp. Thirty-five cents (reductions on quantity orders).

Planning

National Conference on Planning. Proceedings of the Conference held at San Francisco, California, July 8-11, 1940. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1940. v, 194 pp. $2.00.

Police

Organization and Administration of a Police Department in Cities under 4,000 Population; **Records System for Small Police Departments in Wisconsin; Rules and Regulations for the Police Department.** Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1940. 14, 31, and 13 pp. respectively, mimeo. Fifty cents each.

Recreation

Chicago Recreation Survey—Volume V, Recommendations Adopted by the Chicago Recreation Commission on the Basis of the Findings of the Chicago Recreation Survey and Summary of Findings. Edited by Arthur J. Todd. Chicago, Chicago Recreation Commission, 1940. xi, 98 pp.

"OPEN BACK DOOR"

(Continued from Page 89)

should be supported by similar studies in other areas, it may well be that the open back door is in need of general modification.

It is suggested that such modification might take the form of an implemented combination of the "closed" and "open" door devices. Thus, for the sake of administrative flexibility, authority might be vested in the appointing authority to remove "for the good of the service," and without reversal powers in the hands of the civil service department, in all cases except those in which the latter finds that the dismissal was prompted by racial, religious, or political motives. In such exceptions the civil service department might be vested with actual reinstatement powers in order that the employee's interest might be protected from unwarranted separations.[11]

In this manner both administrative flexibility and employee justice are served. The only difficulty which would seem apparent in such a system is with regard to the interpretation of the word "political." Yet for all this difficulty it would seem far less serious than the present difficulties which have been found to exist in both the "open" and "closed" back door dismissal procedures.

EDITORIALS

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REVIEW, 48 per cent of the cities with 30,000 or more population now permit the payment of taxes in two installments, whereas only 29 per cent permitted it in 1930. Eight per cent of the cities permit five installments or more as compared with none in 1930.

The trend is unmistakable and can be expected to be an increasingly important safeguard against tax delinquency.

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[11] The actual power of reinstatement in the event of this type of dismissal distinguishes this suggestion from the unimplemented prohibitions against such dismissals which are contained in United States and Rhode Island statutes and in the new amendment to the Michigan constitution.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

A New Cure for "Hag Tooth"

Editorial

The Citizen's Responsibilities in Foreign Policy

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States and Cities in Defense Program

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New Jersey's Merit System Pattern

Charles P. Messick

San Francisco: Consolidation Pioneer

Alfred F. Smith

Manager Plan for Tennessee County

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The League's Business

Passaic Survey Completed

Immediate savings of approximately $50,000 annually in the cost of operating the government of Passaic, New Jersey, are recommended in the report by the League's Consultant Service filed on February 19. Such savings can be made, the report states, "without disrupting essential services or resorting to wholesale salary reductions or ruthless cutting of personnel" among city employees.

The survey was initiated by the Passaic Taxpayers and Renters Association, the City Commission and the Board of Education sharing its cost.

While the report found that the present commissioners were conducting the city "in a creditable manner," it recommended that Passaic adopt a more modern type of government such as the council-manager or strong mayor plan. Lack of coördination, general wastefulness, and other weaknesses of commission government, under which many New Jersey communities operate, were discussed at length.

The tax burden in Passaic was found to be "abnormally high" but this was partly excused by the fact that the city is retiring its debt at a rapid rate and by the large state and county shares of general property tax revenue.

Among recommendations were discontinuance of the city employment bureau, adoption of a more economical plan of buying fuel for schools, reductions in personnel of various departments, discontinuance of fire insurance policies on fire stations and apparatus, and consolidation of various offices and services.

League Officials in the News

John G. Winant, the League's president, has now gone to England, via Yankee clipper, where he will take up his duties as ambassador to that country.

Charles P. Taft, an honorary vice-president of the League, has recently been appointed assistant coördinator of all health, nutrition, and recreation activities affecting national defense.

Philip Cornick, a member of the League's Council on leave of absence from the Institute of Public Administration, is making a special study for the Federal Housing Administration.

State Correspondents

With few exceptions state correspondents for the REVIEW have consented to serve in that capacity for another year. Names of correspondents will be found on the inside front cover of this issue of the REVIEW.

Baldwin Prize Essay Contest

Essays to be entered in the 1941 competition for the William H. Baldwin prize of $100 should be mailed or expressed to the office of the League not later than May 15. The contest is open to all undergraduate students registered in a regular course in any college or university offering direct instruction in state or municipal government. A list of subjects may be secured from the League's office. The Baldwin prize has been awarded annually by the League since 1911. It was first given by Mrs. George Burnham, Jr., of Philadelphia as a memoriam to William H. Baldwin; since Mrs. Burnham's death it has been continued by her family.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A New Cure for "Hag Tooth"

FEW cities have been able in recent years to escape the "hag tooth" appearance which comes with the outward movement of population and the growth of blighted areas around business districts.

The problem is one of the many encountered in connection with the development of metropolitan areas. There have been penetrating studies; the faults and errors of past planning have been pretty clearly set forth. Still, the specific cures remain uncertain and comparatively untried.

It is reassuring, therefore, to encounter a definite pattern such as that set forth in a brief article in this issue.[1] The article discusses Waverly, a community which was once a little village outside Baltimore, but which has tenaciously retained much of its individual character even though it was long since swallowed up by the city and now lies within two and a half miles of Baltimore's central business district.

If this plan is permanently successful in stopping decline and in preventing further encroachment by a neighboring slum area, the cure will undoubtedly be one which can be applied in many other places.

The effective rescue of blighted areas still seems, however, to require large scale and forceful action which will wipe the whole mess clean and start over without regard for old street arrangements. After the war is over, it might well be one of the projects for which we will be looking to provide a cushion for the let-down from the superstimulation of industrial activity.

We have progressed from the "city beautiful" concept to a shift of emphasis to highway arteries and the movement of traffic. Now we are reaching the time for economic and social integration as the predominant characteristic of planning.

Wiping the slate clean is no easy matter. Even when nature took a hand and an earthquake shook down large congested areas of Tokio, the wise planners were frustrated. Individual owners of small properties could not be persuaded to pool their holdings and permit a rearrangement which would ultimately be of great benefit to all of them.

If the blighted area problem of American cities is to be left to private enterprise, we may have to wait until savings banks, insurance companies, and other large mortgage holders own the great majority of property in a neighborhood. Large operators can see the point. But they still may have to depend on public intercession to whip into line the few last-minute avaricious hold-outs.

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[1] See *"A Blueprint for Urban Conservation,"* page 157 of this issue.

Is Compromise Necessary?

POUGHKEEPSIE, New York, faces a problem which has been faced by many other communities.

For several years there has been widespread and earnest discussion of that city's public affairs. Fairly general agreement seems to have been reached, except among those who customarily cling to the status quo, that the basic reason Poughkeepsie finds it difficult to achieve good government is that the charter itself is bad.

At this point attention turned to the council-manager plan, as it has for some years in most cities in which charter change is necessary. Many recognized authorities were consulted and civic leaders of the community studied the problem thoroughly. Recently, at what was described as a very representative meeting, the Poughkeepsie Open Forum voted overwhelmingly in favor of working for the adoption of the council-manager plan. Other community leaders and such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce have reached the same conclusion.

In the face of this a compromise is now proposed. It is suggested that the people of Poughkeepsie have been accustomed for so long to various old methods, such as electing aldermen by wards, that it would not be politically feasible to attempt such sweeping changes as adoption of the council-manager plan with members of the council elected at large by proportional representation.

This is an old story and, regardless of the motives of those who urge the half loaf, an insidious one against which champions of good government everywhere must be eternally on guard.

Changing a charter either partially or wholly is a major operation. It is no simple matter to stir the people of the average city to the point of making fundamental changes.

Those who advocate compromise say, "Let's take a partial step now toward the ideal. After the people have become accustomed to a little improvement, it will be easier for them to accept the best."

But it won't. It is only seldom that enough people become sufficiently stirred to demand a basic change and to work hard enough to win their neighbors over to their way of thinking. It takes an earnest effort, on the part of those who have informed themselves, to conduct the educational campaign necessary to bring similar understanding to those who take their democratic privileges less seriously.

Therefore it is well to beware the pitfalls of compromise. Just as an army fights poorly when it only half believes in its cause, a group of aroused citizens will campaign less wholeheartedly for a mere part of what a city needs. If Poughkeepsie fights for an ideal and loses, it will be better able to fight for it again and again until, as many other cities have, it wins. But if it fights for a mere compromise and loses that, will it not be more difficult later to muster strength to seek any change at all?

The Citizen's Responsibilities in Foreign Policy

"Not everybody can take a stand in the front line of battle; but each one can help make democracy succeed."

By **JOHN G. WINANT**
President, National Municipal League

FOREIGN policy today cannot and should not be considered apart from social and economic policy. Social and economic policy must be based upon the needs and demands of the citizens of each country. In this connection I should like to say something of the work done by the International Labor Organization because this organization deals in economic and social policy in the international field. It is the only official international organization through which governments, organized workers, and organized employers work for the realization of social justice. It is an organization in which every American has a stake and towards which he should have a feeling of personal responsibility.

As Governor of the state of New Hampshire through the worst years of the depression, I saw at first hand the social and economic problems facing our state and the nation. I learned then how extensively the roots of these issues pushed out across state and national frontiers. I believed then—as I believe today—that these questions must be solved by the friendly coöperation of peoples in every part of the world. I went to Europe in 1935 to become assistant director of the International Labor Office because I believed that this was true. I believed that peace was the paramount issue for the peoples of the world.

In the intervening years we have seen the direct relationship between foreign policy and social advance. The depression left its mark on both. Every citizen learned by experience the extent to which his own security, that of his family and that of his country, depended upon the achievement of an economic structure, national and international, which held the promise and provided the basis for lasting and world-wide social security.

The last years did witness great social advance in some directions—the extension of basic social insurance to millions of people, the development of reciprocal trade agreements, the adoption of legislation guaranteeing elemental rights to workers in many countries. But, on the other hand, the same years witnessed the disintegration of efforts toward collective security, the slow spread of mistrust among nations, rearmament, and systematic oppression.

Fascism and National Socialism, stemming from the low tide of social achievement in depression years, mobilized the insecurities of a discouraged citizenry. In Germany

Nazi leaders promised the common citizen employment, they promised him security, they raised his hopes. He was made, willingly or unwillingly, a small part in a mighty war machine. But even after the Nazis conquered Germany, united with Italy, and were openly avowing their aggressive intentions, the great majority of citizens in other countries failed to recognize the threat to free citizens everywhere implicit in National Socialism. Not until the threat of war shook Europe to its very foundations in September 1938 was there any real awakening by the average citizen to his stake and his responsibilities in the foreign policies within democratic countries. And this was not soon enough; for war came and found the democracies largely unprepared to meet this challenge to their very existence.

Unpreparedness was not only military. There was also a lack of foresight and of readiness in the social field. War came to the democracies when they still had thousands of unemployed. It found them holding out little promise to the young or to the old, with poor living conditions, with tired faith. The Fascist promise of work and hope fell on fertile ground under these conditions: it contributed to division within the house of democracy. We could not expect—and we cannot now expect—that a citizen with no share in the benefits of democracy will give his faith and his life for the preservation of empty promises in a democracy. Every citizen's stake in foreign policy mounts as his social stake in his country and in his community is increased.

Even though today the problem before the democracies is one of survival, we must give constant thought to the content of democracy. We must be ready, each one of us, to help build a world in which free peoples can live and work together in security and peace. This means that every citizen and every nation must accept the full responsibilities of freedom. And this can come about only if we are willing to wipe out the hunger and the want and the hopelessness of the pre-war period.

CREATION OF THE ILO

The International Labor Organization can help to strengthen the fabric of democracy. It was created in 1919 in response to the convictions of the peoples that foreign policy could not continue to disregard the underlying social issues of the world. Before the last World War foreign affairs had been conducted with too little consideration for the needs of the common people. Foreign policy had been conceived too narrowly and channeled too narrowly.

When the Labor Organization was established, therefore, its machinery included official representation for employers and workers as well as for governments. These three groups would work together on social and labor issues which were international in character; and labor and social treaties among nations would supplement political treaties and make them more meaningful. In its twenty years of peacetime existence, the ILO has sought and found many of the techniques for improving the social structure of its member nations and has helped to insure better minimum standards.

It is hard during a war when everything we value is at stake for any one of us to see beyond the most immediate and urgent task of the moment. Priority of production, priority of man power, priority of transport, priority of thought and will are directed to the waging of the war itself. But the conflict goes far deeper than the battlefields of today. This war is a war *of* and *for* social principles. These principles are not national; they are international. No one of us can afford to be complacent as to the future. To win the war or to build our defense, we must first justify our beliefs by strengthening the fundamental economic, social, and civil rights of all free citizens.

Not everyone can take a stand in the front line of battle. But each one can help make democracy succeed. It is the duty of every citizen to see to it that no opportunity to enlarge the social content of democracy is lost. To do this is to fulfill an important part of your duty in foreign policy, for it lends strength to your country. Each one of us must keep in mind, now and in the future, that social justice is a basic requisite for a united and alert citizenry, for war and for peace.

Within the limits of its competence, and because of its coördination of world experience, the International Labor Organization can help fulfill this duty. The organization can continue to serve both free belligerent countries and neutral countries by assisting in determining priorities in social policy and programs. Its machinery can be used in helping to adapt existing standards to urgent war needs and to appraise hastily improvised methods of meeting war strains on the social structure.

The problem of re-employment and refugee settlement, difficulties of employment organization for war, questions of health and social security in war time—these are a few specific fields in which tripartite discussion through the ILO can be useful and in which the International Labor Office can lend the assistance of some of its technicians.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION EXTENDED

The office has already helped with extension of social security in South America and can help develop other social legislation in American countries, for we are learning slowly that this is the best possible way in which to meet the inroads of Fascism in many parts of the American Continent. The existence of the ILO is of great value to those who relate social progress and peace to the far-flung conflict of today. The organization can bring together the representatives of industry and of labor and of governments. Such meetings may help to clarify social objectives during the difficult months to come and point the way to the stronger democracy of the future.

Just as the existence of this machinery is essential in the international field, so in the national field equal coöperation of labor and industry with government in planning and executing national defense policies is a strengthening factor which enables democracy to mobilize its forces more completely. It cannot fail to increase the productive capacity of America. The forces of democracy can only be mobilized fully, however, if these groups are backed by informed public opinion. Such opinion does not grow automatically. It can be obtained only if each citizen recognizes its desirability and is willing to accept the responsibility for developing it. Only in this way can democracy keep its faith and act with confidence and courage.

CITIZEN GROUPS VALUABLE

Here lies, above all else, the value of the work done by such organizations as the League of Women Voters. In making large numbers of citizens aware of the public issues facing us today, such organizations develop the background of informed public opinion. This is the first step in democratic government. Then, by making known the views of these organizations of citizens, it is possible for our representatives to hear and take into account the opinions of the people of the country.

The ILO is dependent upon the march of public opinion for the achievement of its objectives. In order to retain its responsiveness to free opinion and to retain its own freedom of speech and action, the office has transferred temporarily to Montreal a large part of its key personnel. Work has been resumed. We are glad to be in a position once more to be able to provide factual information which may be of use in helping shape public opinion in the United States.

A further opportunity will come when the war has been won for democracy. Then we must be prepared to conquer the peace. Only by finding a common basis of world citizenship and by accepting far-reaching and progressive social change can we hope to secure the economic and social security which will make any peace real and lasting.

We must not start with a feeling of defeat. We must have faith in ourselves, in our institutions, and in our abilities to adapt our way of life to the challenge of today and to the greater challenge of tomorrow.

We must make democracy work. That is the price of responsible citizenship in our country and in the world. Neither the legislator nor the executive can secure sound policy, foreign or domestic. He may advise, he may implement, he may execute, but ultimately, policy must be finally determined by the expressed will of the people. That is the tradition of freedom; let us make it the practice in all walks of life and in all fields of work. We have no time to pause. We have already begun to lay the cornerstone for the democratic world order of tomorrow. What we do together can never fail.

Editor's Note.—Address given before luncheon meeting of New York City League of Women Voters, February 8, 1941.

States and Cities in the Defense Program

"Preparation for our national defense requires cooperative effort with unity of purpose throughout the country."

By DANIEL W. HOAN
Division of State and Local Cooperation,
Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense

THE story of the states and cities in the defense program can best be told by describing the way in which the Division of State and Local Coöperation of the National Defense Advisory Commission has been carrying out its functions. The task of the division is, in fact, much as outlined in the opening sentence of a memorandum on the subject, issued August 2, which reads:

> Preparation for our national defense requires coöperative effort with unity of purpose throughout the country.

What is the part of the Division of State and Local Coöperation in effectuating or promoting this spirit and purpose of coöperative effort—"a national unity of purpose throughout the country?"

Page three of the memorandum mentioned gives partial answer. After discussing in a general way the problem that faces local, state, and federal governments, it reads:

> The problem, then, is to provide means for full utilization of the powers and administrative organizations of federal, state and local governments and for adjusting and coördinating programs and procedures in order that closely integrated administrative machinery may function with the maximum speed and effectiveness.
>
> At the same time private agencies should be afforded opportunity to put their knowledge, skill, and organized facilities at the service of the nation, and individual offers of aid should be properly appraised and their constructive values assimilated. Through such blending of powers and harmonious collaboration, public and private organizations, groups and individuals may participate effectively in preparation for our mutual protection against any threat of danger from within or without.

The problem that faces us now is: can we organize and coördinate business, labor, and government so efficiently that no dictator will dare attack us, or if he dares, that we shall be prepared to meet him with the vast, well concentrated strength of the nation?

This brings us squarely up against the question of how we can best knit together the officials and activities of our federal, state, and local governments.

Obviously, in a great national setup for defense there will be an increasing avalanche of mail, telegrams, telephone calls, and personal calls to the National Advisory Commission, seeking advice or information on the hundreds of ideas and problems arising every minute of the day. There is thus created a need for the service of communication between defense activities in Washington, the states, and the localities, and through the state defense councils with the local councils of each state. And so the first task assigned to the Division of State and Local Coöperation was not only to protect the commission from being overloaded with inquiries that might be handled as well, if not better, elsewhere but also to reply to those inquiries in language that is helpful and easily understood. Thus the memorandum pointed out that our first task was:

> To serve as the channel of communication between the Council of National Defense and Advisory Commission and the state councils, and through the state councils with local councils in each state.

Next came numerous communications from the state defense councils of a more formal nature, such as reports which might reveal lack of coördination or difficulties in executing this, that, or the other job—documents which often contained valuable plans for local endeavor. There was need for someone to recommend adjustments in such programs, sift out new activities suggested, recommend to all states the types of new facilities or services needed, and be held responsible for prompt assistance along any of these lines. Thus came the second assignment:

> To receive from defense councils in the states reports upon problems of coördination requiring federal attention, recommendations for necessary adjustments in programs, suggestions regarding new activities, proffers of facilities or services, and be responsible for their routing and follow-up to insure appropriate disposition.

Next in line was the problem of keeping both state and local councils of defense advised from day to day as to the development of the national defense program, especially as it affects or requires coöperation of state and local agencies. It was to meet this need that various channels of communication were developed. One such channel, for example, is the section on state and local coöperation in the Defense Commission's weekly bulletin, *Defense*.[1] The division likewise on occasion assigns a speaker to take part in important regional meetings. All of these steps are in compliance with the third of our duties, which is:

> To keep the state and local councils currently informed regarding the national defense program as it develops, particularly with respect to the specific activities in which the coöperation of state and local agencies is required from time to time.

One question frequently asked is: How can the average citizen have a voice in shaping this defense program? We are happy to say that no citizen need hesitate to offer his suggestions nor need he be denied a hearing on their merits.

NEW JERSEY'S PLAN

Not long ago the people of New Jersey, led by some of their most active citizens, suggested to Governor Moore of that state that he issue a proclamation asking that the responsible citizens of every community volunteer their services to organize local community service councils to be affiliated with local defense councils. The New Jersey State Defense Council sent to our division a pamphlet which describes in detail the activities promoted by such service councils. The pamphlet stressed the fact that recreational, social, religious, civic, patriotic, health, and welfare activities are all essential parts of the training of our young men in any national defense program. It set forth in detail the types of services that could profitably be organized in many communities. Among those that should be initiated at once, particularly in and about training camps, are the following: information service; hospitality; entertainment; travelers' aid, coöperation with churches, fraternal orders, and other civic organizations; complete use of municipal resources, including schools, parks, and recreational centers; camp and community singing and a music program; girls' and women's work; soldiers' and sailors' clubs and centers; athletics; social recreation and dancing.

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[1] Available by subscription through the Government Printing Office.

This division studied the program, obtained approval of the National Advisory Commission for its general dissemination, and mailed copies to all thirty-nine of the state councils of defense thus far organized. In this way the division brought to the attention of the most active forces in the nation a plan by which all citizens of a community may coöperate to a high degree in the proper training, entertainment, and guidance of the young men of America.

This is an example of how the division carries out its fourth duty:

> To clear information between defense councils in different states regarding matters of council organization, administration, and activity.

These, then, were the four general classifications of functions as conceived by the National Defense Commission to be executed by the Division of State and Local Coöperation. It was well known at that time, however, that the functions and purposes of the division would develop and increase rapidly as time went on. It was also realized that heretofore there had never been a pattern worked out which could be used as a guide in prescribing the division's functions and activities. It is from day to day experiences in dealing with problems occurring between the different levels of government that we have been able to formulate definitely the fields of activity where assistance and coördination are needed. These are shaping the functions of the division.

ADVICE NEEDED

For example, from time to time requests arise for assistance and advice in organizing a state or local council of defense. The division details someone to go out in response to such requests and render all possible aid and encouragement. We have not presumed to take authority for deciding when a state or city should so organize. When, however, a request comes for assistance, we feel it is our duty to comply.

At the request of several states, the division has furnished a suggested state defense council act for presentation to state legislatures. This act makes legal provision for creation and establishment of both state and local councils of defense.

There are already in existence approximately ninety local areas where defense operations of various kinds have increased and will increase the population enormously. Naturally local, and even state, officials are overwhelmed with the size of the problems presented by this sudden expansion. Take, for example, the Hampton Roads and Norfolk areas of Virginia. Because of the great natural harbor there, it has always been a center for ship construction and the harboring of naval activities. Already there exist in the area eighteen important military and naval establishments. Suddenly necessity requires not only enlargement of all these facilities but the letting of huge contracts to begin the building of ships immediately.

Thus are created overnight the problems of providing for thousands of workers and recruits—sanitation, water supply, schools, housing, health program, recreation, and a multitude of other needs fall upon the civil authorities for solution.

At the request of state and local authorities the division immediately sent a field man down, first to assist the State Council of Defense and then to help in the organization of a regional defense council. Steps were promptly taken to plan for needed transportation, housing, sanitation, and water supply. Local officers were set to work making necessary surveys for adequate health, recreation, and other programs that must be adopted to ward off pestilence and delinquency. We are now able to turn these last surveys over to Administrator Paul V. McNutt, who has been given responsibility for the coördination of health, welfare, and recreational activities in relation to the defense program, for such action or recommendation as he may make.

The method of operation of the division and of the defense councils in the several states and municipalities is the essence of the democratic way. Our division gives no orders; the people themselves, through their representatives in the state capitol or the town hall, solve their own problems, using the division's personnel as a channel for information concerning federal plans and policies and for technical advice.

PROBLEMS SOLVED

Not long ago a series of three problems arose—relating to all levels of government—which needed some early positive action to prevent general bewilderment.

It appears that a number of newspaper reports were published indicating that one city after another, and one or two states, were trying to outdo each other in what they were promising their employees called by Uncle Sam for military training under the selective training and service act. Some promised these trainees their jobs back. Others agreed to permit the time the man had missed from his regular service to count towards his seniority rights or a salary increase when he returned to his job. A number of local governments were reported as offering to pay salaries for thirty or sixty days, while still others allegedly were to pay the entire difference between the lower salary paid by the federal government and that for regular jobs.

It was at this time that cities also began to ask the question, "What shall we do about asking deferment from military training for our firemen and policemen? Surely modern warfare, if it comes, will require the services of all our fire fighters and police, and we should not permit these services to be drained."

A third group of questions which cities also brought up was: "What shall we do to augment our in-service training, as well as our pre-service training, in relation to the defense program? In other words, if we are to lose large numbers of employees to the military services, how soon shall we start to train persons to take their places? Not only that, but how, and how soon, shall we train auxiliary forces that will be needed in case of war?"

To answer these questions and to permit the various levels of government to have a voice in the answers, the director of the division, Mr. Frank Bane, with the approval of the National Advisory Commission, summoned a conference to discuss the questions of personnel administration growing out of the impact of the defense program on public personnel. At this conference were a dozen to fifteen representatives of the most vigorous organizations of our municipalities and states, as well as spokesmen of the divisions of the federal government concerned.

The conference was unanimous in its recommendations:

> (a) That Mr. Bane write various state and local organizations calling their attention to the erroneous information being circulated about New York and other cities concerning the payment of compensation to public employees called for military training, and to the dangers inherent in such a developing situation;
>
> (b) That a letter be sent to the governors from the Council of State Governments mentioning the growing trend toward legislation on this subject and the dangers involved; and
>
> (c) That the official bulletin, *Defense*, carry a brief statement on the problem.

As to the second question, on the effect of the selective service act on public personnel, Major Morgan, who was present at the conference to represent the Army, and Mr. Bane were requested to discuss with Mr. Dykstra the advisability of issuing a press release relating to the general question of intelligent selection and deferment by local selective service boards not only of individual industrial workers but public officials and employees as well. Such a press release was later issued.

To answer the third question, as to what should be done with respect to in-service training, a subcommittee was appointed which has been meeting regularly and will soon issue its findings.

Thus, every local, state, and federal official who is interested in these matters had a voice, through their organizations or departments, in reaching the solution of some of the problems involved—a solution that will protect government and industry alike. Not only have all interested participants readily answered the summons to come and give voice to solving the difficulties but all have spontaneously and enthusiastically accepted the decisions made.

Obviously some part of the Advisory Commission on Defense needed to furnish an answer to the question most frequently asked, "What is our state, what is our city, to do to cooperate in shaping and building a program of defense fire protection?" The division promptly summoned into conference a group of people representing nationwide organizations concerned with fire fighting—the United States Conference of Mayors, the American Municipal Association, and the International City Managers' Association, as well as the Council of State Governments and divisions of the federal government concerned with the fighting of fire, including the Army, the Navy, and the Forest Service.

At this general meeting it was unanimously agreed to recommend to the National Defense Commission appointment of a temporary advisory committee on which would be represented all local, state, and federal agencies of government, particularly those who know the subject, to formulate a plan setting forth in detail a civilian program for fighting fires—one that could be executed in every corner of the nation when and if the need should arise.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS PARAMOUNT

We all know and recognize that the foundation, even the very strength, of this nation is the institution of local self-government, first in the town meeting, then the village, the city, the county, and finally the state. In this endeavor to marshal a coördinated program on matters of civil defense we make no pretense that we in the national government possess master minds that can design and issue orders to solve municipal or state problems. It may be that at local suggestion and with local consent here and there a coördinator needs be set up in the state or region to obtain unity of purpose. Such office, however, being under the state or the National Defense Council, is of necessity advisory and temporary only. When the emergency passes and the defense councils are taken out of the picture, all such structures will melt and disappear.

A defense program can be either a Juggernaut overrunning the people, or it can be an instrument for strengthening their security, health, and well-being. It is the hope and purpose of the National Defense Commission and of the Division of State and Local Coöperation that we take advantage of the desire of our citizenry in every level and walk of life to know and to do their share in an effective and voluntary fashion, so that we will come out of this crisis a better and a stronger nation.

As new problems arise to confront the local, the state, or the federal government the division will do its best to assist. For example, we may be called upon to publicize through all the state councils of defense some splendid community health or recreation program; or to take up some consumer question with the consumers' division; or we may confer with other agencies on problems of housing in defense areas; or again, review a study made by the Office of Education on the general need for

(Continued on Page 159)

New Jersey's Merit System Pattern

Civil service of the state and 65 per cent of all local government employees under state commission's administration.

By **CHARLES P. MESSICK**
New Jersey State Civil Service Commission

THE NEW JERSEY pattern for state-local civil service administration was written into the original civil service statute adopted in 1908. The formula has not been changed in any essential particular in the intervening years. That statute was the result of a very considerable study of the few state civil service laws and procedures then existing and the administrative factors involved in New Jersey, by legislative committees and commissions, civic groups, and interested individuals.

The New Jersey plan must not be put down as a new discovery. It seems now that it was a happy and constructive adaptation of the New York State and Massachusetts civil service laws to our own peculiar needs.

It may be of interest to recall the situation in 1905 when the real movement for the adoption of a state-wide civil service law in New Jersey began. We had a growing progressive group, The New Idea Group, in the then dominant party, with something of a program for improved legislation and state administration. Change was in the air. Initiative, referendum, and recall were attracting attention and finding a place in the statutes of some of the western states. The state was beginning to participate in services and in grants-in-aid to local governments, but there was a sturdy and continuing adherence to the home rule principle.

So, while our law-makers saw the unsoundness and futility of a great multitude of little independent or semi-independent civil service agencies undertaking to administer the merit system in each county and municipality (there are 565 municipalities, 542 school districts, 21 counties and perhaps 150 special districts) they were not willing to go the whole distance and establish the system in all governments under state control by direct legislative action. They found a way to recognize home rule and at the same time to give support to what was then advanced legislation.

In the adoption of this statute the state said, in effect, to the local governments: "The time has come for us to give consideration to personnel problems in our governments. Here is a plan for doing it. It is being installed in state administration now and you may have the same service without cost when you show you want it by your vote."

The state pays all the costs of administration, hence this legislation is a grant-in-aid under which the state gives free service to its subordinate governments.

In the original statute there was no distinction with respect to the authority or the responsibilities of the State Civil Service Commission as to state service on the one hand and county and municipal services on the other. Save only that the law should become effective in counties and municipalities after adoption by referendum vote at a general election, the authority and the responsibility of the State Civil Service Commission applied in identically the same way to local jurisdictions as to the state.

From the very beginning the state agency moved from consideration of state problems to municipal problems and back again as a matter of routine and as if the questions affecting either level of government were merely a part of the whole problem. That same attitude and procedure on the part of the state body has continued during the entire life of the merit system law notwithstanding the extension and enlargement of the authority and the responsibility of the commission over the state service which has developed in the past ten or fifteen years.

COMMISSION'S DUTIES

Under the 1908 statute the Civil Service Commission was empowered:

1. To prescribe, amend, and enforce rules and regulations for carrying into effect provisions of the law;

2. To keep minutes of its own proceedings and records of its examinations and other official actions, and providing that such records shall be public records;

3. To make investigations, sitting as a body or through one or more commissioners "concerning all matters touching the enforcement and effect of this act, and the rules and regulations prescribed thereunder, and concerning the action of any examiner or subordinate of the commission and any person in the paid employ of this state or any municipality . . . in respect to the execution of this act";

4. To subpoena and require the attendance of witnesses and the production of pertinent books and records; and

5. "To make an annual report to the governor, showing its own actions, its rules and regulations, and all the exceptions thereto in force, and the practical effects thereof, and any suggestions it may approve for the more effectual accomplishment of the purposes of this act."

The statute carefully defined the unclassified service. It was limited to elective and appointive heads of departments, members of boards and commissions, law officers of municipalities, teachers, and a small scattering of other positions or offices. All other officers and employees were included in the classified service divided into four general groups: exempt, competitive, non-competitive, and labor.

The exempt class was limited to one deputy or first assistant in each department, one secretary or clerk to a department head, legal assistants and physicians in state and county institutions, and a like small scattering of other positions or offices.

This part of the statute undertook to recognize the argument that the head of a department should have the privilege of selecting his own deputy, who would act at times in place of his principal, and his confidential secretary. This provision of the statute has not accomplished what was certainly a part of its purpose for as soon as these personal selections are made the employees concerned are given tenure and the succeeding department head can make no personal selections. The theory for including legal assistants and physicians in the exempt class is, of course, for the purpose of avoiding competition among these professions. There is not space to discuss either the soundness or unsoundness of these statutory provisions; they are merely stated.

FEW EXEMPTIONS

The statute specified that the Civil Service Commission may exempt other positions for good and sufficient reasons after public hearing. In the earlier days a number of exemptions were granted. This part of the statute has become almost a dead letter since scarcely any exemptions have been made after public hearing in recent years.

The competitive class is really the backbone of the service and is defined in law as including "all positions for which it is practicable to determine the merit and fitness of applicants by competitive examinations, and . . . all positions and employments now existing or hereafter created, of whatever functions, designations, or compensations in every branch of the classified service, except such positions as are in the exempt class, the non-competitive class, or the labor class."

The non-competitive class, while rather large in numbers, is made up of the housekeeping and attendant services in state institutions and other minor employments where either the place, the conditions, or the character of the work or the low pay provided makes it both impracticable and impossible to obtain suitable or the best available eligibles under normal competitive procedure. The non-competitive division is defined as "including minor positions in the classified service but not in the labor division for which the commission may, from time to time, determine it to be impracticable to select qualified incumbents on the basis of merit and fitness by means of competitive tests." Over all the years there has been close adherence to this definition.

The labor division, of course, includes ordinary unskilled or semiskilled laborers but not members of the skilled trades.

The original law provided basic procedures for competitive and other examinations both for entrance into and promotion in the service, the auditing and certification of payrolls before payment, the right of employees to appeal from major disciplinary actions including removal, punishment of offenses, and the like. It gave authority to the commission to prescribe titles but not pay, nor did it provide any check upon the number of persons to be appointed or employed and the rate of pay on appointment in either state or municipal departments.

During the first twenty years the original law was amended and supplemented perhaps a hundred times until, like the Irishman's knife, it was the same old law but with so many new parts and extensions it could hardly be recognized as such.

It is a striking characteristic of the New Jersey public personnel administration that all of the amendments and supplements, the investigations and inquiries which have been made periodically, have advanced and extended the movement. We have always been able to keep our faces in the right direction; the speed of progress has varied, but in the thirty-three years since the law was first written there has never been a serious setback in the whole movement.

LAW REVAMPED

In 1930 the law was rewritten in its entirety, both for the state and the local government services. The new legislation included provision for a complete personnel administration as we know it today. There was some opposition on the part of local governments, naturally, to the extended control provisions provided in the new statute. They did not want to surrender the right to determine the number and kind of employments required, to accept recommendations resulting from departmental organization studies, and more definite limitations with respect to titles of positions and rates of pay. In consequence the rewritten statute was enacted as applying to the state service and the original statute, amended and supplemented again and again, remains the law as it applies to local governments.

The state law provisions are, we believe, as complete as any now in existence. We would change few and none of the major provisions if we were undertaking it anew.

Our municipal law, not quite so complete, is built upon the framework of the original law which has been strengthened rather than weakened by its numerous amendments and supplements. We should like to rewrite it along the lines of the state law.

Some estimate is perhaps in order as to the effectiveness of public personnel administration under the New Jersey pattern as compared with the New York State plan where the commission undertakes certain personnel functions for some of the local governments and where separate commissions are provided for the larger cities, and the Massachusetts plan where the state commission undertakes personnel service for many of the local governments, and the further modification of these plans in some states where provision is made for local personnel agencies almost if not altogether independent of the state agency where such agency exists.

For a highly populous state like New Jersey, small in area but with many relatively large city and county governments although with no extremely large municipality, it is felt that our procedure is best. The argument that local governments should pay for their personnel administration has little meaning today when there are so many other kinds of grants-in-aid, both in service and as direct contributions. The cost of personnel administration by the state is negligible as compared with the total grants-in-aid for other public purposes. This particular type of aid, we believe, is a contribution to good government.

The argument that the little personnel department cannot be strongly staffed for effective service, as compared with the state agency, is particularly important. It would not be a helpful thing, for instance, to have 565 local personnel agencies in New Jersey in an area of less than eight thousand square miles, or seventy-one such agencies in one county supervising jurisdictions running from a few hundred to fifty thousand population and with an average geographical area of about two thousand acres. Then again it is recognized by both administrators and students of government that good government loses nothing by lodging the personnel procedures in some agency outside the local council chamber.

STATE SUPERVISION BEST

It seems clear that, after all the arguments for and against state administration of local government personnel have been weighed, the weight of the evidence must be on the state side—except in very large municipalities and where by reason of distance there are real difficulties in administering the usual personnel procedures from a central point. It seems equally clear, however, that there must be definite and positive authority in the central agency with respect to local personnel matters to make its administration effective.

I believe in the home rule principle but under modern conditions certainly the community has discovered that it does not live to itself. In the past decade it has proved to its own satisfaction that the unlimited expenditure of tax money or borrowed funds is disastrous and it has been obliged to look to the state for support of its credit and for funds to meet its most pressing needs. The desire of the individual local government to make its own determination as to the kind and numbers and organization of its public workers, the conditions under which they shall work, the hours of work, vacation, sick and other leaves, the compensation that they shall be paid and promotion and advancement policies that shall obtain is quite understandable. These things seem to be matters of local concern. They do, however, affect the municipalities' financial and administrative interests and as the state is asked and obliged to assist its junior governments in a very direct and substantial way it must, as a matter of course, ask and require those governments to cooperate in advancing economic local administration.

There is no other effective answer than that local governments in states like New Jersey shall accept a modern, complete, and effective public personnel administration, administered by a state agency. There will be some limitations upon the freedom of determination as to details respecting personnel procedures by local authorities, but this is already the case wherever a central personnel agency exists. It is but a further short step, and an essential one, to place sufficient responsibility in the state agency to make local personnel procedure fully effective.

It seems to me that personnel laws, whenever they are adopted now, ought to leave out the referendum

(Continued on Page 188)

San Francisco: A Pioneer in the Consolidation Movement

Taxpayers have benefited to extent of many millions of dollars as a result of 1856 consolidation of city and county.

By **ALFRED F. SMITH**
San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research

THE consolidation of the city and county governments of San Francisco occurred in the year 1856, as part of a drastic reform movement that included vigilance committee rule for a period of weeks, setting aside of legally constituted courts, and several notable "vigilante" public hangings. This process of reform has, fortunately, become both unnecessary and extinct but, according to all accounts, it was the only possible method at the time for dealing with a chronic crime wave unchecked by a corrupt administration.

The reduction in the costs of the newly created, consolidated city-county government and administration, which proved to be a marvel of economy, must have exceeded the fondest hopes of its sponsors.

San Francisco's origin dates back to the period of northward expansion by the early Spanish colonists. On June 28, 1776, a small party of Spanish soldiers and their families, two members of the Franciscan Order, drovers and camp attendants, under the command of Lieutenant Don Jose Moraga, established the Presidio (military center) and the first white settlement on the site of the present United States military reservation. The settlement continued under the flag of Spain until the independence of Mexico in 1821. From that date until the American occupation in 1846 the little settlement, or pueblo, of San Francisco, was part of the Mexican Republic.

The discovery of gold near Sacramento in 1848 was followed by a vast horde of gold seekers from all sections of the United States and all parts of the world. San Francisco was transformed almost overnight from a somnolent Spanish-Californian pueblo to the status of a relatively large seaport and center of trade, through which passed thousands of gold seekers and the vast flood of supplies needed throughout the gold fields and the far western territory. Its population grew rapidly. The state census reported a population of 34,776 in 1852, and by the end of 1853 the number had grown to 50,000. This figure was nearly doubled, according to historical accounts, by the transient population.[1]

The first election under a charter granted by the legislature establishing an American type of municipal corporation, was held on May 1, 1850. One of the first operations of the city aldermen was adoption of an ordinance giving the mayor, recorder, and some of the other municipal officers annual salaries of $10,000 each, and the sixteen aldermen, $6,000 each per annum. Public indignation over this and other actions of the new administration led to the adoption of a new charter by the legislature on April 15, 1851. This charter provided for the same kind and number of officers, but it attempted to prevent waste and extravagance. Aldermen were required to serve without compensation. An election was held on April 28, 1851, and with one or two exceptions a whole set of new officers was elected.[2]

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[1] Frank Soulé, *Annals of San Francisco,* 1855.

REFORM BRINGS CONSOLIDATION

Many criminals, lawless adventurers, and shiploads of ex-convicts from British penal colonies were among the city's new arrivals. In a short time the streets became unsafe for respectable citizens after dark. Failure of civil authorities to put a stop to depredations of the lawless caused the substantial citizens to form a vigilance committee in June 1851. By August of the same year law and order had been restored and the committee became dormant.[1] The reform proved to be but a temporary check to the lawless elements of the city. Corruption and extravagance of city officials, accompanied by lawlessness and crime, initiated a new reform movement and revival of the vigilantes who had abruptly ended the crime wave of 1851. Within a few weeks after reorganization, in May 1856, the vigilance committee restored law and order. The committee then disbanded and was succeeded by the People's party, a nonpartisan reform organization, which took over the task of governmental reform.

In April 1856 an act was passed by the legislature and signed by the Governor, "To repeal the several charters of the city of San Francisco, to establish the boundaries of the city and county of San Francisco, and to consolidate the government thereof," which became known as the consolidation act. On July 1, 1856, this act became the basic law of the city and county of San Francisco. It reduced the area of the original county of San Francisco to approximately forty-two square miles of land area on the tip of the San Francisco-San Mateo peninsula. The southern portion of the original county, excluded by the act, became known as San Mateo County. Thus was provided consolidation of San Francisco's municipal government with that of the county, which was said to have had an economical and well managed administration in contrast to the corrupt and extravagant municipal administration.

The act replaced three old legislative boards—city aldermen, assistant city aldermen, and county supervisors—with one Board of Supervisors of twelve members, one from each of twelve districts into which the new city and county was divided. The number of other city and county offices and officials was also reduced. Old officers served until the general election in the following November 1856. At this election an entirely new set of officers was elected and the city and county began an era of good government.

By all accounts the outcome of the consolidation was an astonishing reduction in the cost of government. The expenses of the newly established city and county in the first full year after adoption of the consolidation act and election of new officials were recorded as amounting to $353,000, in comparison with a $2,646,000 expense in 1855. The various accounts are a little vague and not entirely in agreement as to which of the more important factors involved made the greatest contribution towards establishing economy and good government—the economy measures incorporated in the consolidation act, the new set of officials elected to enforce the act, or the actual consolidation of the two separate political bodies. One historian stated that the new administration was a "marvel of economy" and that much of the saving was due to the consolidation act, "but a large part to the new officials."[3] Another historian, commenting on this question, stated: "Some said that to this act, rather than to the People's party, San Francisco was indebted for her subsequent behavior; but this is hardly true. Laws are of little avail when the people are not with them as we have seen. Besides, Sacramento had her vigilance committee and her economic charter, but, neglecting to put good men in office, her finances and morals were comparatively little improved thereby."[4]

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[2] Hittel, *History of California,* Vol. III.

BENEFITS OF CONSOLIDATION

The immediate financial benefits brought about by the consolidation of the city and county governments are a matter of record, but it is almost impossible to determine the extent of the annual saving in the cost of government that can be traced directly to consolidation today. The city and county budgeted $1,058,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, for the offices of recorder, registrar of voters, assessor, city attorney, treasurer, tax collector, and Board of Supervisors. The functions of these offices are often duplicated in the average city, with a separate government from that of the county in which the city is situated.

In addition to the foregoing are such departments as civil service, pension, controller, and purchaser, which serve the combined city, county, and consolidated school system, the latter also being a part of the city and county governmental structure. The total amount budgeted in 1940-41 for these departments was $578,000, or a total of $1,636,000 for all of the offices and governmental functions already mentioned.

This is not meant to infer that the departmental cost data used in the foregoing is all that has been saved because of consolidation, but is indicative of the potential governmental cost reduction inherent in this reform. There undoubtedly are other economies which an analysis of the San Francisco governmental structure would disclose.

For many years San Francisco enjoyed a greater degree of local self-government—home rule—than most cities and counties with separate governments. It has meant a high degree of freedom from interference by the state legislature, which continually amended old or passed new laws affecting county governments, officials' compensations, and other strictly local matters. The adoption of constitutional amendments granting counties the right to have charters similar to cities or cities and counties has enhanced local self-government privileges in the counties that have taken advantage of this constitutional right.

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[3] Hittel, *History of San Francisco.*

[4] Bancroft, *History of the United States,* Vol. 32.

Various State Supreme Court decisions have, over the years, interpreted and determined San Francisco's status since the consolidation. One of the earlier decisions held that the city and county of San Francisco is a continuation of the municipal corporation known as the city of San Francisco;[5] another and later decision, that cities and consolidated cities and counties are both municipal corporations within the meaning of the constitution.[6] The courts also have held that the supervisors of San Francisco, authorized by the consolidation act, are municipal and not county officers.[7]

A State Supreme Court decision reaffirmed the conclusion that San Francisco's government was a municipal corporation but that the territory over which the government is exercised is considered in its political and judicial relations to other portions of the state as being a county; and that such officers exercising authority under county laws and who do not derive any authority from the charter are to be regarded as county officers.[8]

San Francisco continued to be governed by the consolidation act, as amended from time to time, until January 8, 1900, when a charter drafted by a Board of Freeholders and voted by the people became effective. This charter provided for a mayor-council form of municipal government, with a dozen boards or commissions, appointed by the mayor, in control of such major departments as police, fire, public works, health, parks, and playgrounds. The charter diffused authority by vesting important administrative and executive powers in various boards and the legislative body—the supervisors. The latter were also granted budget-making, appropriation, and auditing powers.

CHARTER BECOMES OBSOLETE

Of the sixty-three elective officials provided for by the charter of 1900, twelve were administrative or legal officers such as the recorder, assessor, tax collector, treasurer, auditor, and city attorney. The authority of the mayor did not extend to the offices headed by elective officials and was frustrated by the diffusion of power between the major boards and the supervisors, so that executive powers were confined largely to the power to appoint and consult with the commissions.

The effect of the great changes of the twentieth century on the cities of America, such as the development of the automobile, the speeding up of the movement from farm to city, and the growth of great industrial centers, is known to all. Problems of municipal government in San Francisco, as well as other metropolitan areas, multiplied rapidly. The charter designed to meet the problems of a city in 1900 was amended many times in attempting to keep up with the changing times. Ultimately, this document became an obstacle rather than an aid to good government.

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[5] *Wood* v. *Board of Election Commissioners,* 1881, 58 Cal. 561.

[6] *Denman* v. *Broderick* (1896), 111 Cal. 96, 43 Pac. 516.

[7] *People* v. *Babcock,* 1896, 114 Cal. 559, 46 Pac. 818.

[8] *Kahn* v. *Sutro,* 1896, 114 Cal. 316, 46 Pac. 87.

A new charter was obviously needed. In the spring of 1930 the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research succeeded in interesting a representative group of influential citizens and community leaders in the plan to draft a new charter by submitting a single all-inclusive amendment for the old charter. Before this group could complete its task, the Board of Supervisors called a special election on August 26, 1930, for the purpose of electing a board of fifteen freeholders to draft a charter as provided by the state constitution. The charter drafted by this board was submitted to the electorate at a special election on March 26, 1931, and after receiving the voters' approval, became effective January 8, 1932.

NEW CHARTER SUCCESSFUL

The reorganized governmental structure provided by the new charter retained all of the fundamental features of the consolidated city and county government of the old charter and the consolidation act. A "strong-mayor" form was established, centralizing executive responsibility in the office of mayor through appointive and budgetary control powers. This charter provided an improved procedure for and administration of an executive budget; placed the city on a cash basis and eliminated annual deficits; provided an improved procedure for handling contracts, purchasing, sale and leasing of city real estate; created non-political management of city-owned utilities; extended an actuarily sound pension system to firemen and policemen; established a revamped fiscal and accounting procedure in accordance with modern municipal accounting practice; and many other improvements. As a result San Francisco taxpayers have benefited by the saving of millions of dollars since it became effective in 1932.

Comparative tax rates, compiled annually by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, disclose the fact that San Francisco has, for many years, enjoyed a lower tax rate than most cities with a population of 500,000 or over. The tax rates, which have been published annually by the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for eighteen years, reveal this city as having enjoyed more often than not the lowest combined tax rate adjusted to a 100 per cent basis of assessment.

Tax rates are generally conceded to be, at best, an uncertain means for making comparisons between cities, but estimates of the economic and financial worth of consolidation to this city as a long-term investment in sound government, would be far more speculative in character. Starting with the actual saving of $2,293,000 in 1857, the initial year of the consolidated city-county government, the result, capitalized over the eighty-four years that have elapsed, would prove to be too fantastic for acceptance.

A Blueprint for Urban Conservation

Study of community of Waverly suggests plan for stopping social-economic decay and for redeeming existing sore spots.

By **HARVEY PINNEY**
New York University

ONE of the curiously unfortunate inversions of good words is the identification of the word "conservative" with the standpattism of status. As used politically, the "conservative" is not a conservative at all; he is rather one who will sacrifice the conservation of existing values to the preservation of a frequently ill-gotten status which represents non-action or stagnation. It becomes more important, for example, to preserve an accumulation of claims on income and wealth gained by the literal slaughter of the country's best timberland and the system of action which permitted that slaughter than it does to save existing timber values and construct a system of land use which will create new forests.

Politically the "conservatives" have tenaciously fought effective methods of conservation; it has been the "liberals" and the "radicals" who have fought for conservation of existing and potential values.

The same is true in the field of urban real estate. Out of the maelstrom of land gambling which has been the urbanization of the United States has come a pattern of competition in promotion. Subdivide, develop, sell, foreclose, and exploit; subdivide, develop, sell, foreclose, and exploit; has been the rhythm. Promoters skim the cream off land appreciation; owners take a beating on interest, taxes, assessments, and upkeep; mortgagees become landlords of large properties; and landlords are obliged by both motive and necessity to be tough —to make these properties pay before a second round of foreclosures begins. And while the landlords of older sections suffer the torments of declining rents, difficult collections, falling values, the promoters go blithely ahead developing new and competing projects which undercut the values of the old, which require the establishment of a complex set of public services, and which substantially increase public costs in the old areas.

Who would be the "conservative" here? Or, to avoid confusion, who would be the conservationist?

The urban conservationist is one who would conserve existing physical, economic, and social values, while planning for the development of new and complementary values. The urban conservationist does exist and urban conservation can be accomplished. The blueprint is at hand.[1]

The study of Waverly (a well marked community within Baltimore about two miles from the center of the city) is the study of a community in relatively good condition but threatened with urban blight. In terms of the categories listed in the national real estate inventory made by the WPA, Waverly stands high. None of its homes lack running water, flush toilets, electric lights, gas for cooking, or private baths. Only 2 per cent do not have central heating. In terms of condition of physical structures 42 per cent in Waverly are rated good (the national average is 39 per cent), 52 per cent need some repairs (the national average, 45 per cent), 6 per cent need major repairs (national average, 16 per cent). On two sides Waverly is bounded by good sections; on the east is institutional land; on the south is a fully-developed and encroaching slum.

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[1] *Waverly—A Study in Community Conservation,* Washington, D. C., Federal Home Loan Bank Board, 1940.

What is the trouble? Urban blight in a community may begin with one residence which, because of age, structural defects, inadequate income or incentive for upkeep, or other reasons, is allowed to depreciate in appearance and serviceability and hence in salability and rentability. This means sooner or later the advent of tenants with even lower capacity for maintenance of the property. The properties on each side are affected. The blight spreads.

Of the 1,610 lots in Waverly, 331 are used by detached or semi-detached structures, and of these 28 per cent are in poor condition and 57 per cent are in need of repair. These are the older, and for the most part, frame residences and are located in various parts of Waverly. They are not the only seeds of community destruction, but illustrate the problem.

COMPLETE SURVEY MADE

What to do about it? The Baltimore Housing Authority, the Works Progress Administration, the United States Housing Authority, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and local municipal agencies coöperated in making a complete survey of the Waverly problem and constructing a practicable plan for stopping social-economic corrosion and rehabilitating existing sore spots.

The survey was inclusive. Social status—population, income, occupations, health, schools, churches, public services; economic status—assessed values, tax delinquence, mortgage status, vacancies, sales turnover and prices, etc; structural conditions; zoning; street layout and needed adjustments; financing—available rehabilitation resources; and other factors were examined and recorded.

This complete inventory of factors in the problem was made the basis for specific planning, for gradual long-time adjustment of street problems, for zoning law changes, for development of the "Flint plan" of playgrounds in block interiors, for the rehabilitation of each residence shown by the survey to be in need of repairs or reconstruction, for the financing of each specific project. For any specific residence, for example, architect's drawings were made showing the appearance of the house after repair or reconstruction. Every cost was figured; sometimes specific alternative plans and costs were provided. Proposals for individual properties were integrated with the proposals for blocks and streets so that contiguous properties would have some degree of coherence in design, landscaping, and decoration.

PRESERVATION PROFITABLE

In a community of this kind it is not contemplated that rehabilitation of individual properties will be subsidized beyond the guaranteeing or insuring of rehabilitation loans. Further, estimates showed a definite paper profit accruing from the execution of the program. The 331 units mentioned above had an "as is" appraised value of $1,024,035, an "as reconditioned" value of $1,203,830, a cost of reconditioning of $149,022, a surplus of increased value over cost of reconditioning of $30,773 or 20 per cent. It is emphasized, of course, that the objective is not profit but the preservation of the community as a desirable place in which to live and in which to go on living in the future. Nevertheless, the fact of increased appraised value is an important element in persuading coöperation and in illustrating concretely the value of conservation activity.

The necessity for coöperation is fundamental. The object is to eliminate cancerous outbreaks of urban blight in the community. It must be both possible and desirable for every member of the community to coöperate. This means not only survey and plan but education. It was found that the survey itself, after some initial resistance from some of the residents, was an important educational factor. The HOLC, with 122 mortgages and 20 properties in the area, has accepted certain responsibilities for leadership:

> Recognizing these facts, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation has accepted, as its final obligation to the Waverly conservation project—other than its participation in future coöperative activities as one property owner among many—active temporary leadership in the organization of a neighborhood conservation league to which the plans and recommendations for each property and for the whole area, as developed during the planning phase of the survey, may be entrusted; by which, with energetic and sympathetic local leadership and unified neighborhood support, the translation of these plans into the physical improvement and stabilization of Waverly may be encouraged and carried forward; and under which the neighborhood standards so established may long be maintained. (Page 63.)

Out of this survey and planning experience with Waverly comes the suggestion for a "Municipal Department of Conservation" in American city government whose function would be "by precept, example, and inspirational activity, to promote community stabilization projects in potentially and partially depreciated sections throughout the city." It would foster community conservation associations, provide technical information on planning, costs, materials, and could "introduce economies through the mass purchase of materials and through group contracts for maintenance, painting, repair, and fuel."

Here, then, is a blueprint for urban conservation. It brings to hand a positive instrument by which to aid the hard pressed city planning commission, beset on all sides by promoters—particularistic real estate interests—and ignorance, hampered by lack of funds, and burdened with a mass of work beyond the time and energies of its limited personnel. This type of conservation is the conservation of man-made physical resources, of the social values of an established community, of the aesthetic values potential in better planning, of the property values inherent in thrifty maintenance, of the public values lying in established services and the equipment therefor, and of the values destroyed by the uneconomic drainage of population from old areas to new for the sake of the developer's profits. It is the kind of conservation wherein the part of the government is to act as a catalytic agent in aiding communities to help themselves, in teaching the art of preserving individual initiative through coöperative effort. It is something, clearly, of which we need a great deal more.

CITIES AND STATES IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 146)

school facilities in defense areas. At other times, the division may be asked to coöperate in solving welfare and allied problems of defense communities which are of concern to the Federal Security Agency; or to express its point of view on plans for the collection and reclamation of waste material—rubber, iron, aluminum, and tin.

Whatever the trouble may be, we are here to serve. We stand as a sort of *liaison* division to which any and all officials may direct inquiries that involve state and local coöperation in the defense program, and we are prepared to do our best to promote and to coördinate harmonious action and results.

Researcher's Digest: March

Six research bureaus consider relief and employment in light of defense developments; fire prevention in Dayton; New York State questions its citizens on assessing practice.

WHAT almost amounts to a symposium on relief and public welfare crops out of published governmental research reports in recent weeks. As a result of the defense program and changed economic prospects, at least six bureaus opened the columns of their publications to extended discussion of the governmental aspects of the unemployment problem as it reveals itself in 1941. Some interesting ideas were produced.

The **Citizen's Bureau of Milwaukee** wants Congress to abandon the work relief program and to appropriate $500,000,000 to reimburse local governments for at least three-quarters of their relief expenditures during the next fiscal year. In a letter (January 17, 1941) addressed to each of Milwaukee's representatives in Congress, the bureau argued that the defense program would "result in the employment of practically all employable workers." The WPA workers not absorbed into defense work would, it is held, really be unemployables who "should be cared for under the general relief program and not given preferential treatment." By helping local units pay for simple home relief, the federal government would save the extra costs involved in a work relief program, says the bureau, and the localities would themselves save the cost of contributions to WPA projects. The bureau estimates that a "net saving to the federal government of approximately $500,000,000" would result if its recommendation is adopted.

With a somewhat different point of view, the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** supports substantially the same proposal. In its January 1941 bulletin, the bureau calls for a 65 per cent federal contribution toward local home relief. Instead of the abandonment of work relief, however, which is what the Milwaukee bureau apparently advocates, the Rochester researchers suggest the assumption of full financial responsibility for work relief by the localities.

Making Work Relief Work

The result, the bureau believes, would be increased "care and consideration" on the part of localities in planning and expenditure for work relief. Another probable effect of such a course, it is suggested, is that work relief would be used "as a means of rehabilitating the unemployed. At present, the work relief program is used . . . as a means of reducing the local home relief rolls. . . . The proposed system would place a premium on keeping persons off work relief projects. If the community were sincere in its desire to provide proper work opportunities for those unemployed who were willing to earn their keep, it could then plan a work program which would return full value to the community and at the same time keep alive the developed skills of those willing to participate in it."

"Hard Fact"

Without dipping into the controversial whirlpool of federal policy, the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** considers its local welfare developments and prospects in a detailed, judicious report in its January 29 *Bulletin.* After a survey of case loads, costs, and economic and political indices, the bureau emerges with the "hard fact" that "only 16 per cent of the welfare recipients on the city's own relief rolls are classed as employables who will be affected by economic improvement." At the same time, the bureau expects a gradual increase in total expenditures for soldiers' relief, old-age assistance, and aid to dependent children. As for WPA, the bureau points to the presidential budget reduction of one-third in WPA assistance and hopes that additional workers cut off from WPA will be absorbed by private employment rather than be added to the local welfare burden.

Four recommendations are made: first, the bureau advocates formation of a special committee of outstanding local citizens to "take stock of the welfare situation," to consider standards for eligibility, amounts of individual assistance, re-employment opportunities, and the propriety of wider publicity on welfare allowances; second, pay-as-you-go financing for relief is supported; third, "further liberalization of the welfare laws is ill-advised"; and finally, quarterly welfare reimbursements by the state to the localities are requested to help local finances.

Facts and Figures

The **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** devotes two issues (January 5 and January 23) of its *Dollars and Sense in Government* to the problem of old-age assistance in Missouri, and finds that the state has 326 recipients of old-age assistance per 1,000 population sixty-five years of age and over, as compared with a national average of only 254. A state law making relatives liable for the support of indigents is advocated as a means of reducing the average.

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** also devotes two issues of its publication to welfare (*Research Brevities,* January 5 and January 29), supplying cost and case figures for 1939 and 1940 on a monthly basis. More figures are provided by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** which summarizes the relief situation in Wayne County as of the last month of 1940 (*Just a Second,* January 25).

How to Escape the Flames

A dramatic presentation of the need for more effective fire prevention work and a plan for accomplishing it are issued in a flame-licked, bright red cover by the **Dayton Research Association** (*A Plan to Increase the Effectiveness of the Division of Fire Prevention,* August 1940, 21 pages mimeographed). Using no more elaborate pictorial accompaniment than a few graphs, the bureau yet manages to send a few chills down the spine with its simple statement of what might otherwise be a dull subject.

One device is an item-by-item listing of the causes of local fires over a period of ten years, with the number of fires attributable to each cause plainly shown. In another vivid section is set up, "for its moral effect," an enumeration of the names and addresses of those who died in Dayton fires together with the cause of each fire. Additional sections show the cost of fires, explain simply how losses may be minimized. By the time he gets to page sixteen, the reader is almost pathetically glad that the bureau has a solution for so dire a need, and is gratified to absorb the straightforward account of how and why the division of fire prevention should be reorganized and made self-supporting.

Q. and A.

A huge volume of questionnaires, addressed to business, research, governmental, and newspaper leaders in New

York, was the contribution of the **New York State Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research** to the public hearings of the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Assessing and Reviewing, held November 12, 13, and 14, 1940. The hearings were designed to find out from "exceptionally well informed men and agencies in New York City" the facts about assessing practice in the state; proofs of over- or under-assessment; proofs that review of assessments is tardy, complicated, costly or otherwise unjust; data on how industry, labor, and the home owner are affected by assessing procedures; and proposals for amelioration of ills, if any. The questionnaires were framed so as to draw from each of the witnesses everything he might know that was relevant to the problem in hand.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Questions About Assessing in New York City. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State, Albany, 1940. 93 pp. mimeo.

Budgets

A Digest of the Proposed State of Maryland Budget. The Commission on Government Efficiency and Economy, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland, *Your Tax Dollar*, January 25, 1941. 10 pp. mimeo.

The Budget System of the State of Maryland Needs Improvement. The Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland, *Your Tax Dollar*, February 5, 1941. 5 pp. mimeo.

Constitutional Amendment

About Less Democracy in Michigan. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Second*, February 5, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Finance

About a Suggested Financial Plan for Detroit. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Second*, January 20, 1941. 4 pp. mimeo.

Cost of Government in Canada—Municipal Government. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, Toronto, *Canadian Taxation*, January 31, 1941. 4 pp.

What is Good City Financing? Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, January 20, 1941. 4 pp. mimeo.

Fire Prevention

A Plan to Increase the Effectiveness of the Division of Fire Prevention. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, August 1940. 21 pp. mimeo.

Public Officials

Qualifications for Municipal Public Office. Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto, Canada, January 21, 1941. 3 pp.

Public Welfare and Relief

About Public Relief and Insurance Cases in Wayne County as of December 31, 1940. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Second*, January 25, 1941. 1 p. mimeo.

Letter on Relief Problem to all Milwaukee Congressional Representatives. Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee. January 17, 1941. 3 pp. mimeo.

Local Control and Financing of Work Relief. Rochester (New York) Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., *Municipal Research*, January 1941. 1 p.

Relief Data. Schenectady (New York) Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities*, January 29 and February 5, 1941. Each 1 p. mimeo.

Old Age Assistance in Missouri. Gov-

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Contributors in Review

BESIDES beer, Milwaukee is famous for good government, and Milwaukee good government is synonymous with the name of **Daniel Webster Hoan** (*States and Cities in the Defense Program*). On the long haul between 1916 and 1939, "Dan" Hoan was the Socialist mayor of his city, and his supporters included Socialists and non-Socialists alike who saw the nonpartisan values of honest, efficient public service. The July 1940 issue of the REVIEW tells the story in greater detail. Mr. Hoan is now assistant director of the Division of State and Local Coöperation, Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense.

IN NEW JERSEY public personnel means, inevitably, the name of **Charles P. Messick** (*New Jersey's Merit System Pattern*). The law was passed in 1908 and Dr. Messick became special examiner in 1910, full-time assistant examiner in 1914, and chief examiner and secretary of the State Civil Service Commission in 1917, both of which latter posts he now holds. In addition, he is now chairman of the State Planning Board, chairman of the New Jersey Council, and member of the New Jersey Defense Council, thus continuing his long established extracurricular interest in all things governmental.

PRIVATE secretary to the Methodist Bishop at Singapore, teacher of history and geography in the Anglo-Chinese school there, and student at the Geneva School of International Studies in Switzerland, are among some of the past activities of **Harvey Pinney** (*A Blueprint for Urban Conservation*). Dr. Pinney has also been social service investigator for the Minneapolis Department of Public Welfare, and has taught at Marshall College at Huntington, West Virginia, the University of Minnesota, and at New York University where he is now assistant professor. He has recently been exploring the problem of defense coördination and long-time planning in the New York metropolitan area.

AN ENGINEER who is both civil and civic, **Alfred F. Smith** (*San Francisco: a Pioneer in the Consolidation Movement*) has observed San Francisco government for the past sixteen years from his listening post on the staff of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research. His specialization has been public utilities and public works, but the sum total of his activities has been as diverse as that of any governmental researcher. Before his connection with the bureau, of which he is assistant director, Mr. Smith had experience in various civil engineering capacities.

CURRENTLY page one copy for the nation's newspapers, the biography of **John G. Winant** (*The Citizen's Responsibilities in Foreign Policy*) is by now well known. Not too much stressed, however, has been his rare and comprehensive combination of interests in local, state, national, and international affairs. The newly appointed United States ambassador to the Court of St. James is ex-governor of New Hampshire, was first chairman of the Social Security Board, and served as head of the International Labor Office at Geneva. He was elected president of the National Municipal League last November.

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Careers in Public Service Stressed

Reed committee urges upward extension of federal merit system

THE 278-page report of the President's Committee on Civil Service Improvement, appointed by President Roosevelt two years ago and headed by Supreme Court Justice Stanley F. Reed, was transmitted to Congress, with a message of approval, on February 24.

The report recommended extension of the classified civil service to all federal employees except those in policy-making positions or those requiring Senate confirmation. Professional, scientific, higher administrative, and investigative positions would thus be included in the merit system. The report stated, "We are satisfied that the organization of the government service as a career on a democratic basis is essential to the proper conduct of public affairs."

In addition to Justice Reed the committee included Justices Murphy and Frankfurter; Attorney General Jackson; W. H. McReynolds, administrative assistant to the president; Leonard D. White, former federal civil service commissioner; Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board, Sears, Roebuck and Company; and Gano Dunn, president, J. G. White Engineering Corporation.

A temporary exception from the general recommendation was made as to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, because of the special situation here and abroad and the distinct and important relation of the FBI to national defense.

Special attention was given to the case of federal attorneys; the opinion of the committee was divided as to this group. Justices Reed and Frankfurter, Attorney General Jackson, and Mr. Dunn recommended that instead of strict civil service ranking there should be an unranked register of eligible candidates, it being considered that more individual treatment is necessary in filling particular types of attorney positions than the usual examination method of ranking allows. The other four members would place attorneys under the same restrictions as other employees.

A subcommittee proposal to standardize the mandatory retirement age in the classified civil service at seventy years, with optional retirement at sixty after fifteen years of service, and with increased retirement contributions by higher salaried employees, was approved by the general committee.

Justice Murphy in a special statement said that the report should have gone further into the basic methods and procedures now employed in the federal civil service system, and expressed his belief that the latter lacks some of the essentials of a modern public personnel system as successfully operated in various states and localities.

In his message of transmittal President Roosevelt said that "a government of laws must be through men, and these should be chosen with an eye single to their suitability for the great calling of the public service."

Civil Service Commission Active in Michigan

As members of the constitutional Civil Service Commission in Michigan, Governor Murray D. Van Wagoner has appointed an extremely able group of men:

George J. Burke, Democrat, prominent attorney of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and former chairman of the first Civil Service Commission during the administration of former Governor Frank Murphy; Alex J. Groesbeck, Republican, Detroit, ex-governor of Michigan; John C. Beukema, Republican, secretary of the Muskegon Chamber of Commerce, a member of the statewide committee which campaigned for civil service; and William Palmer, Democrat, former state senator from Flint, who introduced civil service legislation in the Michigan Senate during the Murphy administration.

The new commission elected George J. Burke as chairman, appointed Paul T. Anderson as temporary director, and named a committee of six, headed by Dr. Lent D. Upson, to prepare and conduct tests and to certify a list of those eligible for appointment as personnel director.

The commission has ruled that state employees who entered the service in the past by competitive examination, or remained by passing a qualifying examination, are now within the classified service. In the process of filling the remaining positions in the classified service, all other employees must take their chances in open competitive examinations.

Arthur W. Bromage
University of Michigan

Rival Merit System Proposals in State of Washington

The Washington state legislature is considering two measures dealing with establishment of a merit system for state and county employees, one proposed by Governor Arthur B. Langlie, the other by the Washington State Federation of Labor.

Both measures are being examined by the Merit System Committee of the Seattle Municipal League, which has conducted an extensive survey of merit systems in operation in various sections of the country. The League has outlined three principles for consideration by legislative committees dealing with the bills, to the effect that such a system should:

1. Contain guarantees that the development and control of the merit system be freed entirely from any form of political influence;
2. Recognize the experience of other states, and provide for generally accepted principles of classification of positions, competitive examinations, establishment of employment lists, standardization of salary scales, etc;
3. Provide that the fitness of present employees be determined before they are blanketed in under the new merit system.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Municipal League of Seattle

Facilitating Work of Maryland Legislature

The Maryland General Assembly, now in the last phase of its biennial ninety-day meeting, had a fast tempo set for it by Governor Herbert R. O'Conor, who submitted the 1942-43 state budget at the start of the session, although allowed twenty days from the time the Assembly convenes by the constitution.

Shattering another legislative precedent, some 110 bills prepared by the new Legislative Council were introduced on the second day of the session. These bills represented a year of research and study by the council (created by the legislature in 1939), included many measures sponsored by the administration, and covered some thirty-seven subjects. These covered revision of various aspects of the election laws; regulation of installment buying, finance companies, building and loan associations, and the sale of fireworks; roadside control; state almshouses; home rule powers of local governments; and repeal of obsolete laws.

In addition to the fields covered by the Legislative Council, the Tax Revision Commission recommended changes in the state's system of taxation, its assessment and administration, including the complicated system of corporation taxation, inheritance taxation, taxation of insurance companies, and license taxation.

D. Benton Biser, *Director*
Commission on Governmental
Efficiency and Economy, Inc.

New Hampshire News

Optional Charter Proposal.—The sponsors of the optional charter bill in the state legislature, the New Hampshire State Taxpayers' Federation, have leaned heavily on the Providence, Rhode Island, charter for the strong mayor plan and the National Municipal League's model charter for the manager plan. The bill provides for greater home rule than is now enjoyed by New Hampshire cities and greater executive authority as well as responsibility. A city could adopt either charter by referendum vote.

Town Report Contest.—The Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire has announced a town report contest. Following more or less the Vermont contest as a model, the towns are divided by population into thirteen classes for purposes of narrowing competition and encouraging interest. Certificates will be awarded to winners in each class. Emphasis is being placed on interesting, intelligible, and vital materials published in the reports. Town and city planning boards have been invited by the State Planning and Development Commission to assist in publication of reports. With their assistance much improvement is expected.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

Registration and Voting in New Jersey

On February 17 several election reform bills advocated by Governor Charles Edison were introduced in the New Jersey Senate. They provide for a new registration of all voters by personal appearance, re-registration in each presidential year with a voter retaining registration in the interval only by voting in at least one election annually; and for a mandatory election in every municipality of 25,000 population or over, on the adoption of voting machines.

Council-Manager Plan News

On February 10 Governor Cooper signed a bill giving council-manager government to **Hamilton County, Tennessee.**[1]

In **Port Huron, Michigan,** on February 5, the nine members of the charter revision commission unanimously adopted a council-manager charter as the culmination of over a year's work on the charter problem. The charter will be submitted to popular vote April 7; if adopted, the election of the council will be held April 28. The proposed charter provides for a council of seven members elected at large who appoint the city manager; a merit system, mandatory within one year; centralized purchasing; and the initiative, referendum and recall.

Mayor Robert E. Maher of **Winsted, Connecticut,** on January 20 addressed the Rotary Club and stated that the administrative duties of that city are more than a part-time job. He advocated employment of a city manager at $6,000 salary, which would be more than made up by the savings that a full-time executive can achieve.

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[1] See also page 174 of this issue.

The city of **Calais** and the towns of **Bar Harbor** and **Millinocket, Maine,** are attempting to get manager charters from the Maine legislature.

In the town of **Manchester, Vermont,** one of the subjects to be voted on at the coming town meeting will be a proposal to adopt the town manager system, now in operation in several Vermont towns.

Windsor, Vermont, will also vote on the manager plan at its forthcoming village meeting.

Vinton, Virginia, voted on February 4 to retain the manager plan, the vote being 271 to 163. The plan has been in effect since 1936, and was originally adopted by a bare majority of twenty-one votes.

A bill (No. 99) introduced in the House of Representatives of the state of **Washington** would give cities of less than 20,000 population power to adopt the city manager plan, following filing of a petition signed by 25 per cent of the qualified voters.

A special election on the manager plan is expected to be held in **Palm Springs, California,** either this spring or in the fall.

Ottumwa, Iowa, will vote on the manager plan March 18.

Idaho Falls, Idaho, is showing interest in the manager plan.

Wilmington, North Carolina, will vote on a proposed manager charter March 31.

As a result of a large meeting in **Lewistown, Montana,** a committee has been appointed to gather information on the council-manager plan and its operation in cities comparable to Lewistown.

The **Manchester, New Hampshire,** Taxpayers' Association sponsored a public meeting earlier this year, attended by about 400 persons at which Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal League, outlined the advantages of the manager plan and P.R. Mr. Millard also addressed audiences in several other New Hampshire municipalities.

One topic for the annual town meeting of **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** will be adoption of the town manager plan.

Thomasville, Georgia, is again considering the manager plan, despite the necessity of applying to the state legislature and the likelihood that the necessary legislation cannot be secured before adjournment.

Petitions for a vote on the manager plan are being circulated in **Richmond, Missouuri.**

Various civic groups in **Hillsboro, Ohio,** are interested in securing the manager plan. **Redding, California,** is also interested in the plan.

California Local Governments to Cooperate for Defense

Because of the far-flung character of water supply and other publicly owned utilities and public works, and the regional nature of some public health problems presenting hazards in the event of a defense emergency, the League of California Cities is advocating the organization and integration of local police, fire, public works, and public health departments on a regional basis, so that men and equipment may be quickly available at a particular place in time of need.

The state attorney-general has already organized a statewide committee for the integration of law enforcement facilities, with a plan to district the state and work out on a voluntary basis some form of police coordination within each of these districts. The league has drafted a bill to permit the free exchange of men and equipment of police, fire, health, public works, and other municipal departments between different units of government, giving the men the benefit of workmen's compensation, and protecting the city from liabilities that might arise from the exchange of the facilities.

Popular Voting in 1940 on Municipal Legislation

More than seven million people in cities of over 25,000 population voted on 476 items of proposed municipal legislation in 1940, according to a special study by the Bureau of the Census. Of 410 municipalities in that population group, proposals were voted on in 172. Over two-thirds or 321 of all the proposals—an unusually large proportion—were approved.

Of the 476 items, 122 were charter amendments, of which sixty-three were approved; 114 dealt with liquor licenses in three states where the subject is voted on every two years, and of these 102 were approved; ninety-eight were bond issue proposals, of which sixty-seven were approved; thirty-two were concerned with tax increases, of which sixteen were approved (five charter amendments were also for tax increases, two being approved); and of 110 miscellaneous measures, seventy-three were approved.

In 1939 only 338 municipal measures were voted on, of which only two related to liquor. The new census shows a net increase of thirty-six cities in the population group. The maximum number of proposals voted on in any one city in 1940 was fifteen charter amendments in San Antonio, Texas.

Seattle Votes on Term for Officials

Citizens of Seattle vote in March on a proposition to give members of the Board of Public Works definite three-year terms in office, subject to removal only for cause by a two-thirds vote of the city council after a public hearing. At present board members, appointed by the mayor with approval of the city council, can be removed from office by order of the mayor.

The board consists of the heads of the lighting, water, and building departments, and the city engineer, and with the mayor, constitutes the administrative body of the city government. The proposed amendment to the charter provides that the mayor will appoint the chairman of the board annually.

Councilmen who proposed the measure contend it would provide stability in the management of the city's administrative departments, at the same time giving the mayor opportunity to fill at least two vacancies during his two-year term of office.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Municipal League of Seattle

First 1940 Census Study of a Metropolitan Area

The first of the metropolitan area studies by the Bureau of the Census, which will affect all large cities, was released February 13 by Acting Director Vergil D. Reed. This study, which has to do with Wilmington, Delaware, conforms to the forecast that, although large cities show only slight growth in population, areas immediately outside actual city limits show very large growth due to the spreading of population.

The total population of the entire metropolitan district of Wilmington is 188,974, compared with 163,592 ten years earlier, or an increase of 15.5 per cent; the city proper gained 5,907, or 5.5 per cent, while the outer area, containing 40.5 per cent of this district total, increased 34.2 per cent or 19,475 of which 3,470 was due to enlargement of the area.

The Census Bureau will continue these studies in connection with cities of 50,000 and more population. It plans to include in metropolitan area summaries all adjacent minor civil divisions having 150 or more people per square mile.

Rochester Tells Its Taxpayers

The Division of Public Relations of the Rochester, New York, Department of Commerce has prepared and printed 82,000 two-fold folders carrying a concise description of the nature and per capita cost of each service rendered by the city government. These are being inserted into all tax bill envelopes and sent to all property owners of the city.

Besides summarizing the city's services the folder emphasizes the advantages of remaining in the established community within the city limits, as compared to moving into undeveloped suburban areas with artificially low tax rates. Rochester, in common with many American cities in the last decade, suffered a slight population decline directly because of this population shift over its boundaries into neighboring rural areas. The folder points out that in the city services are already in existence, capital plant is already paid for and services are cheap in contrast to a new community which must suffer the throes of initiating such services.

The city folder is first in a series of constructive statements by the city government to citizens of Rochester to make the advantages of city residence clear.

The publication of the folder elicited widespread commendation from citizens and was given the solid backing of the newspapers, which editorialized that it filled a long-felt need for educating citizens to the advantages of city residence.

At the same time the city has added a new convenience by enabling the taxpayer to pay his county as well as city tax bills to the city treasurer.

Harold S. W. MacFarlin,
Commissioner of Commerce
Rochester, New York

Massachusetts Town Report Contest

The Massachusetts Selectmen's Association has announced its awards for the best town reports for the year 1939. Three silver relay cups were awarded instead of two as previously. The winners are: class I, towns of over 5,000 population, Milton; class II, 1,000 to 5,000, Marshfield; class III, under 1,000, Pelham. The judges—Peter H. Odegard of Amherst College, W. H. Kraus of Smith College, and Alexander E. Cance of Massachusetts State College—also determined the best selectmen's report, best public welfare report, best cover, best visual devices, best revenue and expenditure statement, and best general appearance, by classes. For the first time every town in the state submitted its report to the contest.

Michigan Municipal Officials Discuss Administration

Four study and discussion groups of city managers and other chief municipal administrative officials have been organized in Michigan recently, with a total enrollment of some eighty officials. The fourth group held its initial session in Grand Rapids on February 7 with eighteen in attendance; the enrollment for subsequent weekly discussion meetings is twenty-four. The International City Managers' Association coöperated with the state supervisor of public service training, in organizing the group.

Bus Control by City at Issue in New York Court

For the second time a major traffic regulation of the New York City police commissioner, in whom the present city charter places responsibility for traffic control, has been invalidated by the courts. Both were concerned with the regulation of busses. The first would have established one-way bus traffic on two avenues in western Manhattan; the second would prohibit intercity busses from entering the midcity congested area, following a recommendation to that effect by a committee headed by Borough President Stanley Isaacs. A large west-side bus terminal has been planned and approved by the city. The trial judge took the position that the regulation would destroy vested interests of some operators and terminal owners. Mayor LaGuardia emphatically announced on February 19 that the decision will be appealed.

In-Service Training and Defense Needs

A survey of "in-service" training for public employees throughout the country, with special relationship to defense, recently made by the American Municipal Association for the Division of State and Local Coöperation of the National Defense Advisory Commission, is the basis of a report entitled *Defense Training for Public Employees* issued by the Association. It includes suggestions for the expansion of facilities for the training of public employees to meet national defense needs.

The survey showed that approximately 300,000 state, county, and municipal employees—or about one seventh of all non-school employees—received formal in-service training of one type or other in 1940.

The report recommended specifically that "priority" should be given by all three levels of government to training for immediate defense jobs and responsibilities, training in basic knowledge and skills, training at the management and supervisory levels, and training for instructors.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

THE **Citizens Union of the City of New York** recently issued the thirty-sixth annual report of its Committee on Legislation, containing an account of the regular and special sessions of 1940 and the union's state legislative program for 1941. Also included are the records of the New York City members of the State Senate and Assembly. The union keeps a careful check on the votes of all New York City members on bills which it considers important so that a complete and careful summary of each individual is available at the end of each session. . . . The union's Committee on Legislation is now meeting weekly to consider and take action on legislation before the state legislature.

In its usual thorough fashion the **Municipal League of Seattle** has been investigating candidates for the office of mayor and city council. Questionnaires were sent to all the candidates, who were invited to meet with the league's Investigating Committee prior to the issuance by the league of a complete report. . . . As in other communities these reports have become an important element in the local pre-election picture and copies are in wide demand throughout the city. . . . Anthony Pratt, who has been secretary of the **Los Angeles Municipal League** for twenty-four years, has retired. He is succeeded by Harry H. Ferrell, a former board member and president of the organization.

Always abreast of current affairs the **New York State League of Women Voters** arranged to have Lieutenant-Governor Charles Poletti speak before its third annual legislative conference held in Albany, February 10 and 11, on "What Can Your Local Defense Council Do?", Warren Moscow, Albany correspondent of the *New York Times,* also addressed the group. . . . The **New York City League** sponsored a highly successful luncheon at the Hotel Commodore on February 8. John G. Winant, newly-appointed ambassador to Great Britain and president of the National Municipal League, and Nelson A. Rockefeller, coördinator of commercial and cultural relations between the Americas, addressed the meeting which was attended by over a thousand league members and guests.[1] . . . At its annual meeting this year the **Atlanta League of Women Voters** adopted a program covering a wide field of interests including support of the manager plan, consolidation of Atlanta and Fulton County, and measures to improve the city's civil service.

On the cover of the February issue of *Taxegram*, the official publication of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** is a picture of Walter T. Margetts, Jr., president of the **Passaic Taxpayers and Renters Association,** accompanied by a biographical sketch of Mr. Margetts. The Passaic association sponsored the recently completed financial and administrative survey of the city government which was conducted by the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League (see page 134). *Taxegram* plans to print pictures and short biographies of other leaders in the taxpayer movement in New Jersey. . . . Since people generally would rather read about other people than about ideas, approaching civic problems from this angle seems very sound.

The **Indiana Taxpayers Association** is issuing a weekly legislative bulletin containing short summaries of all bills introduced in the House and State Senate. Whether this will be followed by reports on what happens to the bills remains to be seen. . . . The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** has inaugurated a series of fortnightly meetings of the executive secretaries of the local taxpayers associations for a forum discussion of state legislation and common problems. . . . The February 1 issue of the *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, publication of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** discusses the Governor's proposed budget by printing and answering in clear and understandable language seventeen basic questions on the subject. The alliance maintains, and wisely, we think, that "if a citizen understands the main principles of state budget making, he is in a better position to evaluate the work of his senators and assemblymen than if he attempted to study all of the detailed appropriations contained in the budget, and failed to see the picture as a whole." . . . We see by the February issue of the *Nebraska Taxpayer*, publication of the **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues,** that the federation's president, Frank G. Arnold, is again viewing the condition of the country with alarm. He is particularly disturbed by the spread of the merit system, which he regards as "the last word in Communism"!

R. M. W.

"One Hundred Men and a City"

We're quoting this headline and most of Marshall Beuick's article on **Yonker's Committee of One Hundred** from a recent *Nation's Business* because we think the Yonkers organization is one of the most alert we've come across recently in the citizen action field. You'll find a few insertions of our own between the quoted paragraphs from Mr. Beuick.—Editor.

"For several years commuters aboard

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[1] For Mr. Winant's address see page 137.

the trains that serve Yonkers, New York, frequently grumbled to their seat mates about the political conditions and the exceptionally high taxes in their home town. Often the denunciation of the professional politicians was highly charged with words that aren't heard in prayer meetings. One commuter, who shared the discontent, decided that, if all this energy were put to some practical use, conditions might be improved. One day in 1938 he said to a group of disgruntled taxpayers:

"'What's the use of beefing about the situation unless we really do something.'

"'Oh, yes, we've heard that before,' was the retort. 'Get out and vote! Vote the politicians out!'

"'That's one of the things, of course,' the man with the idea agreed. 'But there is something else. We have residents of Yonkers who are specialists in things which are parts of the municipal administration. We have attorneys, educators, real estate experts, engineers, financiers, and what not. If we got a hundred of these men together in a non-political committee, we might be able to expose some of the inefficiency of the city government and bring about changes that would eventually reduce our taxes and establish a better government.'

"That was the origin of the Yonkers Committee of One Hundred.

"Three men initiated the plan. James H. Moseley, vice-president of a utility corporation, interested John J. Rust, officer in a security firm, and Oliver J. Troster, partner in a large unlisted security concern. They set up a plan which Mr. Moseley agreed to put into operation as the committee's chairman."

The original plan was to have a hundred members contribute one dollar per month each—a total of $1,200. They were also to put in an evening's work each month. Mr. Rust and Mr. Troster agreed to secure the necessary number of members.

"With Mr. Moseley as chairman and Mr. Rust, vice chairman, a board of directors was set up from among these initial recruits.

"At the end of sixty days they decided that the committee was in a satisfactory position to become a permanent organization. The membership is now nearly two hundred and still growing with new recruits being added. Those who serve on special subcommittees or take part in the general work pay twelve dollars a year."

Supporting members pay fifteen dollars or more. The committee accepted no subscriptions in excess of $100 until recently when it obtained the cooperation of several large Yonkers business concerns. They were requested to give .5 per cent of their city tax bill but are actually contributing less.

A Long-time Job

"The committee has small office space with the local Boy Scouts for which it pays five dollars a month. It has a telephone, secretarial help when it can afford it, and, thanks to a keenly interested committeeman, is able, inexpensively, to get out a bulletin to keep members informed and to encourage them to make suggestions for better government.

"These men are not morning-glory reformers who bloom before election and fade quickly thereafter. They are convinced that theirs is a long-time job and they intend to stick to it. They believe in the democratic form of government and blame men for most of its poor operation. They blame themselves because they have been so tied up in their businesses or professions that they have given no time to municipal problems. Often they have even failed to vote. Many of them have said that about all they do in

Yonkers is sleep and pay tax bills which are the third highest *per capita* among all cities in the country.

"Since the beginning, the committee has been more interested in 'informing' than in 'reforming.' Its objectives, as set down in the by-laws, are:

> "To acquire information concerning the functions of government of the city of Yonkers and the methods used in the performance of such functions and, to such extent as it shall be deemed advisable, to make such information available to the public.
>
> "In general, to secure a more efficient and economical government for said city.

"To carry out these objectives, research, directed by the paid secretary, was made the first objective. The committee adopted the policy of bringing its findings to the department head in the city government most interested and seeking his coöperation in improving operation and reducing expenses."

Even with the small budgets of the past the committee has been able to save Yonkers taxpayers substantial sums. The committee itself doesn't like to take credit for saving specific amounts of money because such sums are always controversial. However, the savings have been estimated at a quarter of a million dollars a year.

"Soon after the committee was organized it was influential in bringing about a $200,000 reduction in the city budget—the first reduction in fifteen years. Its continual digging into city affairs has also revealed several other opportunities either for saving or for increased efficiency.

"It was victorious, too, in its fight to prevent loading an undue proportion of the police and firemen's pension fund payments on the taxpayers. Now city employees have to pay at a rate in line with that customary in other well run cities.

"The committee, of course, is not active in politics and its directors have even gone so far as to agree not to run for public office. In spite of this nonpartisan character, however, the committee does use its influence in getting the better elements to vote and its success in this field is demonstrated by the increase in the number of registered voters.

"Naturally the committee has not had the unanimous support of the citizens.

"Even the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* has refused to go along unreservedly with the committee. The editor freely publishes committee statements but reserves the right, on occasion, to criticize its activities. The committee asks no more.

Better Purchasing Sought

"This year the committee will work toward having the purchases of equipment itemized in budgets, as any well run business concern would do, and to discourage the buying of unnecessary items. It will try also to stop the writing of specifications for many things the city buys so that only one product is left to purchase. Open, competitive bidding with a provision for performance and other tests the committee believes will cure this.

"Tax compromises have been far too liberal for a city in the financial state of Yonkers regardless of the fact that there is a lot of distressed real estate in the city. A more strict basis will be backed by the group. Constant vigilance will be exerted to catch any fast work in changing zoning restrictions to the detriment of the many, but for the benefit of a few. There are also many obsolete jobs in the city government, the committee claims, which must be abolished.

"The professional politicians are not yet brought into line, but they have learned that the committee means business; and the committee will not be satisfied until practically every Yonkers commuter on the three railroads contributes to this practical operation of democracy in a local community. The committee believes that, if this kind of work were initiated in every town and city, it would seep up into the state and federal governments with a force that might be surprising. If you can't have good local government generally, the chairman of the committee says, there is less chance of having it in the state capital and at Washington."

Showmanship Urged On Local Citizen Groups

In a recent paper Ralph R. Temple, vice president of the **Central Queens Allied Civic Council of New York,** outlines some of the techniques which can be used successfully by citizen organizations.

He believes any successful organization will find it effective to use fact-finding committees to study civic problems. He recommends wide publicity for the organization's activities via the newspapers, radio, placards, hand-bills, house-to-house canvassing.

But he would not stop there.

He thinks civic work can be popularized by group dinners, dances, outings, and parties. "Incidentally, these are useful methods for raising money," he writes.

In addition to the more usual methods of attracting attention to civic programs, he recommends the dramatic touch.

"For example," he says, "a civic group in one section of the borough of Queens, in New York City, actually shamed the Department of Public Works into building a temporary sewer basin by getting the newspapers to publish photographs of a group of housewives themselves actually digging in the street."

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Tennessee County Secures Manager Plan

Governor signs legislation giving improved charter to Hamilton County

THE *Chattanooga Daily Times* of December 11, 1880, editorially declared that one way to secure good roads was to:

> Devise some county administrative machinery more practical than the county court. It is too cumbersome and unwieldy, and too expensive. . . . Had this absurd tribunal been substituted by commissioners of three or five businessmen in all the counties at the end of the war the state would today be millions better off, the brood of small revenue eaters would not be one-fourth as large as it is, and we should be far in advance of our present condition in respect of our school and road systems.

Movements for changing the county's outmoded structure have been fitful and haphazard, and the acquired servitude to the county court was not successfully challenged until Shelby County in 1911 adopted a plan modeled on the city commission government of Memphis.[1]

Demands for change grew in intensity during the recent depression and at least seven counties now have the commission form. In Hamilton County during the past eight years structural reforms have been presented to legislative delegations, but all fell by the wayside.[2]

In the race for the 1940 General

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[1] Sustained in *Prescott v. Duncan,* 126 Tenn. 106 (1912).

[2] See this REVIEW, April 1937, pages 196-7; February 1941, page 120.

Assembly the reform movement was brought into sharp focus because of a factional quarrel within the county court. County Judge Will Cummings brought his forces into the drive, with the result that all successful candidates were pledged to a three-point program: (1) to abolish the justice of the peace courts and substitute three courts of general sessions; (2) to frame a commission or council-manager government; (3) to redistrict the county so that there would be but six instead of ten justices on the quarterly county court, all of whom would be friendly or non-belligerent toward the new government. These pledges have all been redeemed.

Manager Plan Proposed

After the November election Senator John T. Mahoney made public a council-manager bill which focused attention on this form rather than the commission plan. Several other bills were given to the legislators, including a comprehensive measure drafted by a citizens' committee which was made the basis for discussion. It would have made the manager's powers comparable to those provided in the National Municipal League's *Model County Manager Law*, but the assemblymen eliminated certain sections deemed by them to be utopian or unconstitutional. The bill as finally passed was signed by the governor on February 10.

Since five councilors (including the county judge, ex-officio chairman) were named in the act, immediate effect was given to the measure. The manager was selected from a long list of local applicants, although several prominent business executives declined to serve. On February 24, the date which the manager intended to assume his duties, the post was made vacant by his untimely death. Thus at present writing no one has been selected. A list of non-residents who are all successfully managing cities or counties elsewhere has been suggested, but it remains to be seen whether the locality rule which council has tacitly made, will endure.

The four councilors will get $900 each per year. They will subsequently be elected at large for terms of four years, beginning September 1, 1942.

Except for the nominal duties prescribed for the quarterly county court in the constitution, all policy-making and administration is now centered in Council. The court will continue to select the Board of Education and notaries public. The Council's powers include budgets, contracts, accounting, auditing, purchasing, public buildings and grounds, highways, engineering and public works, health and sanitation, public welfare, parks and recreation. Council has complete power over creation of positions, and its power to "hire and fire" is limited only by provisions of a merit system which may be set up at its option. Council has power to probe activities of all officers and employees of the county and to employ attorneys in cases of defalcations in public funds. It may choose advisory committees of citizens to aid in managing any department or activity.

Duties of Manager

All functionaries including the manager which are under Council control are specifically designated as "employees" to avoid all constitutional issues. The manager serves without term and no fixed salary is provided in the act. The first incumbent was voted a compensation of $5,000 per year. His duties include those of "general supervision," and he may act as head of any department except auditing. The manager may recommend suitable employees and their pay to Council, suggest consolidations to promote more efficient and economical service, attend council meetings, make periodical reports, and perform any other duties that Council may prescribe.

The framers of the act envisaged situations in which most administrative affairs would devolve upon the manager. They hope that standard managerial practices will so develop that they can be crystallized into law in 1943. At present, control over management is vested in Council through its appointing power, its power to have periodical audits of all officers and to appropriate for all county agencies.

Financial Provisions

Pursuant to advice of the assistant attorney-general of the state, power to fix the tax rate becomes a formality under the new law, since Council's budget and levy are made mandatory on the County Court.

The auditor is made solely responsible to the Council and the chief of this department must be a licensed certified public accountant in Tennessee. Accounting control is designed to reveal all financial transactions, but this does not in any way absolve other officers like the trustee (treasurer) or the county court clerk (another important revenue office), from keeping proper records as required by the code.

Purchasing and accounting are linked together in a somewhat novel manner for such staff services. Public purchasing is safeguarded in that no councilor, manager, or subordinate employee shall be interested directly or indirectly in any contract with or purchase for the county. Competitive bidding is made mandatory, and severe penalties are prescribed for violations.

The budget is comprehensive in that all agencies are subject to control, and capital outlays must be planned in advance. There is an allotment system set up and formal safeguards are established to maintain the budgetary equilibrium, and to check loose and easy-going practices which have on various occasions compelled the county to float bond issues to extinguish floating debts. Penalties are provided for overspending allotments and appropriations.

Many of the old boards, commissions, and independent agencies clustered around the old County Court are missing from the new picture, for the act provides consolidations and departmentalized structure throughout, except for constitutional elective officers. The departments are auditing, accounting and purchasing, highways and public works, health and welfare.

Two hospitals and an industrial school supported by city and county funds are brought under supervision as to purchase of supplies, and Council is empowered to contract with municipalities, especially the city of Chattanooga, for joint management of hospitals, clinics, public libraries, workhouses, and reformatories.

School Budget

Council is vested with the duty of caring for school buildings and grounds and the school budget is consolidated with general estimates. With these exceptions Council explicitly has no authority over the educational system but the Board of Education and Council may contract with each other on any matter relating to business management.

Editorial reaction to the new plan ranged from mild approval to caustic criticism. The *Times* held that too many emasculating amendments were accepted, and while all are agreed that the plan is better than the old system, some are of opinion that it merely restores the power to the county judge who lost control of the county court in 1939. Curiously enough, there appears to be no element in the county that prepares to contest the act in the courts. Friends of the plan acknowledge that it is more comparable to the North Carolina county manager plan than those in operation in Virginia, but from nearly every sound viewpoint the present council-manager charter is preferable to the commission form.

The strategy in this campaign was to make compromises with the politicos in control who have hitherto blocked all similar measures. It seemed to some of the proponents that the part of realism was to deal in probabilities, rather than the extreme range of possibilities. Our constitution appears unamendable and orthodox manager schemes simply cannot be adapted to this rugged and unresponsive basic law. However, given a reasonably honest and intelligent group of councilors and a manager who has had considerable experience in business or public management, the people of Hamilton County may well look forward to an era of constructive achievement. If we succeed, there is no little evidence that other counties will soon follow suit.

New Hampshire May Abolish Counties?

A joint resolution pending in the New Hampshire legislature and attracting wide attention provides for the establishment of a special investigating committee to make a study "of the efficiency and need of continuing the county form of government." The purpose of the study as specifically stated in the resolution is to investigate the possibility of "curtailing county expenditures and the transfer of such county functions to the state government, or local governments (cities and towns)" as may be necessary for economy.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

Wisconsin Debates County Home Rule Amendment

A committee of Milwaukee County villages and towns voted unanimously to recommend the death of the Wisconsin county home rule amendment which was approved by the 1939 legislature and which if approved by the present legislature will be submitted to the people in the 1942 general election. Arguments presented were that it would upset county government, destroy the rights of villages and towns, lead to city-county consolidation, and that the provision giving the legislature power to classify counties would be used for unfair discrimination.

Representatives of the League of Women Voters and other groups sponsoring the amendment answered by declaring that the supervisor system is outmoded, the uniformity clause of the constitution forces too much governmental machinery on the less wealthy counties, and that the proposed amendment would open the way for appointment of purely clerical officers.

County Home Rule Bill in Ohio Legislature

Once again there may be an attempt to make county home rule effective in Ohio. Although the constitutional amendment was adopted in 1933, no county has yet been able to draft a charter that will withstand assault at the polls and in the courts, and the state legislature has not as yet presented alternative forms of government. Proponents of the alternative government plan under the leadership of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce appear to be reaching an agreement as to the nature of the bill to be sponsored. The present proposal, which seems to be generally accepted by reform groups, provides for three alternative plans calling respectively for an appointive manager, an elective "administrator," and a plan where there is no chief executive but where all department heads except the auditor would be made appointive.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Kentucky Guides County Finances

Revenue department issues report and manual; courts rule on county road debt.

TWO administrative developments affecting Kentucky county financial management and two court decisions concerning the handling of county highway debts have characterized recent weeks.

The Department of Revenue published on September 30 *Report of the State Local Finance Officer* as of June 30, 1940. This publication will make much more accessible to Kentucky local officials and to county creditors than heretofore the full facts regarding recently effected county debt reorganizations and central management of county sinking funds under the direction of the commissioner of revenue.

Accounting Manual Issued

The Department of Revenue has also issued a manual of county accounting on which work has been in process for some time. In addition to the department's own experts, county officials, other persons directly affected, and leading private accounting firms in the state have collaborated in developing a practical guide which would make actual accounting control possible in a state which, although rapidly improving local government finance procedures, has rarely enjoyed the benefits of good county records. The new manual, in an appendix to which appropriate forms are shown, appears to be equal to the best, and superior to most, local accounting guides. The formal regulation respecting its use contemplates that it will not immediately entirely replace the uniform plan—providing a cash basis—which was prescribed in 1934. The text of the regulation is as follows:

> Under the authority conferred by Section 1851c-7, as amended by Section 4618-91, of Carroll's Kentucky Statutes, 1936 Edition, the accounting procedures and records described in this manual are prescribed for all Kentucky counties.
>
> For the present, however, the adoption and use of this system is made optional with each county. Upon request of the fiscal court of any county, the Department of Revenue will assist in its installation and will provide without charge printed forms sufficient for approximately one year's operation.

Opinion Reversed

The Court of Appeals on January 21 re-examined the case of *Pulaski County, Kentucky* v. *Ben Hur Life Association of Crawfordsville, Indiana,* and handed down an opinion contrary to its original position on the basis of an argument apparently not offered at all in the original trial. The case involved certain bonds issued for road purposes under the terms of the so-called "good roads" amendment to the state constitution (sec. 157a). The basic law permits an "additional" rate of twenty cents on each hundred dollars of assessed property subject to county tax for payment of principal and interest. It also requires a sufficient levy to pay off the obligation in not less than forty years. The court originally held that, since the bondholders could require payment from only the two-mill tax, there was no unconditional promise to pay and consequently the instrument did not fall within the Kentucky negotiable instruments act. If this were the case the present holders would have no better title than the original purchaser—in this case no title at all. On rehearing, the court receded from the original decision because the requirement of the two-mill levy does not terminate when the forty years have expired if as a matter of fact the obligation has not been retired (new Kentucky law). Thus the debt, although a claim against only a *limited rate*, is a claim on an *unlimited sum*, since the tax may be—indeed, must be—levied for as many years as may be essential to retire the obligation. Not providing a limitation on the amount to be paid, there is no such restriction as takes the bond outside the scope of the negotiable instruments act. The case was remanded to the trial court for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the obligation was invalid as being inconsistent with constitutional debt limits. Seemingly, the major issue has, however, been settled.

In *Fiscal Court of Estill County* v. *Debt Commission of Kentucky,* decided also on January 21, the Court of Appeals resolved certain inconsistent previous rulings—and reversed the most recent. The problem concerned whether or not a requirement in the "good roads" amendment to the constitution (sec. 157a) that provision be made for retiring the debt "within not more than forty years from the time of contracting the same" forced the legislature to provide in its "appropriate legislation" for a forty-year maximum period. The court held that the legislature lacked discretion. The court in its opinion said: "Extraordinary conditions sometimes require courts of equity to afford extraordinary and unusual remedies. Such is this case." One wonders whether the court means it would again return to its second position as it is now returning to its first if a persuasive case were presented.

JAMES W. MARTIN, *Director*
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Road Debt Refunding Approved by Arkansas

One of the largest state and local refinancing ventures of recent years came to a head in mid-February when approval was finally secured for the $136,000,000 state of Arkansas highway debt refunding. Action by the 1941 legislature and electoral approval of the measures were accompanied by action of the Arkansas Supreme Court approving all major details of the program, a sequel to unsuccessful efforts to validate refunding plans in 1939 and at the 1940 November election.

Arkansas first encountered difficulties with its large highway debt in 1931, when it became evident that a readjustment was necessary if default was to be averted. A special session of the legislature in 1932 provided a refunding plan, but default occurred before the end of the year and the plan proved unacceptable to bondholders. Finally, after prolonged negotiations and litigation, state and bondholders came to agreement on a refunding measure in 1934. The present refunding is to convert the refunding bonds of 1934, approximately $91,000,000 of which are callable on April 1 and about $45,000,000 on July 1. An interesting feature of the sale of the refunding bonds, which was set for February 27, is that bids were expected from a single syndicate of banks and investment houses acting in conjunction with the RFC, the RFC being expected to take the bonds to cover the July 1 option.

Municipal Bond Market Softens

In connection with the item above, as well as with the comments carried here frequently on the recent favorable terms for municipal borrowers, it is interesting to note that there has at last been a check to the upward movement of municipal bond prices. The *Daily Bond Buyers'* index of municipal bond yields, the trend of which is inverse to bond prices, showed a change for twenty representative bonds from 2.14 per cent at January 1 to 2.29 per cent at February 1, while the index for eleven first grade bonds rose from 1.80 per cent to 1.97 per cent. While municipal bond prices as reflected by the index are still well above February 1, 1940, the decline is significant in that it follows a marked slump in corporate and United States bond prices, and may be an indication of the long-expected readjustment of municipal interest rates. A trend is already evident of less favorable terms for cities and other local units coming into the market in the last several weeks.

Cooperative Purchasing for Milwaukee County Governments

As a result of the recent purchasing agreement between the city and county of Milwaukee and numerous local government and school units[1] it is estimated that these governments will save upwards of $100,000 by coördinated large quantity buying during the current year. Under the new arrangement the smaller communities now receive the same discounts and low prices as the city, county, and school district of Milwaukee.

According to the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, manufacturers already are offering lower prices on standardized products. One definite economy has resulted in the reduction of the price of typewriter ribbons from $5.00 per dozen to $4.50. The cost of duplicating fluid has been reduced from $1.75 a gallon to $1.60, and of duplicating ink from $1.25 a pound to $1.00. Economies are likewise expected in the purchase of paper.

A standardization committee is preparing specifications for many materials used by each governmental unit and when purchases are made on large quantities of materials of the same quality and design, small cities and villages will be able to issue orders against the central pool at the same low prices. Eventually the plan will be used to buy such essential items as lamp bulbs, sand, gravel, stone, tar, asphalt, cement, pipes and fittings, and fire hydrants.

Two National Conferences Announced

Louisville, Kentucky, will entertain the 1941 conference of the **Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada** on May 19 to 22. Headquarters will be at the Brown Hotel.

Finance officers are almost unanimous in their selection of certain topics for discussion. They want to talk about extension of the federal social security act, the effect of the defense program, and a sound municipal finance policy for the defense period. Technical problems of accounting, debt, revenues, and budget control will feature two days of group meetings.

Presentation of the first Louisville award for an outstanding accomplishment will also be made for the first time. Local arrangements for the conference are in charge of John R. Lindsay, Louisville's director of finance, while the general program is arranged by the association's officers and headquarters.

The Eighth National Conference on Assessment Administration, sponsored by the **National Association of Assessing Officers,** will be held at Jacksonville, Florida, on October 19, 20, 21, and 22.

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[1] See November REVIEW, page 755.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Norris Retains P. R.

Use in Private Organizations More New York Endorsements

THE town of Norris, Tennessee, which is owned and operated by the Tennessee Valley Authority, adopted P.R. in December 1936 and an advisory council of nine members has since been elected annually by that method. In the spring of 1939 a petition was submitted to the council requesting an election to determine whether P.R. should be abolished or retained. The petition was rejected on technical grounds. No further attempts to abolish P.R. were made until December 1940, when the town council voted to hold a referendum on the question. The referendum was held on January 18, 1941, and P.R. was upheld by a vote of 77 to 76!

The fifth P.R. election for the town was held February 8. Fifteen candidates, including two members of the outgoing council and three women, qualified for the nine positions to be filled on the town council. A total of 331 ballots were cast in the election, 327 of which were valid. The vote represented approximately half of the electorate and was the second largest vote cast since P.R. was adopted. The transfer of surplus ballots and the elimination of the three lowest ranking candidates resulted in the election of one candidate. Two more candidates were elected on the fifth transfer, and two on the sixth and final transfer of votes.

The tabulation of the votes shows some interesting results. For example, the nine candidates that ranked highest on the first ballot were all elected to the council.[1] Furthermore, the proportion of voters helping to elect the councilmen was more than nine out of ten, and approximately 85 per cent of the voters saw their first choices elected.

Of the nine council members, two are members of the outgoing council and at least two others have previously been elected to public office. Although the new council will not include any employees of the Norris town management, five are employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Of the four remaining members, one is a housewife, one a commercial photographer, one the town postmaster, and one an employee of the U. S. Bureau of Mines.

M. H. SATTERFIELD

Tennessee Valley Authority

P. R. Spreading in Private Organizations

The Hare system of proportional representation, which is the form of P.R. considered almost exclusively in English-speaking countries, can be used suitably for a representative body of any kind, public or private, whether there are definite divisions in the electorate to get their proportional representation or not. If there are no divisions of opinion corresponding to parties, the system simply elects a representative group of individuals each one of whom is desired by a separate and approximately equal part of the whole electorate, with a minimum number of voters not represented.

One of the most significant uses of P.R. in private organizations is for the

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[1] This does not mean, of course, that the results were the same as they would have been in a plurality election. A plurality election of nine members would have given each voter nine votes. The first and final counts under P.R. are both based on a single vote for each voter.—EDITOR.

National Education Association, representing public school teachers throughout the country. The N.E.A. now uses P.R. at its annual conventions for the election of three members of its executive committee by the delegates, the other members of the committee being ex officio members and members elected by the Board of Trustees. The corresponding Hare system of majority preferential voting, the same system applied to the election of a single officer, is also used in selecting the chairman of a rules committee, the chairman of an appraisal committee, and the chairman of a joint committee of the N.E.A. and the parent-teacher organizations.

State Education Groups

The use of the Hare system in the N.E.A. was a natural outgrowth of its use in the Pennsylvania and Michigan State Education Associations. The Pennsylvania State Education Association used the system for the twentieth consecutive year for its officers, committees, and N.E.A. delegates at its annual convention at Harrisburg during the Christmas holidays. The Philadelphia organization also elects its delegates to the N.E.A. in the same way, and its delegates to the P.S.E.A. state convention, except for those sent as delegates in each case by virtue of holding other offices.

Of late years it has not proved possible to keep a complete list of the American private organizations using P.R., but new and varied applications are constantly coming to the National Municipal League's attention. In New York City P.R. is now used for student or faculty elections at Columbia University, Barnard College, New York University, Hunter College, College of the City of New York, Brooklyn College, and Queens College.

Other private organizations in which the use of P.R. has recently come to our attention include the student body of Muhlenberg College, the Teachers Union of Antioch College and Yellow Springs, Ohio, the Community Service Society of New York City (for the election of a personnel practices committee in a number of divisions most of which elect only one member each), the Green Farms (Connecticut) Work Camp of the Work Camps for America organization, and Bryn Gweled Homesteads, a new coöperative residential community near Philadelphia.

One of the most interesting uses of P.R. is that for the University of Michigan Student Senate, first reported in this department in July 1938. In the election last June a new "Michigan party," consisting of conservative students predominantly, elected ten of the sixteen members to be named. Eight of these were regular party candidates and two party affiliates. The six other places were captured by two unaffiliated candidates, one Independent Liberal, one Independent Progressive, one American Student Union candidate, and one candidate of the Young Communist League. Stuart K. Knox and Norman A. Schorr, student directors of the election, wrote in *The Daily* (University of Michigan publication): "Further indication that proportional representation is 'taking on' at Michigan is found in the record-breaking vote (2,649) and the small number of ballots, eight, or .3 per cent, invalidated because of improper markings. Another sign is the decreased number of votes with only one, two, or three choices marked, and then declared 'exhausted' . . . 2,401 voters, or 91 per cent of the total, had elected at least one of the candidates whom they supported in some degree."

Three Notable Endorsements

The successful defense of P.R. in

New York City last November called forth many testimonials to the value of the plan in the experience of the country's largest city. Three which seem particularly worth recording are reproduced below.

From the President of the Council

Newbold Morris, Republican president of the New York City Council, elected by city-wide vote with American Labor and independent endorsements at the time of Mayor LaGuardia's second election in 1937, made the following statement in a radio address over station WEVD on October 29, 1940:

"I am a good witness for the people because I was a member of the old Board of Aldermen—one of a minority of three out of a total of sixty-five members. At one time there was only one minority member against sixty-four in the majority. Yet even in a political 'off-year,' the Democratic machine can at best muster two-thirds of the vote in New York City.

"Our meetings were brief and perfunctory. The party discipline was perfect. Anyone who talked without permission of the Democratic floor leader was floored by a viva voce vote. Bills introduced in the Board of Aldermen proposing any sort of reform were retained in committee, without consideration, without any hearing, and died in committee.

"Proportional representation brought a new vitality to the legislative branch of New York City's government never seen before. For the first time in the history of New York the Tammany steamroller was not rolling in the old aldermanic chamber. A wide diversity of proposals found their way into the Council committees. Even the most controversial were brought out in committee for discussion and voted on in public. Many reforms failed but much was accomplished, and I look back on the history of the first Council with a good deal of satisfaction."

Chairman of the Charter Commission

Thomas D. Thacher, chairman of the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee which led the defense of P.R., former solicitor general of the United States and chairman of the 1936 charter revision commission which submitted P.R. to the people of New York City at the time of its adoption, not only joined with other members of the charter commission in the statement reproduced in this department in January but supported P.R. in a radio address, also over WEVD, on October 15, 1940. After citing numerous examples of the unfairness of the old system of elections Judge Thacher proceeded:

"Such obvious perversions of the democratic system were immediately corrected by the system of proportional representation effective in the councilmanic elections of 1937 and 1939. In 1937 Fusion was able to elect half the members of the Council. This was the year when Mayor LaGuardia was reelected. Contrast this with the aldermanic election of 1933, when Fusion first elected Mayor LaGuardia. Charged with incompetence and corruption disclosed by Judge Seabury's investigation which drove Mayor Walker from office and resulted in the election of Mayor LaGuardia, Tammany was nevertheless able to elect forty-nine members of the Board of Aldermen, representing 75 per cent of its membership, with a bare majority of the aldermanic vote of 51 per cent.

"This system of proportional representation has destroyed the power of the machine to dictate nominations, and thus exclude from participation in democratic government men and women who have the support of their constituents. In 1937 the Democratic organization in Queens denied party designation to Alderman James Burke. Under the system of proportional representation he became a candidate and received the highest vote cast for any councilmanic candidate in Queens. In 1939 the Democratic party in Manhattan refused to designate Alfred E. Smith, Jr. He also became a candidate without party designation and was elected. In the same election Robert Straus could not obtain the Democratic designation in Manhattan—nor did Mrs. Genevieve Earle obtain Republican designation in Brooklyn. Under this system of fair elections they were both able to become candidates and to win, after serving full terms to the satisfaction of their constituents. Mr. Straus received the highest vote in Manhattan, and Mrs. Earle the second highest vote in Brooklyn.

"All these are results essential in the preservation of the democratic system. The system of proportional representation is perfectly designed and has been effective in giving fair representation to all groups and parties, measured by voting strength. It encourages the election of councilmen in whom the people have confidence because they have no political designs upon the city and desire only to render disinterested public service. Democracy needs such people in public office. We cannot hope to have them if we give back to the bosses the power to control elections and to silence all opposition."

Another Charter Commissioner

Charles E. Hughes, Jr., also a former solicitor general and member of the charter commission, stated in a radio address over WOV on November 3, 1940:

"P. R. is based on sound American principles of majority rule with minority representation proportionate to the voting strength of the minorities. . . . Proportional representation has brought out councilmanic candidates of higher calibre. Minority parties and independent groups can attract better candidates because they have a better chance to win. With this effective opposition, the Democratic machine is put on its mettle and forced to nominate more highly qualified candidates itself; and this is in the interest not only of the city but of the Democratic party, in contradistinction to its professional politicians, as well. . . .

"Plainly, the proposal to repeal proportional representation should be opposed by all members of the Republican, American Labor and all other minority parties. But it should equally be opposed by all Democrats who care more for the welfare of the city than for further intrenching the power of the machine. . . . They should, and I think they will, be unwilling again to vest the selection of councilmanic candidates in the practically unrestrained control of machine bosses. . . .

"Four years ago the machine politicians ridiculed the system as so complicated that the voters would be hopelessly confused in its use. Experience has shown that there is no complication or confusion for the voter. All he has to do is to show his preferences by marking 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. in the voting square, instead of 'X'. Any difficulties there are relate only to the counting of the votes, which is no concern of the voter, and even they have been, to say the least, grossly exaggerated. Certainly the independent voters of New York City, who four years ago had the wisdom to recognize in P. R. the far-reaching reform which it has turned out to be, should be all the more vigilant now to insure its retention."

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Learning the Ways of Democracy. The National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1940. 486 pp. $1.00.

This is a report of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators. It is based on visits by a distinguished staff to ninety high schools in twenty-seven states to discover and evaluate methods actually in use which seem to offer most promise in the most important job in the nation—giving the citizens of tomorrow real opportunity to learn the ways of democracy.

Dr. Howard E. Wilson came to some distressing conclusions in a study of the teaching of citizenship in New York State high schools—a special report of the Regents' Inquiry into the Cost and Character of Public Education in that state. Hence, it must give him and his distinguished associates who put this report together tremendous hope for our country's future if the case studies herein presented are widely copied.

If it is not "later than we think," this book may be held in the future to be one of the most important publications of our time. In systematized form it presents the ways thousands of young Americans are getting democracy into their very bones, not as memorized "principles" nor as rituals but as ways of living.

There is no attempt to "define" democracy, but it is made plain that it consists of "skills—learned from the rudiments upward, through years of guided experience." Scores of instances are given of how these skills are being learned; some of the stories are so emotionally charged everyone who reads them will want to see that the schools of their locality use similar techniques.

Active workers for better local government have long been aware that many of the problems we deal with have arisen because of the apathy or low standards of the citizens of today who were the high school students of yesterday. If such workers read this book it will spur them to see to it by all ways open to them—membership on schoolboards is one such way—that the methods outlined in this case study are used in every secondary school of the country.

On pages 318-322 is a story that will bring a lump in anyone's throat. How many of us would suffer the loss of the ownership of our homes that the school in which our children are taught citizenship in a vital way might be maintained? Yet that is what poor, illiterate negro farmers did in order that their community school might survive. On pages 28-31 is the clearest statement this reviewer knows of the distinction we must make in the application of democracy to the two phases of the group process—policy-making and administration. The Model Charter will soon be operating in all cities if every student discusses these pages before he leaves school.

The last word in the book is "stimulates." Again and again the study shows the effective power generated when there is a constant interplay between intelligent conference and intelligent group action, even when practiced in immature youth. Hence it is to be hoped that it stimulates a public wider than the teaching profession, for the more people who learn fundamental democratic skills and get the emotional toning they produce the better will be municipal government and the surer we will be that democracy will soon be the way of life for all peoples. W. J. M.

Speak Up for Democracy. By Edward L. Bernays. New York City, Viking Press, 1940. xiv, 128 pp. $1.00.

Speak Up for Democracy is likely to be used widely during the next few years by those persons who want to appeal to Americans as a mass. It places little emphasis on the educational approach to public affairs which is designed to make voters more intelligent and effective. It stresses the emotional appeal which has an important part in the political life of citizens and which is overlooked too often by the educators and reformers. For that reason this book deserves careful consideration from readers of the REVIEW.

What Mr. Bernays does in his book is to proclaim that now is the time for all Americans to campaign for the democracy which is ours. Then he proceeds to suggest innumerable ways in which the campaign can be carried on and methods by which interested individuals can become leaders in the movement. He not only discusses how to stage mass meetings, parades, and celebrations, but also shows how to use all the media of communications from direct mail, pamphlets, and leaflets, to the press, radio, and motion pictures.

All the hints and helps in the book are contained in the first eighty pages. Then follows forty-seven pages of appendices, giving basic documents in American history, additional sources of help, lists of organizations, etc.

The perspective from which Mr. Bernays writes is the important thing. All of us can profit in our work by having a fuller appreciation of the point of view which he expresses.

S. H. E.

Town Government in New Hampshire. Manchester, The New Hampshire Historical Records Project, 1940. 152 pp. mimeo.

Town Government in Maine. Portland, The Historical Records Survey, 1940. 206 pp. mimeo.

When the present dictators are dead and the collective psychoses which make them possible have run their course, Europeans will have as urgent a need for good patterns of local government as for that which will produce an economico-political union from the Urals to Lisbon and from Hammerfest to Malta. In preparation for that day it would be wise to have these studies translated into all the European languages, for they tell the story of the simplest form of political organization which has been devised and one which so operates that those who participate in it must perforce become democratic in spite of themselves.

These studies deserve to be consulted frequently by all concerned with making democracy work now for from them can be learned the inspiring lesson as to how ordinary folk have made it work well for three hundred years by adapting general methods to special needs so that in the seventeenth century they provide for inspectors of vinegar and surveyors of linseed and in the twentieth century for town managers.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Pamphlets Received

Housing

Waverly, a Study in Neighborhood Conservation. Washington, D. C., Federal Home Loan Bank Board, 1940. x, 97 pp.[1]

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[1] See *"A Blueprint for Urban Conservation,"* page 157 of this issue.

Recreation

Education and Recreation Program for All the People. Annual Report 1939-1940 WPA Education and Recreation Program for Philadelphia. Philadelphia, Board of Education, 1940. 22 pp. illus.

Recreation Development of the Tennessee River System. Message from the President of the United States Transmitting a Report on the Recreation Development of the Tennessee River System. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1940. viii, 99 pp. illus. Thirty cents.

Schedule for the Appraisal of Community Recreation. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1940. 26 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

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Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, University of North Carolina, 1940. 74 pp.

NEW JERSEY'S MERIT SYSTEM

(Continued from Page 151)

provision. In 1908, perhaps, a majority of the people in the country were not particularly impressed by the so-called civil service procedure and there was not very much evidence available to prove that a central personnel agency could and would operate effectively in government. In the years intervening it has been demonstrated over and over again that a central regulation of public employment can be effective and indeed is the surest guarantee of a competent and stable working force in any large government.

The experimental stage has passed. The difficulties that are encountered in effective public personnel administration and the failures or partial failures recorded are not due to inherent weaknesses in the principle or its application but in the failure of acceptance on the one hand or administration on the other or both. Governmental undertakings now cover such a wide range of activities that we must provide for sound personnel procedures if we are to have good government in the broad sense of the word.

After thirty-two years, twelve counties out of twenty-one, thirty-seven municipalities out of 565, and one school district out of 542 have adopted the law by referendum. While the system applies to all of the state service and perhaps 65 per cent of local government service in point of numbers of employees, there will not be complete coverage under the referendum plan for many years to come. We need personnel administration in all governments now and I would recommend that new legislation for state-local personnel administration provide for immediate and general application.

Editor's Note.—Address delivered before forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 20, 1940.

RESEARCH BUREAU REPORTS

(Continued from Page 162)

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Correction

The following changes should be noted in the tables appearing with "Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities —1940" in the December 1940 Review:

In Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, (No. 104 in the list of cities) city rate includes $3.00 poor rate levied on the basis of the county assessed valuation. While this is a special district, its rate is included with the city rate for comparative purposes.

General Note (1) on Mississippi should read: "First $5,000 of assessed value exempt from state taxes and levies for maintenance and current expenses of counties, school districts, and road districts."

NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL
REVIEW

On Being Self-Conscious

Editorial

Education of a Citizen

Miriam Roher

Common Sense at the Courthouse

Karl Detzer

Printing Scandals Investigated

Estal E. Sparlin

Chicago—Metropolis in the Making

Albert Lepawsky

Starting next month:

"Local Government and Defence," a new section edited by Daniel W. Hoan

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

On Being Self-Conscious

IT SEEMS to do little good to scold voters for staying away from local elections. They still think they are doing all they should toward preserving democracy if they listen to the "Town Meeting of the Air," discuss the war, cuss Hitler, and give work or money for British relief.

Stimulating, worthwhile, and desirable as all of these actions may be, there is a very real and grave danger to our democratic processes in the fact that, when important local issues are to be voted on, more than half the qualified voters are prone to stay at home.

Occasionally someone thinks up a good method of bringing to the attention of the stay-at-homes the essential truth that the home town is the first place to "make democracy work." Here are a few recent examples:

The League of Women Voters recently asked 16,000 citizens in Clayton Township, Missouri, why they did not vote in the August 1940 primary.[1] Whatever excuses are given, one result surely will be to promote a little self-examination and self-condemnation.

Worrying over the fact that less than 10 per cent of the voters customarily attend town meetings, the Amesbury (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association is sending out 2,400 letters, making a door-to-door canvass, and sponsoring a forum to discuss subjects to be taken up at the town meeting.[1]

In Palo Alto, California, a public opinion poll[2] revealed how ignorant the people of a "superior" community are on local affairs, even after they have had an opportunity to read a simple and clear municipal report. Results of the poll may shame them into doing a little home work and participating more fully and intelligently as citizens.

These are simply a few recent constructive ideas. There are others, such as the "Get-Out-the-Vote" campaigns which many Junior Chambers of Commerce and other organizations have sponsored.[3]

They all spring from the fact that Lincoln's faith in the "common people" was essentially sound. Local elections usually turn out well if there is a large vote. It is only when there is a small vote that selfish, well organized groups can dominate.

The solution of the problem is to show people they can make themselves felt comparatively easily in their own community's affairs—that the first step toward bad local government is taken when the individual feels his vote will make no difference, after all, in the result.

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[1] See Citizen Action section, page 228.

[2] See "Education of a Citizen," p. 192.

[3] See "Young Men in Action," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1941.

Pride Fears Another Fall

LOCAL pride, which so frequently brings ready acceptance of new airports, new industries, and innovations generally which promise prestige or increased employment, is beginning to become more temperate.

More than a few cities, as a result of sad experience, have learned to examine continuing costs in comparison with permanent benefits. True, many local committees descended on Washington to plead their cases when defense industries began developing and dispersing; but most cities were foresighted enough to consider also the responsibilities and expense which accompanied the benefits.

During the lush days of the 1920's and again during the period of federally financed local improvements, the long continuing debt charges, maintenance, and other permanent responsibilities had taught a harsh lesson. There was the small city, for example, which was so elated when it was able to develop a park system adequate for a community several times its size. No one seemed to have foreseen that the maintenance budget would be quadrupled.

Pressure groups, road builders, and just plain public-spirited citizens are now translating their pet ideas into projects linked more or less to defense. Some of them may be necessary, but does it really help to hang an emotional label on every worthwhile improvement, some of which might well be postponed until we see what the paramount needs will be after the war?

The recent action of a taxpayers' group in a New England city is a case in point. With considerable enthusiasm, some elements in the community were urging the building of an airport—with a defense angle, of course. The taxpayers' group pointed out that another nearby town's airport was already serving this and half a dozen other communities quite satisfactorily. It asked, why spend money and be responsible for the upkeep of something we don't really need and, for all practical purposes, already have?

U. S. Policy on Local Defense Expansion

IN RECENT months many communities have become virtual boom towns as expanding defense industry suddenly increased population so fast that the normal rate of expansion of services was thrown completely out of kilter. In scores of instances the problem faced by local officials was serious. There has been considerable anxiety and a natural desire for a clear statement of the national government's policy toward sharing the cost of these services which, expanded now, may not be needed after the war.

Such a statement is found in President Roosevelt's recent message to Congress asking for an appropriation of $150,000,000 because "equity requires that that element of risk attributable to the national defense effort should be shared by the federal government."

(Continued on Page 210)

Education of a Citizen

By **MIRIAM ROHER**
Women's National Public Service Fellow

RESOLVED:

That the typical citizen is regrettably lacking in his knowledge of even the simple, basic matters relating to municipal government;

That a "good" municipal report, by present reporting standards, does little or nothing to relieve the voter's ignorance;

That women know even less about municipal affairs than their menfolk;

That, especially at this time, the reputation of municipal government is affected by national doings;

That much more effective municipal reporting is an urgent necessity.

WHEN a soap company sets out to sell soap, its advertising is based on the knowledge that the prospective buyers are interested in love, marriage, and business success—and that most people know what soap is. When public administrators set out to sell government, their "reporting" and "public relations" programs are based on—what?

To replace that "what" with information at least approachably as good as that of the commercial advertiser, to find out something about the prejudices, predilections, knowledge, and ignorance of the voter and taxpayer, I chose a guinea-pig city and subjected a cross-section of its voters to two tests. The purpose was to discover (a) what the voter thinks and knows about city government *before* he has been disturbed by any municipal public relations or propaganda program; (b) what the voter thinks and knows about city government *after* a "good" municipal report has come his way.

THE TEST CITY

Because it had never had a widely circulated "popular" type municipal report before, and because it was about to have one, Palo Alto, California, population 16,800, was the city chosen for experimentation. Palo Alto's character is determined by suburban shopping, retired persons of respectable means, high income commuting and Stanford University which lies just outside the city limits. It is not a typical city by any means, but a city which would be certain to house the very highest level of voters. (In presidential elections Palo Alto turns out about 94 per cent strong.) If municipal voters know anything, if municipal voters are susceptible of learning, they would be best informed and most educable in Palo Alto.

Governmentally, Palo Alto appears to be good. Its form of government is somewhat small town—an unpaid council of fifteen, a revolving mayoralty with no executive powers—but it is the sort of place where the very word "graft" is unmentionable, where the public officials do the best they can, and where public high-mindedness has resulted in an unusual degree of public ownership and public social services. In recent years taxes and municipal debt have been consistently declining and utility rates are lower than in many other cities. If ever a city existed that should be well thought of by its citizens, Palo Alto is certainly the place.

At the time of the "before" survey, in December 1940, the civic education of Palo Alto citizens had been no more neglected than in most other cities. To be sure, there was no generally distributed municipal report, but the city's sole daily newspaper, to which almost every family in town subscribes, was giving municipal government a high degree of coverage.

The "after" poll was taken in February 1941. Four weeks before this second survey every household in the city had been mailed an attractive, twenty-four-page booklet titled, *Your City Government, 1939-1940, Palo Alto, California*. The cover had an attractive panel of whimsical black and white drawings, and bore the legend: "Democratic government will survive in this unfriendly world if the electorate KNOWS AND CARES what its public servants are doing." Inside, the book told with the aid of photographs, charts, graphs, pictographs, drawings, and text, most of the things that citizens are supposed to want to know about city government. By the standards for municipal reporting set up by the International City Managers' Association,[1] this first popularly distributed Palo Alto report would probably rate high.

In the manner of Mr. Gallup and of the commercial market researchers, two "cross-sectional" public opinion polls were taken, with identical questionnaires. The first one was taken one week before distribution of the report, the second, four weeks after the report came out. Polling involved standing on Palo Alto street corners and ringing Palo Alto doorbells. Enough people were interviewed during the course of a week, during each poll (with two people working full time), to provide statistically adequate results. Divided into age, sex, and income groups in the same proportion as the population itself is divided into these groups, the questionnees in each poll were equivalent to a rough approximation of the Palo Alto population.

Everyone was asked the same nine questions, plus some additional personal questions designed to fix income, age, and other factors relating to the cross-section. There were additional questions in the second poll relating to reception of the report as well.

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[1] See C. E. Ridley and H. A. Simon, *Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report,* 1939; also *A Checklist of Suggested Items for the Annual Municipal Report* (supplement to the *Specifications*), Chicago, 1940.

I. Portrait of Palo Alto Voter: Before Receiving Municipal Report

Question 1: Do you think you're getting your money's worth from the city taxes you pay on your property or in your rent?

In Palo Alto those who had any opinions at all were satisfied with what they were getting. Only 9 per cent answered "no" to this question; 63 per cent answered "yes". But 28 per cent confessed to "no opinion." The interviewers met a stock reaction from too many people: "But I don't *pay* any taxes!" It was impossible to convince them that, directly or indirectly, they do.

Question 2: Do you think the city taxes you pay today are higher or lower than your city taxes five years ago?

One thing is certain: Palo Alto didn't know whether taxes were higher or lower than five years ago, and it seemed probable that Palo Alto didn't care. Of those interviewed, 53 per cent had no opinion on this question. And the difference between those who thought taxes were higher—25 per cent, and those who thought they were lower—15 per cent, and those who thought taxes hadn't moved at all—7 per cent, was too small to be significant. As a matter of fact, the Palo Alto tax rate has dropped from $1.20 in 1935 to $.95 in 1940, and assessments have not risen during the same period.

Question 3: Do you think the city is more or less in debt now than it was five years ago?

Due, apparently, to good newspaper coverage of this question, as many as 29 per cent of the civic guinea pigs knew that municipal debt had decreased during the past five years. Many people who answered correctly mentioned this newspaper story. Others were inclined to exclaim, in naive, shocked tones: "But I never thought *Palo Alto* was in debt at all!" To these, debt is obviously conceived of as shameful, whether municipal or private. To suggest that their good city was in debt was equivalent to suggesting that their neighbor beat his wife. No opinions on this question, however, were registered by the overwhelming majority—63 per cent. A stalwart 8 per cent maintained that debt had risen.

Question 4: Do you think the city would pay part of your hospital bill if you got sick?

Beneficent Palo Alto has for the past six years paid $2.50 a day, for a maximum of twenty-one days, on the hospital bills of all who had lived in the city six months or more. Of this benefit so closely related to their pocketbooks, 62 per cent of the voters were aware. Thirty-eight per cent were not.

Question 5: How much do you think the mayor and city councilmen of Palo Alto are paid?

They are, of course, paid nothing. One out of four knew it. The rest, in the main, just shook their heads. But a few ventured colorful estimates, such as "plenty!" or, firmly, "three hundred a month," or "five thousand a year!"

Question 6: Do you think your water, electricity, and garbage collection rates are higher or lower than in other cities the same size as Palo Alto?

All Palo Alto utility rates are lower than comparable rates in most other cities. The utilities are city-owned, and have been so since 1917. Besides keeping a representative utility bill down to $120 where the same amount of service would cost $150 elsewhere, the utilities' profits provide 43 per cent of the city's general operating fund. However—

Palo Alto utility users retreated in wild confusion from the question of whether their rates are high or low. On water they split almost evenly into four groups: "higher," "lower," "same," and "no opinion." "Lower," with 37 per cent, had an edge over "higher," with 27 per cent, but not enough of an edge to make the result significant, statistically speaking.

On electricity Palo Alto users were somewhat surer that their rates were favorable. "Lower" drew 47 per cent, "higher" only 17 per cent.

But on garbage rates there was an almost even split among the four possible answers. "Lower" had 28 per cent this time, "higher" 20 per cent.

The number of "no opinions" is interesting. On water there were 25 per cent; electricity, 18 per cent; garbage, 30 per cent.

Question 7: Do you think your city taxes would be higher or lower if the city didn't own the water, gas, and electricity?

On 45 per cent of Palo Alto's voters, the utilities' contribution of almost half the city's operating fund had made no impression whatever. Sixteen per cent of these guessed that taxes would be lower; 3 per cent same; 26 per cent had no opinion at all. The rest correctly said taxes would be higher if the utilities were not in public hands.

To the Ladies!

As for the ladies of Palo Alto, the statistical results of the poll tend to bear out a suspicion born after the first two or three noses had swept into the air, after the first two or three had gurgled, "Oh, you'd better ask my husband questions like that!"

(It must be admitted that there *were* numbers of intelligent women encountered, and many who were civil as well, and that psychologists have proved that women are just as intelligent as men—but here are the figures anyhow.)

Women consistently had from 7 to 19 per cent more "no opinions" than men. The electricity rates question was the single exception. On this about the same percentage of women had no opinion as men.

Women gave from 4 to 28 per cent fewer correct answers than men.

Women gave, in most instances, from 4 to 32 per cent more wrong answers than men.

Only on the debt and taxes question (has debt risen, have taxes risen in the past five years) were women and men about equally wrong and about equally right.

Let the sociologists make the most of this.

Commuters

While the number of commuters in the sample was proportionate to the number in the population—5 per cent—the number of commuters questioned is nevertheless too small to make statistically water-tight statements as to the commuters' relative civic I.Q. However, the figures do seem to show that Palo Alto commuters are wrong no more often than any other element of the population, and right just as frequently. They tend, besides, to have fewer "no opinion" answers than those who both live and work in the same city. This seems to explode the theory that commuters necessarily make less ideal local citizens than do the stay-at-homes.

II. Portrait of Palo Alto Voter: After Receiving Municipal Report

Judging by the section on municipal reporting in the *Municipal Yearbook,*[2] the city of Palo Alto did a well-nigh unprecedented thing when it decided not only to issue an attractive, readable municipal report, but also to distribute it to every household in the city. Most cities do not issue reports; many of the reports that are issued are dull, statistics-impregnated affairs; almost always, even the good reports are distributed to a haphazard, limited mailing list consisting of a few interested souls within the city, and many more interested persons outside it. In other words, a municipal report to citizens seldom reaches the ordinary citizen. In Palo Alto, however, it did. The city mailed a report to every utility user, and it spent the not inconsiderable sum of $604[3] to do so.

Poll number two, taken four weeks after the report was mailed, proved that a very large number of citizens actually did receive and see the report. As many as 67 per cent of those questioned remembered receiving it. Others unquestionably received it and did not remember it. Some men did not see it because their wives forgot to show it to them.

The report readers liked the report. At least they said they did. Of those who remembered seeing the book, 79 per cent said they had actually read it. Almost every one of these readers thought it was "interesting," rather than "boring." Only 9 per cent answered "no" to the question: "Do you think the report told the whole truth about city government?" In response to the question, "Do you think city reports are a waste of money, or would you like to receive one every year?" only 6 per cent sourly thought reports are a waste of money. Eighty-two per cent (12 per cent had no opinion) expressly endorsed the idea of receiving a report.

One prime result of the report was a large, significant shift in opinion on the question, "Do you think you're getting your money's worth from the city taxes you pay?" An additional 15 per cent answered "yes" after they had read the report. The shift was entirely out of the "no opinion" group. This seems to suggest that an attractive municipal report will at least predispose the citizen more favorably toward the city government as a whole.

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[2] Chicago, International City Manager's Association.

[3] This figure does not include the services of the author of the report, who is manager of the Palo Alto Chamber of Commerce. His time was given to the city without cost.

Did They Learn?

Nevertheless, the results of the second poll show that the Palo Alto voter learned very little more about his city government as a result of reading this report. Such learning as occurred on each subject appears to be directly correlated with the amount of space and graphic material on the subject contained within the report.

The Palo Alto report "played up" at greatest length the city's utilities, their low rates, their contribution to municipal finance. Sixteen inches—two and a quarter pages—were devoted to the subject, including some excellent drawings. Consequently, the greatest improvement in municipal knowledge was shown on the question, "Do you think your city taxes would be higher or lower if the city didn't own the water, gas, and electricity?" The "no opinion" group decreased 12 per cent from December to February, and the "higher" group increased 13 per cent.

On the three other utilities questions, relating to the fairness of water, electricity, and garbage rates, there were only small increases in the number giving the correct answer. After reading the report, 5 per cent more thought water rates were lower than had previously thought so (the shift came entirely out of the "no opinion" group, and not out of the "higher" group). "Lower" answers on the electricity question increased 7 per cent in the second poll; they increased a poor 4 per cent on the garbage rates question.

A fairly good, but not conclusively significant, improvement was registered on the question dealing with salaries of mayor and city councilmen. (There were two allusions to this point in the report, one highly pictorial.) An additional 7 per cent opined that the city fathers were unpaid, after having read the city report.

On the hospital question the shift was so small as to have no significance. (The report devoted one inch to the subject.) An additional 4 per cent thought the city would not help pay their hospital bill, the report to the contrary notwithstanding!

Learning Backwards

The most alarming results were registered on the question on taxes and the question on debt. For here there were two large shifts—in the wrong direction! In spite of the decrease in taxes and the decrease in debt, in spite of the fact that the report devoted five inches to taxes, two inches to debt, and one chart to each, 15 per cent more voters were convinced that taxes were higher after they had been exposed to the report; 9 per cent more were convinced that debt was higher. In each case the shifted opinions came exclusively from the "no opinion" group.

One may only speculate as to the causes for this shift. There was no apparent local occurrence, during the interval between the first poll and the second poll, that would account for so noticeable a swing in public opinion. One explanation only seems to hold some validity. It will be remembered that between December 1940 and February 1941 the national defense program was increasingly in the news, and that national spending, to say nothing of increased national taxes, was in the air. It seems entirely possible that Palo Alto voters merely transferred their growing impression of national openhandedness to the local scene.

If this interpretation is correct, if indeed, the results of the polls are at all valid, then the lesson for municipal administrators is grave. It seems clear that if the theory of democratic control of local government is to be translated from theory into practice, then municipal government must teach its citizens more about what is going on—and teach it *better*.

NOTE ON METHODS EMPLOYED IN THESE POLLS

It is easier to tear holes in these results than to mount them on velvet for Science. The questions asked are open to objection as too difficult, unfair, ambiguous, unimportant. But they may also be defended against these objections. It should be remembered, first, that the questions were designed to have some relationship to the contents of the municipal report; thus they were limited to subjects which had been given some degree of "play" in the report. Second, they were the easiest questions that could be devised without descending to discussions of the weather. Third, they deserted scientific wording purposely, in order to remain intelligible to citizens who think in terms of civic cliches. Fourth, any ambiguities were cleared up by the interviewer in the course of questioning. Finally, while the graduated scale type of testing developed by Thurstone is more scientific, it was not used here because it is not practical for street-corner interviewing.

The sampling method used here is open to all the challenges faced by the Gallup and other well known public opinion polls. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, June 1940, contains a discussion of these pros and cons by an array of experts.

The size of the samples used here is also a limiting factor in the reliability of the results. However, calculations of "confidence limits" show that almost all of the results are well within the 99 times out of 100 range of possibility which is considered a conservative and safe test. Where results do not fall within this confidence level, it has been so indicated in the body of the article.

Finally, Palo Alto is by no means a typical city, nor is its report necessarily typical of the best reports. But the city is typical enough, and its report good enough, to warrant, in my opinion, serious attention to these poll results.

M. R.

I Am an American Day

President Roosevelt has just issued a proclamation making May 18 "I Am an American" Day. This is the third successive year the day has been set aside for celebration of the privileges of American citizenship and many communities plan special ceremonies. Civic Clubs, patriotic organizations, fraternal societies, schools, social agencies, and other interested groups of citizens will direct programs. Observance of the day has special significance for two groups of citizens: those born in this country who have recently attained full rights of citizenship by reaching their twenty-first birthday and those who have recently become citizens through naturalization.

Common Sense at the Courthouse

"Henrico voters . . . today have what many experts call the best county government in America . . . getting more for their money."

By **KARL DETZER**

ARE *your* county taxes too high, the returns on them microscopic? Is *your* county overstaffed with mediocre men who play politics with *your* money?

The answer very likely is yes, unless you happen to live in one of a small handful of counties where citizens tired of wasteful, archaic methods have put common sense into the courthouse.

Henrico, Virginia, is one of these. Among the 3,053 counties in America exactly six have county managers. Henrico adopted the plan seven years ago. Perhaps twenty others use variations on the manager idea. A hundred or so, in spite of creaking, outworn systems, succeed in giving their taxpayers fairly good government at fairly low cost.

The vast majority, however, charge outrageous taxes for little value received; with millions of dollars invested, they often are managed less capably than a small-town store. This is due partly to outmoded statutes, horse-and-buggy methods, politicians desperately hanging on to a good thing—to patronage, pap, and overstuffed payrolls—and partly to public lethargy. The typical courthouse is a morass of inefficiency, duplication, and lost motion because the voters and taxpayers—you and I—are content to foot the bill.

Henrico voters were not content. They were bold enough to experiment, and today have what many experts call the best county government in America. They are not paying the lowest taxes in the land but they *are* getting more for their money.

Henrico's manager for seven years was a lanky engineer named Willard F. Day who previously had managed the city of Staunton, Virginia. Before that he had sold paving materials, built highways and bridges, learned his way around.

In Henrico, for $6,000 a year, he worked twelve hours a day, countenanced no political pressures, made his associates work as hard as he did. Perhaps his outstanding quality was a conviction that public funds should be spent just as frugally as John Average Citizen spends the cash in his own pants pocket. He believed, too, that the rural taxpayer is entitled to as good schools, roads, police and health and fire services, as his city brother, provided he's willing to pay for them.

A few months ago the federal government called Day out of Henrico, made him responsible for municipal efficiency in the boom towns around national defense projects. To succeed him the county board appointed S. J. Mahaffey, manager of the town of Franklin, Virginia. Thirty-seven years old, Mahaffey had studied law, engineering, and accounting at Pennsylvania State College and the University of Richmond, taken a night school course in plant management.

He, too, had built bridges and highways.

He is carrying on Day's methods, has made no change in county personnel, plans none. Why should he, he asks, when the county has lived within its budget ever since the manager form of government took charge?

Although taxes are higher this year due to a court order which took from the county its most valuable taxable property and gave it to the city of Richmond, Henrico's tax rate still is 3 per cent lower than it was under the old form of county government. At the same time it has increased its services to its people an average of 43 per cent. It has increased its water and sewer service, its paved highways, school equipment and number of teachers, fire protection, traffic patrol, and public health work to that extent. It did this by consolidating departments, abolishing useless jobs, substituting business practice for political expediency.

Henrico almost surrounds the city of Richmond but under Virginia law stops at the city limits, profits by no city taxes. More than half its 30,000 people make their living from agriculture; 30 per cent are Negro. Its 240 square miles embrace some five square miles of Richmond suburbs, six villages, 1,350 farms. It calls itself the "dairy county of Virginia." Its soil, population, wealth, and industries are average.

But its government is not. First, it operates on a balanced budget. In eight years it has built three waterworks systems, modernized and increased its police force, placed health, sanitation, finance, and public works on a business basis. More than half its bonded indebtedness of $900,000 is for sewer and water plants in thickly settled areas, a third is for schools; it has issued no road bonds since it adopted manager government, is paying off its debts at the rate of $37,500 a year.

TAX REDUCTIONS

It has transformed a chaotic, unrelated, overlapping group of offices which collected and spent public funds into a modern department of finance. It has abolished a fee system whereby five elected officers formerly pocketed $33,000 a year, has substituted salaries of $15,800. It has snatched nearly 1,000 children out of schoolhouse firetraps, built $500,000 worth of new schools, has increased its teaching staff from 200 to 256, raised teachers' salaries 23 per cent, wages of other employees an average of 10 per cent.

And at the same time it has reduced taxes!

Its tax rate, based on 45 per cent of fair market value of real estate, last year amounted to 49½ cents on each $100 of actual property value, as compared to a state average of 74 cents, a national average of $1.13. Thus the owner of a $5,000 farm paid $24.75; a suburbanite in a $10,000 home paid $49.50 and got water and sewer service, protection by modern fire and police departments.

Henrico has a short ballot. Instead of the former twenty-five elected independent officers each running his own department, buying his own supplies, appointing his own deputies, building his own political fences, it now elects only seven—commonwealth attorney, clerk, sheriff, and four supervisors. These four (at present an insurance agent, two doctors, and a farm manager) receive $400 a year each, meet twice a month, serve as a county board of directors. They determine broad policies, enact ordinances, set tax rates and salaries, and appoint the school board, planning board, and county manager.

They are not concerned with jobs for ditch diggers, clerks, or police, or the trivia which too often takes up most of a board's time. Unlike the average board, with a member elected from each township, these four are elected at large. Instead of investing full-time executive functions in part-time committees, it simply tells its manager, "That's your job. Go to it. We don't care whom you hire or fire. All we want is results."

Day did no "housecleaning" when he took over. He told county employees: "If you are capable, willing to work and to forget politics, willing to adjust yourselves to modern methods, stay and help me clean up this mess."

Nearly half the present employees were inherited from the former regime. Others, chiefly political appointees in nonessential jobs, got out and got out fast. This was particularly true of the highway force, although the chief engineer today, who happens to be an excellent executive, is one of the "inherited" staff.

Formerly, as in most counties, the road department was burdened with welfare cases. Scores of these were actually unemployables, men too old or too sick to work, some of them carried on the payroll at ten cents an hour, neither expecting nor expected to do any real work. Many others received twenty cents an hour, were not worth it.

"Road building's a construction job, not a charity ward," Manager Day said; he ordered the welfare department to handle its own cases, the highway division to employ only able-bodied men. Today the hundred road workers receive from thirty to fifty cents an hour.

ROAD ADMINISTRATION

Henrico's roads formerly were built and maintained by four separate organizations, each directed by an *elected* supervisor, each with its own foremen, labor, and equipment. These now are merged into one force, directed by one engineer. He built a single plant to house and maintain all road equipment. This plant not only services highway trucks and machines, but repairs and paints the thirty-six school busses and twelve police cars. The plant cost $10,000, saves half that much each year, gives the public better service.

The county several years ago bought sixty acres of farmland, from which it digs sand, gravel, and topsoil. It gets gravel at thirty-two cents a ton, which includes a charge of one per cent a month to retire investment. Average price of gravel from commercial plants previously had been $1.25 a ton. Savings in taxpayers' money on this item amount to more than $10,000 a year.

Thanks to efficient operation, Henrico pays no road tax, its share of the state gas tax covering all highway expense. It has 430 miles of roads, 79 per cent hard-surfaced. It buys no land for any highway, no matter how powerful politically an owner may be.

"We need plenty of new roads and plenty of widened roads where people are willing to give the land," Day told his board. "Land purchase just isn't in our budget." In the past four years property owners have presented land for forty-three miles of new road, at no charge.

CENTRALIZED PURCHASING

In most counties the sheriffs, school superintendents, clerks, and road force make their own purchases of materials and supplies—with taxpayers' money. True, these bills usually are approved by the supervisors. Even so, frugality and political expediency rarely go hand in hand. It's hard for an elective officer to turn down a salesman with a thousand votes up his sleeve, even if his price is a few cents high.

Henrico buys everything from tractors to thumbtacks through a single purchasing agent. He is an appointive, not elected, officer. He is not interested in votes, simply in keeping his job, and his job consists in getting more for the money. Last year he shopped carefully on 1,565 orders, spent $250,000, saved 20 per cent over old-time methods.

In one year on gasoline and asphalt alone Henrico saved $15,000. The county discounts its bills, a procedure impossible when it is necessary to wait for the next supervisors' meeting to approve them. Last year's discounts in Henrico amounted to $1,208.

A planning commission with broad powers, appointed by the supervisors, divides the county into residential, agricultural, industrial, and business zones, thus protecting investments. Its surveys, rather than local political pressure, determine the location of highways, parks, water and sewer systems, school bus routes, recreational areas, and subdivisions.

The county's fire department consists of two modern trucks, five paid men, 150 volunteers, and besides it has a working arrangement with Richmond to call on city fire forces when needed, at an hourly charge. Last year it made 585 fire prevention inspections, held forty-six school fire drills, responded to 104 alarms. Over a five-year period its per capita loss averaged fifty cents, compared with almost two dollars for the nation at large.

Thirty-three full-time and eight part-time policemen, appointed by the manager, patrol the county highways twenty-four hours a day in radio cars. The sheriff, nominal police head, recently asked to be relieved of that particular duty, and the county employed a trained chief, who installed modern fingerprint and identification systems, sends his men to FBI schools for instruction, and maintains a pistol range.

When Farmer John Smith storms into the Henrico County courthouse, demanding to know why the tax is higher on his forty acres than John Jones pays on his forty, the finance officer has the answer ready. From his files he pulls two large cards, one for Smith's farm, one for Jones's.

On each is drawn an accurate map of the assessed property, showing roads, woodland, ditches, hills, and type of soil. On each is pasted an actual photograph of farm buildings. Each house is described in exact detail. The finance officer is able to point out that the Smith house has hardwood floors, a tile bathroom, an oil-burner furnace, insulated walls, a glassed porch—none of which blessings belong to Farmer Jones.

"Besides," he may add, "Jones has seventeen acres of worthless swamp land on his place and every inch of yours is good soil. He has no timber and your standing trees are worth $400. His barn, although it looks fine in the picture, was built in 1894 and is ready to fall down. Yours is only five years old. You are a lucky man, Mr. Smith, compared with Mr. Jones."

Usually the objector is satisfied; if not, he may lay his complaint before a board of appeals, which will correct injustices.

Delinquent taxes in the county have dropped from 22 per cent in 1933 to 10 per cent last year, thanks in part to a "budget plan" worked out with local banks. Citizens who find themselves unable to pay their taxes in a lump sum need only drop into the nearest bank, figure out a budget scheme they can afford, pay a portion each month.

Three years ago the finance officer discovered that several hundred county employees and persons with whom the county did business were delinquent. In spite of screams of protest, he quietly withheld salaries and payment of bills until tax payments were arranged under the budget plan.

Henrico's citizens last year paid taxes of $547,000. State gasoline taxes accounted for forty miles of new hard surface on county roads. Bonds issued by the five sanitary districts paid for 90,000 feet of new water mains, 33,700 feet of new sewers, 100 new fire hydrants. Expenditures for the twelve months were $3,700 under income.

Naturally the voters were satisfied. Last election, every candidate for county office went on record approving business methods in the courthouse. They knew that their people, having tasted efficiency in government, would not return to the expensive luxury of political maneuvering at public expense.

Now . . . in *your* county . . .?

Printing Scandals Investigated

New York and Missouri inquiries demonstrate urgent need for thorough-going analysis of present public printing procurement methods.

By **ESTAL E. SPARLIN**
University of Arkansas

TWO states, New York and Missouri, and the nation's largest city have just undergone excruciating printing scandals, "investigated" the problem, indicted a few "culprits," issued reports, and are now in the process of settling back to "normal."

The storm first broke in New York City where Russell Forbes' efficient purchasing organization became more and more weary of trying to bring some order out of the printing chaos. For several years the Department of Purchase had been maneuvering and reorganizing and pleading with the printing industry in an attempt to bring printing administration and costs in line with other materials procured by the department. Being thwarted at almost every turn and having evidence of some corruption, it decided to throw the problem open by ordering an investigation.

Under the direction of William B. Herlands, New York City's commissioner of investigation, and Mr. Forbes, commissioner of purchase, the whole problem of public printing procurement in New York City was thoroughly investigated during 1939 and 1940. The report, dated November 9, 1940, and prepared principally by Louis E. Yavner, examiner in the Department of Investigation, and Albert Pleydell, deputy commissioner of purchase, is intriguing yet prudent from the first section on "Pattern for Plunder," to the last page of the "Blueprint for Reform."

The title of the first chapter is taken from an advertisement of the New York Common Council of 1693 in which the council was attempting to entice a printer to the city by offering £40 per annum salary and "the benefit besides what serves the publick." This chapter is well summarized in the following paragraph:

> While William Bradford [early city printer] received approximately $200 a year, printers who monopolized city printing during recent generations became millionaires at the expense of the city. At least three large estates along the Jersey shore are monuments to city printers' unjust enrichment. Frequent investigations have demonstrated that for almost a century city printing has been characterized by collusion among printers, political brokerage, extravagance, gross inefficiency, and willful waste of public funds. Each investigation has revealed that the same pattern for plunder was followed by each successive dictator of city printing.

The chapter shows that in the history of New York City printing since 1860, investigation, reform, and corruption are written upon each other like a palimpsest. Boss Tweed first felt the scratch of the reformer. Martin B. Brown and Company inherited the printing advantages left by Tweed's elimination and maintained them for fifty years, only slightly disturbed by Mayor Havemeyer in 1872, the Lexow Committee in 1894, the Mazet investigation in 1900, the Hervey-McIntyre investigation in 1901, Mayor Gaynor's inquiry in 1910, and Commissioner of Accounts Wallstein's investigation in 1916. Says the report:

> City printing procurement has followed the same pattern in good administrations and bad. Most city printers have read a sinister meaning into the offer of the Common Council of 1693 that printers who "settled" in the city to do its printing would have a "benefit besides what serves the publick." Frequent exposures have had no therapeutic effect. Without variation the monopoly has continued from before the days of Tweed until recently. During the past two years . . . the latest monopolistic ring of city printers has been broken; but this result . . . will be little more than temporary unless the basic method of procuring city printing is changed.

The first major phase of the New York City printing investigation was concerned with printing for the Board of Elections. The resulting report lists item after item of inefficiency and corruption. In 1937, for example, the Board of Elections ordered 3,930,000 party enrollment ballots. As 1937 was an off-election year, the board had every reason to believe that there would be a sharp decline in the need for such ballots but no attention was paid to this obvious fact. More than a third of the 3,930,000 ballots were unused.

In the case of the official lists of registered voters, the contract prices in 1937 were as follows: $3.75 per page in lots of 1,000 copies or less; $4.25 per page in lots of 1,001 to 2,000 copies; and $6.00 per page in lots of 2,001 to 4,500 copies. In a number of assembly districts, which required less than 1,000 copies, the board ordered 1,020, 1,060, and 1,080 copies—just enough additional to raise the price fifty cents per page. In other assembly districts, which required less than 2,000 copies, 2,040 and 2,100 copies were ordered—just enough to raise the price $1.75 per page.

GREAT LOSSES UNCOVERED

"It is difficult to attribute such wasteful methods only to inefficiency," the report comments. "The investigation revealed that the methods and policies which were followed by the Board of Elections in the handling of . . . expenditures for printing, stationery, and supplies caused the city a minimum annual loss of $100,000 for many years past." As a result, the state legislature enacted a law transferring procurement of these supplies from the Board of Elections to the Department of Purchase with subsequent savings being realized.

After the Board of Elections came the Emergency Relief Bureau investigation. As a result of padded bills and non-compliance with specifications, the Burland Printing Company received large overpayments between March 1935 and May 1938, on orders issued by the New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. When the irregularities, finally admitted by officials of the company, were first discovered it was roughly estimated that the total amount of overcharge was about $400,000 although, because of "doctored" records (both public and private), it was impossible to ascertain the exact amount. After detailed computations and long negotiations, the Burland Company paid $225,000 in settlement of the city's claims.

EMPLOYEES INCOMPETENT

This defrauding of the city was done by the manipulation of contracts and bribery of some employees, but was made possible because of utter incompetence of other employees. As an example of the latter, David Blanc, a former electrician, was the printing procurement clerk of the Emergency Relief Bureau from February 1936 to August 1939. It was his duty to write printing specifications for the printing jobs ordered under the contract. Such printing specifications are supposed to state the type face to be used—Bodoni, Cheltenham, Ideal News Face, or any other of a thousand type faces—to fix the measurements of the type, to determine the quality of paper, and many other things. "Blanc," according to the report, "knew virtually nothing about printing. His specifications were therefore seldom to the city's advantage. He relied upon a Burland salesman to advise him in writing them. The most expensive papers were ordered [but seldom delivered]." On one occasion Blanc asked his superiors for a copy of the contract so he could estimate the price of each job, but they intimated to him it was impossible to obtain a copy.

The finance division of the Emergency Relief Bureau employed one Arthur Brodie from 1935 to 1938 as a printing inspector to audit the printing vouchers. His prior employment experience had been as a general contractor and his inspection consisted only of counting the number of copies delivered. He was completely ignorant of such common printing terms as "composition," "10-point," "off-set printing," and "em." According to the report, a typical extract from Brodie's testimony is as follows:

> Q. Have you ever heard that composition can be measured?
> A. I suppose you are right.
> Q. But you do not know?
> A. No, sir.
> Q. And you do not know how composition can be measured, do you?
> A. No, sir.
> Q. Now, tell me what is an "em?"[1]
> A. 1000.
> Q. 1000! What is an "em?" Did you ever hear the word em; not the letter in the alphabet, but the word em?
> A. Oh, em.
> Q. Yes, did you ever hear that word?
> A. Yes.
> Q. Where did you hear it?
> A. Em?
> Q. Yes.
> A. That is new to me.
> Q. You never heard of it before?
> A. Em?
> Q. Yes. A word spelled E-M. "E" as in Elizabeth and "M" as in Mary. This is the first time you ever heard that word?
> A. Yes, sir.
> Q. And you have no idea what it means?
> A. No.

As a result of the investigations,

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[1] "Em" is the most used unit for measuring type. It is as basic to printing as the gram is to chemistry, the slide rule to engineering, or the sentence to grammar.

definite proof of collusion in the bidding for city printing contracts was uncovered and up to June 1940 twenty-two firms had been disbarred from bidding on city contracts.

The "Blueprint for Reform" is the establishment of a New York City Printing Authority which would organize and equip its own printing plant to produce about 60 per cent of the total amount of printing now bought by the city. The remaining 40 per cent would be obtained commercially by the appropriate procurement offices from the printing industry. "A municipal printing plant, established on this basis, would reduce the city's annual printing bill by at least a quarter of a million dollars. It would result also in equally important indirect administrative benefits."

NEW YORK STATE INVESTIGATION

The odor of the New York City printing scandal soon drifted up the Hudson to Albany. In February 1940 Governor Lehman of New York appointed F. E. Crane a Moreland Commissioner[2] to investigate the state printing procurement situation. Crane had just retired as chief justice of the New York Court of Appeals.

This investigation differed somewhat from the New York City inquiry. In the city it was the procurement agency that was taking the lead in the investigation, while in the state the procurement agency was being investigated along with the contractors and their questionable methods.

The state's investigation functioned during the spring of 1940, causing the indictment of several individuals and bringing about considerable savings on the 1940 contract as a result of two interim reports issued in April and July. Open hearings were held the week of August 6, 1940, on the question of the feasibility of a state printing plant, at which Dr. Lawrence E. Schmeckebier, of Brookings Institution, and the writer appeared as expert witnesses. Also appearing were representatives of the New York Employing Printers Association, various labor unions, and several other groups. The printed report was issued December 17, 1940.

New York uses the class system of contracting for its printing. This system has been used by almost all the states some time or other during the last century but has been abandoned by most of them because of its inherent defects. It consists of placing great quantities and varied kinds of printing into a few large classes and making contracts for a year or two years on the basis of the operation involved rather than on the basis of a specific completed job.[3]

The class system encourages monopoly of the state's printing needs and most of the states using this system have had monopolistic conditions existing more or less regularly. For instance, one firm, the J. B. Lyons Company of Albany, furnished almost all the printing for the state of New York continuously from 1901 to 1931. In the latter year another firm (the Burland Printing Company) placed a few bids at extremely low prices and procured some of the work. The investigation of 1940 showed that these bids by the Burland Printing Company were merely for the purpose of "scaring" the monopolistic firm into an agreement to divide the state's printing with it. The bluff proved successful and from 1931 to 1940 the two companies, through collusive bidding, monopolized the state's printing.

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[2] A Moreland Commissioner is one appointed in accordance with the provisions of section 8 of the executive law—the so-called Moreland act—which gives the Governor power to appoint "one or more persons . . . to examine and investigate the management and affairs of any department, board, bureau, or commission of the state."

[3] See author's "Administration of Public Printing in the States," *The University*

The two companies contended during the investigation that they made full delivery of quantities as ordered, did not substitute paper and did not pad bills, and the evidence seemed to support these contentions. One company representative stated that there were enough loopholes in the contracts to permit of enormous profits in performance.

From the beginning of the state of New York in 1777, the same general cycle of corruption, investigation, reform, and corruption again has gone on continuously almost as rhythmically as in New York City. Major scandals and reforms came in 1843, 1846, 1870, 1872, 1881, 1892, and 1900. An investigating committee in 1913 had the following to say: "The printing law . . . possesses not one redeeming feature. It fails absolutely to protect the state and its provisions even force the State Printing Board to enter into contracts which are disadvantageous. . . . There is evidence of collusion of the most clumsy description between alleged competitors."

Governor Miller made some changes in 1921 and stated in part: "It will thus be possible to introduce real competition in the bidding for departmental printing and to give those best equipped for doing the different classes of work opportunity to bid for the same."

Through all these sad cycles no basic change has been made in the printing procurement system.

The first paragraph of the report of the Moreland Commissioner reads:

> For over a century the history of the procurement of New York State printing has been a narrative of recurrent scandals and corruption. Various favored printers successively enjoyed virtual monopolies of the state work. Although great technological advances were made in the production of printing, the general pattern for mulcting the state remained unchanged for one hundred years.

It is rather difficult to reconcile this first paragraph with the final paragraph of the report which says:

> I recommend that the state should not establish its own printing plant until it has thoroughly explored, and tested for a reasonable time, the ability of the Printing Bureau to secure reasonable prices and adequate services from the printing industry.

One would think that a century of "exploring" might be a "reasonable time" upon which to base conclusions.

MISSOURI INVESTIGATION

Although the Missouri investigation has been less elaborate and less productive thus far than those in

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of Missouri Studies, Vol. XII, No. 4, October, 1937, pp. 12ff, for an analysis of the defects of such a system.

New York, it is almost as spectacular. At this writing, the investigating committee's report is available but the situation is still at a stalemate because the contracts are tied up in the State Supreme Court.

Missouri uses the same class system of contracting as does New York State but the administrative arrangement is complicated because a Printing Board composed of the secretary of state, state treasurer, and state auditor, all elected officials, lets the contracts and controls the printing procurement. A few years ago Missouri created a state purchasing office and centralized the procurement of most commodities "except printing."

There has never been any appreciable amount of competition for Missouri state printing. Contracts are let by the biennium and on most occasions, until 1940, there has been only one bidder.

The situation in Missouri is rather peculiar. There the same printing plant has had state printing almost since the Civil War. This plant changes ownership, however, when the administration changes. At one time the building had four different company names on the front.

For the first time in many years there were two bids instead of one to be opened by the Printing Board at the June 1940 letting. When the bids were opened it was discovered that the bid of the Von Hoffman Press of St. Louis was approximately $100,000 less than the Jefferson City plant on an $800,000 contract. All bids were rejected. The basis for rejection was an alleged "oversight" whereby specifications failed to designate the method of typesetting to be used, although neither the specifications of earlier years nor the printing law itself restricted the method.

The St. Louis firm asked the State Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus requiring the Printing Board to award it the contract but no decision has been reached as yet. In the meantime, the Jefferson City firm continues to supply the state's printing needs under a temporary contract.

Governor Stark, although he had no authority over the printing procurement of the state, ordered an independent investigation of the situation on November 7, 1940. Edward T. Miller, of Chicago, technical printing consultant, and the accounting firm of Ernst and Ernst of St. Louis, were employed to make the investigation. As Governor Stark was to retire from office in January, only a superficial investigation could be made and the report, dated January 6, 1941, is based upon these findings.

The report did not deal with questions of contracting methods and monopolistic bidding but it did condemn the state printing law as "loose, archaic, inadequate, contradictory, and both wasteful and uneconomical."

In a spot-check of bills submitted by the printing company during the last biennium, the report stated that there had been found "technical irregularities indicating excesses in charges paid by the state amounting to several thousand dollars. One can only conjecture what the indicated excesses paid by the state might amount to had time permitted the extension of the survey."

The report recommended revision of the law to clarify it, so as to provide modern business methods and proper and modern accounting procedures for the recording of printing and paper transactions in order that the state may have adequate control over the purchase of and payment for all printed matter and paper.

If these appalling situations exist in the three governments that have been investigated during the last year, it causes one to wonder just how many millions of dollars are being wasted in the thousands of other governmental units, many of which have never had thoroughgoing inquiries.

These investigations prove almost beyond doubt that, where any substantial amount of printing is involved, ordinary procurement methods will not give satisfactory results and that the purchasing office would do well to recognize this fact and treat printing procurement as a specialized problem.

It seems almost axiomatic, in view of the cyclical process of corruption, investigation, reform, corruption, which has been going on for over a century, that there is urgent need for some type of automatic checking system to play state plant against the contractors.[4]

Badly needed now is a thoroughgoing analysis of the state and national government-owned printing plants to ascertain if they are being conducted as efficiently as possible.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 191)

The president described the situation succinctly. His statement, in part, follows:

> Military and naval strategy has been the controlling factor in determining the location of many of these new defense establishments. As a result posts and plants have been necessarily located near communities without adequate public facilities and services for the large numbers of workers who arrived to construct them and who will be needed to operate the new establishments. There have been shortages of housing, insufficient sanitary and health facilities, overcrowding of transportation services, and inadequate recreational facilities. In fact, this shortage of essential public facilities has handicapped our rearmament effort in some areas.
>
> The government has already embarked on a defense housing program, but that is not enough. We must do more to obtain the most effect from new plants, new houses, and, most important, from new workers. There is need, in some areas, for improved streets and roads to carry the increased traffic, additional water supply and sewerage systems to service the new structures, and better health, safety, and welfare facilities to benefit the new workers and their families.
>
> The provision of such community facilities has always been a local responsibility. It still is today; cities generally have been straining to meet the problem. Yet we must face the fact we cannot expect local governments to assume all the risk of financing the entire cost of providing new public facilities for the defense program.
>
> After the defense program comes to an end, these new facilities may not be needed. This increase in operating and service costs may also be much greater than a co-existent rise in local public revenues from an increased business activity.

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[4] See author's "Public Ownership versus State Purchasing: the case of Printing," *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2, April, 1940, pp. 211-221, for a suggested plan.

Chicago—Metropolis in the Making

"Until Chicago demonstrates a genuine attempt to make good administratively and politically it is difficult to expect suburban and down-state help for a real program to reorganize Greater Chicago."

By **ALBERT LEPAWSKY**
University of Chicago

CHICAGO is scared. It is scared because it has stopped growing. America's second city and the world's fourth, Chicago barely escaped being one of the nation's declining cities in the 1940 census along with Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburgh.

What a tight squeeze Chicago had in the 1940 census, few people realize. The original calculation showed the city to have lost 8,000. On a recheck preliminary figures showed a gain of 8,000, and the corrected figures now available show an increase of only 20,000. New York gained a half million, Los Angeles a quarter million, Baltimore 50,000, and even Detroit gained 50,000—Detroit, which Chicagoans have regarded as a one-industry upstart town, whose automobile factories should have been established in Chicago anyhow!

No wonder Chicago has the census jitters. At the beginning of the last decade Chicago was expected to increase from 3,376,000 to 4,000,000 by 1940. So concerned are some of the city's merchants and real estate men, politicians and planners, that there is already hushed talk about the possibility of a declining population figure for 1950 or 1960.

Here is a city which has flourished and still depends upon expansion, a boom town that has relied from its very inception upon speculative rises in values and continued increases in population, a metropolis with enough subdivided and improved lots still within its boundaries to house almost twice its present population, a city that depends upon the maintenance of these land values as a base for its property taxes but whose tax collections are among the most delinquent in the country—and now it looks forward to the possibility of a levelling of its population, to shrunken values, to reduced revenues.

For this apparent reversal of Chicago's municipal history there is one good explanation. Chicago's population hasn't really stopped growing. What has happened is that the city merely stopped annexing the suburbs which have been draining its population for several decades. And paradoxical as it may seem, its population is really greater than the figures show for while its resident population is only 3,400,000 it has a total day population of 4,000,000 if the tens of thousands who come to the city daily to work, shop, go to school, or play are included.

Even suburban figures for the 1940 census, however, are not as promising as was expected. Cook

County, which contains some eighty-two incorporated cities, towns, and villages adjacent to Chicago and ten more on the fringes of this municipal polybus, gained but 80,000, or less than 2 per cent over 1930, as compared with a 30 per cent increase between 1920 and 1930. Still this was a higher increase than Chicago's one-half of one per cent increase between 1930 and 1940 as compared with its 25 per cent increase between 1920 and 1930. What the increase will be for the whole Chicago metropolitan district as defined by the Census Bureau will be known shortly. But the fifty-mile region of Metropolitan Chicago as defined by University of Chicago studies shows an increase of only 177,000 as compared with an increase of eight times that many between 1920 and 1930.

HOUSING LAGS

Housing figures are an even better indication of the suburban drift than are the census data. While some 16,500 houses were erected in Chicago between 1930 and 1940, they were hardly sufficient to replace those which were demolished or had become uninhabitable. In five wards extending westward from Chicago's Loop, new houses have not appeared for years. By contrast suburban building is booming. In the inner suburbs of Cook County building permit figures for any single month are at least double those in Chicago.

Pending refinement of the 1940 statistics, it is obvious to all who observe events in Greater Chicago that the dormitory areas around Chicago are capturing more and more of the city's citizens.

What is most disturbing to those who are concerned with the future of Chicago as an organized community, smoothly functioning and well governed, is the startling fact that the largest increases in population and the heaviest building activities are going on outside incorporated municipal areas, whether they be the city or its suburbs. Not only Chicago but her suburban municipalities are being deserted for the interstitial, unincorporated areas between the suburban arms and legs that fling themselves outward from the city along each main railway line and principal highway. Forty per cent of Cook County's gains were not in suburban cities and villages but in the country districts, and the situation was, on the average, similar in the other metropolitan counties of the Chicago region.

This does not mean that Chicago is going rural, although one might suspect this from the persistence of farm acreage in the peripheral areas within the city boundaries themselves, or from the growing number of gentlemen's estates and well-to-do family farms that are coming to be dotted over the whole of Metropolitan Chicago. What it does mean is that Chicagoans are deserting both the city and the suburbs. At almost every highway crossroad outside incorporated municipalities, there stand mute symbols of the new metropolitan drift to unincorporated areas in the form of an increasing number of RFD mail boxes, like sparsely aligned recruits in the better country suburbs, or more numerously aligned in the more frugal and jerry-built developments of the unincorporated territories. The movement is especially prominent toward the unincorporated lake shore regions of Indiana and Michigan, known as Michiana.

Not only has Chicago stopped annexing territory, the suburbs have too. To be sure Wilmette in 1940 annexed No Man's Land, a small strip on the North Shore along the otherwise wholly incorporated suburban lake front; and in February 1941 Chicago annexed a section of Norwood Park by a six-vote margin. Except for changes of this type, or the changing of Niles Center's name to the more appropriate Skokie, or the appearance of a few new villages, the municipal map of Greater Chicago looks the same today as it did ten years ago.

Greater Chicago, then, has not only gone suburban it is going rurban, and is facing a non-municipal if not an anti-municipal future.

PARK CONSOLIDATIONS

The last decade has shown few advances in *The Government in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago* as described under that title by Charles E. Merriam, Spencer D. Parratt, and myself in 1933.[1]

The year following this report, and on the basis of some of its findings, the twenty-two neighborhood park districts of the city were consolidated into the Chicago Park District, which with all of its problems has become Chicago's outstanding local government. Governed by a board appointed by the Mayor and the City Council, it has been effectively managed under the presidency of Robert J. Dunham. Its convenient network of boulevards, its progressive recreational system, its efficient police force, its excellent traffic control system, its remarkable police school, its in-service training program, its landscaping program, its assistance to Chicago's planning program have led me to admit recently that it might be desirable to consider "annexing" the city to the park district rather than the park district to the city.

Yet this principal achievement of governmental consolidation in Chicago has been limited by considerations similar to those that brought it about a decade ago—failure to consider the whole of Greater Chicago as a fit area for some degree of governmental management. Hopelessly tax-delinquent land and property, that would belong to the city were it not for cumbrous overlapping of taxing agencies no one of which will take the responsibility of securing the city's title, are precisely in those areas the park district needs for the small "back-yard" parks that would help to arrest blight in the city's slums.

Bus routes which are the only profitable limbs in Chicago's transportation system are governed by the park district not by the city, with the effect that the governmental neglect and separatism which have kept the Chicago straphanger hanging for decades is intensified. Completely unrevived have been the 1929 act and 1930 ordinance which permitted Chicago to establish a unified local transportation system not only for the city but for a metropolitan area extending thirty miles beyond its boundaries. And it is to Uncle Sam rather than to the city that Chicagoans owe their new subway—which still has no tenant. To be sure park district boulevards carry suburbanites to and from the Loop, but only by closing the twelve-lane Lake Front drives entirely to city or local motorists during rush hours. No official traffic count since 1926 is available to tell us exactly what is this suburban burden on the Chicago-supported boulevard system governed by the park district.

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[1] University of Chicago Press.

So far as park and recreational functions of the metropolitan area are concerned, Chicagoans are depending more and more upon the independent Cook County Forest Preserve District, managing one of the finest forest preserve belts to be found in any metropolis in the country. With intensified use of the automobile in recent years the forest preserves outside the city have become increasingly popular for outings, and the natural setting of suburban Brookfield Zoo is attracting more of those who formerly attended the park district's Lincoln Park Zoo.

It is significant that the county's forest preserve district, as well as the city's park district, operates the only general in-service training program in Metropolitan Chicago. As a matter of fact the relationship between the two suggests the possibility of consolidating them and of establishing a county-wide authority which could handle main highways and boulevards as well as parks on a wider and more rational territorial and financial base. Such a base would conform more to Greater Chicago than does the city or park district without at the same time exhausting the 5 per cent debt limit of the forest preserve district; and already Chicago has the precedent of a park district whose highway functions are as important as its recreational services.

That it is essential for Chicago to begin thinking in this direction is indicated by the fact that there is now pending in the state legislature a proposal for an additional level of government, a county highway authority to be supported largely by tolls. This would be an overlapping government with separate police powers in addition to the city, the park district, and the forest preserve district, and in addition also to Cook County itself.

COUNTY ADMINISTRATION

During the last decade Cook County has had a checkered career. Recognizing the drift to its unincorporated areas, the county has enacted a system of county-wide zoning outside incorporated areas. But unsafe and unwise structures continue to make their appearance in the suburbs. Chicagoans are beginning to realize that the hovels of Little Hell on the near North Side are quite livable compared to the shacks in some of the suburban mushroom towns; and the lack of county-wide health and fire fighting services is a hazard which has already begun to take its toll in the county, and threatens still more serious disasters. During the decade the county lost its relief functions to the city of Chicago and to the townships, which constitute still another layer of government outside Chicago.

The county's administrative system generally has made little progress, the most disappointing step being a reversal in the taxing reform made during the early part of the decade under County Assessor J. L. Jacobs. There are today six separately elected "bosses" for Chicago and Cook County's taxing machinery: county assessor, County Board of Tax Appeals, county clerk, county court judge, county treasurer or collector, and the state's attorney, none of whom will accept responsibility for clearing up the serious tax delinquency situation of the city.

Far from feeling that it is a proper area to express the governmental aspirations of Greater Chicago, the county has been dwindling in the minds of Chicagoans as a suitable district for their municipal government. In fact there was suggested in 1934 a scheme to detach the northern part of Cook County in order to escape not only Chicago's "hoodlumism," but also the taxes levied on Chicagoans and used to support the city services rendered to the swank, the socially prominent, and the civic-minded who live in the suburbs but work in the city. On second thought, the cost and inconvenience of maintaining another set of county offices outside the city itself offered a poor prospect to the city-minded suburbanites, many of whom are taking an increasing part in fostering municipal reforms in Chicago.

Smaller in area than the county but large enough to include the city and almost all Cook County suburbs is the Chicago Sanitary District, governed by a separately elected Board of Trustees and having a separate municipal existence. The Chicago Sanitary District gained notoriety in the '20's for padded payrolls and the McCormick Road bridle path but the district came through the '30's as one of Chicago's most efficient governments. Indeed its sanitary engineers have always been among the outstanding experts in the country. Under federal supervision its extensive PWA grants and construction work have been effectively administered. As though it desires to clear its escutcheon entirely, the sanitary district is now seeking to hand over its notorious white elephant, McCormick Road, and its policing to county authorities.

CITY AND SCHOOL PROBLEMS

It is in the city government and its coterminous but independently governed Chicago School District that the weightiest problems have been faced and the most serious controversies waged in the last few years. Although there have been some advances on the administrative and planning side, notably the integration and reorganization of the city's Law Department and the establishment of the new City Plan Commission (containing the heads of the park district, the county, and the sanitary district), the city's achievements in the last ten years have been largely those of leadership in the political realm. Chicago's mayors during this period have proved to be able integrators of conflicting urban groups during a period of state-wide party conflicts and intense national travail. Chicago's political leaders, however, have not during this decade carried their organizing and integrating genius as far as they may during the coming decade into the realm of governmental reorganization, civic education, and public understanding of the principle that good administration is good politics.

To some extent the New Deal has begun to knock the props out of the precinct captains by doing as a matter of right for the common citizen the welfare services which he has enjoyed as a matter of political patronage, and some city leaders in Chicago are getting the ear of both the people and the politicians on these very issues.

Until the city of Chicago demonstrates a genuine and continuous attempt to make good on its own both administratively and politically, it is difficult to expect suburban and down-state help for a real program to reorganize Greater Chicago, whether it involves the six overlapping major governments, the one hundred towns and three hundred other local governments in Cook County, or the fifteen hundred local authorities in Metropolitan Chicago.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS OVERSHADOWED

And there are national and international problems before us that threaten to inundate municipal and metropolitan affairs. Who knows what will be the effect of mass bombing, of war and its aftermath, upon the suburban and rurban trend? What kind of schemes regarding governmental areas will emerge from either the victory of Fascist statism, or the collectivism of an embattled democracy which in both war and peace depends more and more upon the dirty shirts of the city as well as upon the white collars of the suburbs? What will be the effects of the example of post-war Metropolitan London in a reconstructed Britain?

In the United States what will the continuation of federal grants-in-aid and the possible development of minimum national standards of local functions do to the states and cities? And what effect will the weakening of state activities have, especially on state line metropolitan areas like Chicagoland's Illiana whose only joint authority now is the almost functionless Illinois-Indiana Harbor Authority?

What strength will be lent to the newer metropolitan and regional trends by federal regional authorities like the TVA, by the decentralizing program of federal agencies, by army camps and defense centers that dot the Chicago region. And who can foresee the effects of technological transformations like long-range transmission of electrical power, swifter transportation, the newer alloys and plastics upon both the place of production and the way of living of metropolitan man.

One thing is certain. The arm of administration is lengthening and the area of government grows apace. Chicago's government must go metropolitan or the city must continue to be a metropolis merely in the making.

Researcher's Digest: April

Problems of representing Detroit; reporting and what's wrong with it; experts endorse professional civil service director; Virginia's tax-paid research.

UPSTATE vs. downstate, city vs. country, are only two of the tags frequently used to describe the big cities' chronic representation troubles in state legislatures. Concerned with the unrepresentativeness of Detroit's representatives at Michigan's capital, the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** has recently turned out a series of studies bearing on such legislative ailments. The latest is *Redistricting Detroit for Representation in the State Legislature* (Report No. 156).

The bureau singles out five Detroit problems: necessity for electing as many as seventeen representatives at large on a partisan ticket, numerical under-representation of Detroit, habit of voting for candidates because they have last names made politically potent by some entirely unrelated predecessor on the political scene, impracticability of voting machines because of the large number of primary election candidates, inadequacy of the individuals elected to represent the city.

The bureau lists and discusses all the various suggestions for redistricting, which it deems an essential reform measure.

Of Reports and Reporters

Turn about being fair play, **New Haven Taxpayers, Inc.**, in its January bulletin, scathingly criticized the city of New Haven's latest annual report, but sent its subscribers a questionnaire at the same time asking them to criticize the bureau's reporting practices.

The bureau fared much better than the city. Measured by some twenty criteria for "model" annual reports which have been promulgated by the International City Managers' Association, the New Haven city report was given the severe rating of 30 per cent by the bureau. Some of the report's conspicuous defects: excessive length, excessive tardiness, lack of pictorial or graphic material, lack of organization, vagueness, excessive detail in some spots, too little detail in others, puny distribution.

Its subscribers, on the other hand, offered the bureau's bulletins a general pat on the back. Of those who returned the questionnaire, 80 to 90 per cent read all the bureau's releases from cover to cover; 90 per cent thought the technical subjects were treated in sufficiently understandable style.

Thumbs Down on Commissions

A telegram to six authorities on civil service administration was the means by which the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** elicited expert opinions on a proposed vital amendment to the Rhode Island civil service law. The wire: "Present Rhode Island civil service law provides administration by a professional director selected by competitive examination with advisory lay commission. Proposed amendment provides administration by full-time paid commission of three members, eliminating director. Would greatly appreciate brief comment as to method you believe preferable."

The replies are published in the bureau's February bulletin. Every one of the six vetoed the amendment.

A Science-minded Legislature

That governmental research at public

expense is increasingly stylish is illustrated by a list of current legislative research projects in Virginia, warranting nine pages of the February 3 issue of *Public Administration Notes,* published by the **Virginia Council on Public Administration.** Some of the problems under the research microscope: annexation laws, child welfare, election laws, field artillery range, forest and land questions, jail reform, office space requirements, oil and natural gas, personnel administration, reapportionment, safety department, state reorganization, taxes on commercial motor vehicles, defense. Separate commissions have been set up to study most of these problems.

The Old and the New

In February the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** published its fifteen-hundredth *Citizens' Business*; in January, the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of New Hampshire** published its first *Municipal News.*

Research Bureau Reports Received

Personnel

The Administration of Civil Service in Rhode Island. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* February 1941. 2 pp.

Planning

City Planning. Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto, Canada, *White Paper No. 258,* February 20, 1941. 1 p.

Public Welfare

County Welfare Bill. Ohio Institute (Columbus), *The Ohio Citizen,* February 26, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Reapportionment

Re-Districting Detroit for Representation in the State Legislature. By J. M. Leonard. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., 1941, 29 pp. mimeo.

Reporting

Reporting Municipal Activities. New Haven (Conn.) Taxpayers, Inc., *New Haven Taxpayers Problems,* January 1941. 2 pp.

Research

Current Research on Virginia's Problems. Virginia Council on Public Administration (Richmond), *Public Administration Notes,* February 3, 1941. 12 pp.

Taxation

The Business Tax in Canadian Municipalities. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada (Toronto). *Canadian Taxation,* January 9 and February 26, 1941. 3 and 4 pp. respectively.

Where Does the Sales Tax Go? Dayton (Ohio) Research Association, *Facts,* February 17, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Contributors in Review

A GOODLY number of the world's exciting occupations have claimed **Karl Detzer** (*Common Sense at the Court House*). At the start of his career, he was a reporter, photographer, and feature writer in his native state, Indiana. Next he was a soldier in the 1916-17 Mexican border campaign. Next year, a captain in the infantry in France. Then, a member of the American secret police in Europe. Home again, an advertising man, a novelist, and in Hollywood a screen play writer and technical director. Finally—the very title of Mr. Detzer's present job suggests a romantic state of footlooseness—he is "roving editor" of the *Reader's Digest,* specializing in matters of governmental and civic interest.

AS A member of the Chicago Plan Commission, **Albert Lepawsky** (*Chicago—Metropolis in the Making*) is, so to speak, in the cockpit of the metropolitan problem. He has written numerous articles on the subject and is co-author, with Charles E. Merriam and Spencer D. Parratt, of *The Government in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago.* All his connections, past and present, have also been intimately concerned with allied matters of local government. He spent a year in European cities doing research on planning and administration. Now, besides his work as lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago, Dr. Lepawsky is executive director of the Federation of Tax Administrators and consultant to the National Resources Planning Board.

A SERIES of practical experiments to determine the best techniques of municipal reporting to citizens is the present concern of **Miriam Roher** (*Education of a Citizen*). This article is the account of the first of these experiments. Now holder of the National Women's Public Service Fellowship, Miss Roher is studying at the University of California in the general direction of a Ph.D. She was formerly publications editor with the National Municipal League, and is a contributing editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

NOT merely academic is **Estal E. Sparlin's** (*Printing Scandals Investigated*) acquaintance with the process of printing. He began at the bottom as an apprentice printer in Ponca City, Oklahoma, worked as a journeyman printer for eight years, and visited ten states and the Government Printing Office in Washington in preparing the materials for his *The Administration of Public Printing in the States* (1937). Dr. Sparlin is at present engaged in research in taxation and state and local government in so far as these are related to the problems of agriculture.

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Second Pan-American Municipal Congress

Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation lays plans for sessions at Santiago, Chile.

THE Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation, which developed from the first Pan-American Congress of Municipalities at Havana, Cuba, in 1938, has announced the Second Inter-American Congress of Municipalities to be held at Santiago, Chile, September 15-21, 1941. According to the commission the various unions of cities, organizing committees, and others interested in inter-municipal coöperation and organization have been actively collaborating through the secretariat in Havana. The September meeting will occur at the same time as the festivals celebrating the fourth centennial of that city; and both the republic of Chile and the municipality of Santiago have made extensive arrangements for the entertainment and comfort of the delegates. The agenda as set forth by the commission follows:

I. *General Sessions*

1. Informal reports of delegates of municipalities of the various countries on the practical results that have come from the First Pan-American Congress of Municipalities and the meeting of the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation in Chicago, especially reports concerning the organization or proposed organization of national associations of municipalities in the several countries;

2. General discussion of methods for intensifying and making more effective Inter-American municipal coöperation;

3. General discussion of what the municipalities may do for deepening devotion to democratic principles and advancing the standard of living of the peoples of the cities, and promoting international good will;

4. Informal discussion of methods for making an investigation or survey of municipal legislation in the countries of America—political, organic, economic, social, and juridical.

II. *Committees for the Consideration of Technical Municipal Problems*

1. Municipal statistics:

a. Methods and possibilities of intensifying statistical work in relation to the municipalities in each country, and organization of the census with means of carrying it into effect;

b. The study of the possibility of uniform methods in municipal statistics in order to arrive at an Inter-American standard of statistical results.

2. Urbanism and planning:

a. National planning for municipalities, including social, economic, and cultural considerations;

b. Regional planning for municipalities, including financial and legal considerations;

c. Urban planning for the municipality, including health, transit and safety, and other technical considerations;

d. Planning for art—urban, landscape, and plastic;

e. Consideration of methods for the education of the general public concerning the purposes and problems of municipal planning.

3. Public services:

a. Comparative study of the practical results obtained in the municipalities of America with public services municipally owned and operated and those operated by private companies;

b. Definition of public services which ought to be in charge of the municipality.

III. *Plenary Sessions*

1. Examination of the work of the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation:

a. Consideration of its continuation or modification;

b. Permanent name for congress;

c. Permanent location of the secretariat of the congress;

d. Location and date of the Third Congress;

e. Methods of extending the organization of national associations of municipalities and intensifying their work.

2. Examination of the work of the general sessions and of the technical committees in order to agree upon what may be done and to make recommendations to the municipalities regarding:

a. Means of making more effective intermunicipal coöperation in the countries of America;

b. Means of improving in the most practical way the standard of living of the peoples of the American cities;

c. Technical matters.

Indiana Home Rule Passes First Step[1]

The Indiana state legislature has passed a resolution for a constitutional amendment giving cities and towns the right to adopt home rule charters. If the amendment is passed by the next legislature, two years hence, it will be submitted to the voters of the state for ratification.

Council-Manager Plan News

On March 31 **Wilmington, North Carolina,** adopted the manager plan by a vote of 1,743 to 1,259.

Windsor Village, Vermont, on March 17 authorized its trustees to employ a village manager.

The voters of **Mars Hill, Maine,** adopted the town manager plan on March 17.

The **Massachusetts** Federation of Taxpayers Associations has filed a bill in the legislature of that state providing that in towns of not less than 5,000 population, 10 per cent of the registered voters may petition the selectmen to submit the question of having a town manager to the voters at a town meeting. The bill provides for the election of a board of five selectmen who would appoint the town manager, to hold office at its will. The plan would be operative on obtaining a majority vote at the town meeting.

Mr. Thomas M. Joyce, assistant executive director of the federation, also urged the legislative committee on towns to approve another bill permitting the selectmen of a town, if authorized by the voters, to appoint a full-time agent to conduct such administrative functions as they assign to him.

The executive committee of the City Manager League of **Springfield, Massachusetts,** voted unanimously to oppose a bill, introduced in the state legislature, providing for a local referendum on the question of substituting a single chamber of seventeen for the present bicameral council.[1] Springfield is to vote in 1942 on a Plan E charter, providing for a city manager and P.R. as well as a unicameral council, and it was felt that the present bill would only confuse the issue.

Somerville may be the next Massachusetts municipality to adopt Plan E, depending on its success in Cambridge, according to John E. Foster, dean of the board of aldermen, who, however, favors a council of twenty-one members or more instead of nine, the number Cambridge will have in January 1942 under its new charter.

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[1] For a discussion of amendment see National Municipal Review, October 1940, p. 638.

[1] See National Municipal Review, February 1941, p. 111.

On March 3 the town of **Canton, Massachusetts,** rejected a town manager charter for the fifth time in twenty-one years. The charter voted upon this year provided for a manager appointed by the town Board of Selectmen, with a town meeting open to all voters.

On March 18 **Ottumwa, Iowa,** defeated a proposed manager charter.

Citizens of **Port Huron, Michigan,** including members of the present and former charter commissions and other prominent citizens, have formed an organization to campaign for the proposed council-manager charter to be voted on at the April 7 election.

Cheboygan, Michigan, will vote April 7 on adoption of the manager form of government.

The charter commission of **Dunkirk, New York,** has prepared a charter which provides the city manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council.

The **Vermont** Senate has killed a House bill that would have made the office of town manager incompatible with that of town clerk and treasurer. Opponents contended that such a question should be left to local option and the town manager plan allowed free sway in its infancy.

Vergennes, smallest city in Vermont, on March 4 rejected a proposed manager plan by a vote of 193 to 143. The *Vergennes Enterprise* opposed the plan as likely to add to the budget.

In **Sheboygan, Wisconsin,** the manager plan was discussed at the bi-weekly public forum on March 12, with Mayor Herman C. Runge favoring the plan and Mr. R. H. Miller, attorney, in opposition. On February 3 the City Council had voted to continue the present scheme of a part-time mayor, with an increase of $300 over the former annual salary of $1,500. At a public hearing on January 25 some 130 citizens agreed that the city should have a full time mayor at $5,000, according to the *Sheboygan Press*, and many advocated a city manager.

Nacogdoches, Texas, has been added to the official list of manager cities of the International City Managers' Association.

The **Oregon** House of Representatives has adopted a resolution calling for a referendum on a constitutional amendment to permit counties to adopt the manager plan.

John J. Horgan of Cork reports that "the bill for establishment of county managers in **Ireland** has not yet been passed into law."

'Montclair Seeks Manager Benefits'

Under the title above, the *Newark News* carries an announcement by Mayor Speers of Montclair, New Jersey, now under commission government, that Stuart M. Weaver, executive assistant of the Public Works Department, would be made executive secretary of the commission and would also become executive assistant of each of the city's departments.

Revenue and Finance Director Faulkner explains the move as an effort to "reap whatever benefits that can accrue from a city manager plan while still operating within the framework of the commission form of government." "Even after nearly five years as commissioner," Mr. Faulkner remarked, "I'm still convinced that the commission type of government is lousy. I feel any step which will ameliorate the fundamental weaknesses of this form is justified. There is no doubt in my mind that what we are doing here in

Montclair will be watched with great interest throughout the state."

Referenda on the manager plan were twice unsuccessful in Montclair by narrow margins—930 votes in 1924 and only 230 in 1934 out of a total of 13,246 ballots.

Creation of the new position does not change the status of any other office but will serve as a clearing house for the activities of the five city departments.

New City Plan Urged for Cincinnati

The Urban Land Institute has completed a survey of Cincinnati, Ohio, largely from the viewpoint of safeguarding the heart of the city from harmful decentralization. Development of a new master plan for the whole city is urged, together with reorganization and strengthening of the City Planning Commission, with provision for adequate funds. Adoption of a long-range housing program is recommended including restoration of close-in blighted areas, and revision of building codes and of subdivision and zoning regulations. A ten-year $60,000,000 improvement program is proposed and it is pointed out that because the city debt has been materially reduced in the last ten years and money can be borrowed at half the 1930 rates additional funds can be secured without materially increasing the 1930 amount for debt service.

Seattle Narrowly Approves Three-Year Terms

The proposal[1] to establish definite three-year terms for members of Seattle's Board of Public Works, which has had the status of a "mayor's cabinet," was approved by the narrow margin of 137 votes in a municipal election in March, but public demand has developed to resubmit the measure next year, on the ground that it should receive a more decisive majority before becoming a permanent part of the city charter.

The proposal was fourteen votes short of passage after tabulation of ballots cast at the polls, but gained in the counting of absentee ballots. Only slightly more than 27,000 votes were cast on the measure, although more than 102,000 participated in the general election.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

Nashville Gets New Civil Service Board

Nashville is experiencing a fundamental change in its civil service system as a result of special legislation enacted by the 1941 Tennessee General Assembly. In three local bills the Mayor and Board of Public Works were stripped of their control of the civil service and the pension system. These powers were vested in a new self-perpetuating Civil Service Board, the membership of which was chosen by the anti-city administration faction in the Davidson County legislative delegation and named in the bills.

Four members of the old board have indicated that they will go to the courts and attack the constitutionality of this measure which, they contend, "has legislated a group of men out of office, naming their successors." The Mayor says he will not contest the legality of the new board.

The members of the new board are appointed for life. They may be removed only by action under common law. The board may fill its vacancies as they occur, subject to confirmation of the City Council. The new board supplanted the old one immediately upon signing of the bills by the Governor.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1941, p. 168.

Heretofore, all appointments of Nashville's some eighteen hundred employees under civil service have been made by the Board of Public Works, consisting of the Mayor and two other officers elected by the people. Appointments were not made from eligibility lists established by the Mayor's Civil Service Board. There was no such list. In effect, the appointments were merely personal choices of the Board of Public Works and the City Council. The old board held no competitive examinations. It operated no effective system for promotions and pensions. It heard charges for removal of employees and held the sole power of removal.

Under the new law, all appointments to city jobs will continue to be made by the Board of Public Works. But the appointees must be selected from the three highest names on eligible lists of the Civil Service Board. From time to time the Civil Service Board will hold competitive examinations, establish eligibility requirements, and maintain these eligibility lists in the customary manner. A system of service ratings for civil service employees will be set up. These will serve as a basis for promotions. No civil service employee may be discharged without a hearing before the board. Another function of the board is the management of the pension system covering those city employees who are under civil service.

Immediately upon organization, the members of the new board made inspection trips to several other cities where they gathered information and data. They expect to combine these with the best practices recommended by such bodies as the National Municipal League, the Public Administration Service, and the Civil Service Assembly in laying the groundwork for a merit system that will bring about greater efficiency in Nashville's municipal government. A full-time clerk and assistant clerk have been appointed, and the board expects to have the new system operating in a few weeks.

The third of the three local bills made the City Board of Education the Civil Service Board for teachers in the city schools. In this capacity, it governs the appointment, promotion, removal, and pension of Nashville's city school teachers.

JACK PAUL JONES

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Nashville's new civil service arrangement, as described by Mr. Jones, a Vanderbilt University student of government, will interest readers of the REVIEW as an effort to cure an evidently unsatisfactory situation; they will, however, note serious defects in the new plan, from the standpoint of home rule and democratic processes.

Legislation Sought for Ohio Municipal League Support

A movement is once more under way in Ohio to obtain legislative authority for public financing to maintain a strong organization of cities in that state. The *Toledo City Journal* recently said: "The Ohio League of Municipalities that has functioned in recent years has been supported by contributions from public officials interested in their communities. Now it is proposed again that the state legislature should permit communities to contribute from public money to the support of such a research bureau and such representation as municipalities in other states have resorted to. It is felt by the backers of the movement that a properly supported league could save communities large sums of money through consolidated studies and through keeping an eye on legislation. The present league is less effective than it might be because of lack of proper financing and need of a staff of paid employees." The *Journal* noted the existence of leagues of cities in forty states, as well as efforts of Mayors Brand Whitlock of Toledo and Newton D. Baker of Cleveland in 1913 in behalf of such a league.

New Hampshire Municipal League Formed

Representatives of forty-five cities and towns in New Hampshire met in the state capitol at Concord on February 17, and by unanimous vote established the New Hampshire Municipal Association. Mayor Robinson W. Smith, Laconia, was chosen president, and Professor Lashley G. Harvey, executive secretary of the Bureau of Government Research at the University of New Hampshire, was designated executive secretary of the new association. Preceding formal organization, the city officials heard Roy Owsley, Washington representative of the American Municipal Association, discuss "What Is a Municipal Association?" Fred Ford, former president of the Maine Municipal Association, and Andrew Cassassa, president of the Massachusetts Mayors' Club, told of the work and influence of those bodies in their respective states.

The headquarters of the association are at the Bureau of Government Research, University of New Hampshire, Durham. The bureau will act as a clearing house for the association.

New Hampshire News

Police School.—Plans are being laid for the state's third police school, to be held in September at the University of New Hampshire. Enrollment will be open to officers and men of the state police force as well as to city police, town marshals, and county sheriffs. Last year it was necessary to cancel all arrangements for the school because of increased demands placed on local police for greater protection of defense industries during the peak of the tourist business.

Town Abolition.—An attempt to abolish the town of Ellsworth, containing twenty-six inhabitants, is meeting with a great deal of opposition in the state legislature. The plan calls for a division of the town between Campton and Rumney. Neither town wants to assume the additional burden of road mileage and general expense. Half of Ellsworth's inhabitants receive all or part of their income from some town office, according to Mr. Dudley Orr of the Tax Commission.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

New York Commerce Division Absorbs Planning Agency

The New York State legislature, in collaboration with Governor Lehman, has established a Division of Commerce in the Executive Department, to commence May 1. It will be headed by a commissioner, at $10,000 per annum, to be appointed by the Governor with the Senate's approval. This agency is intended to coöperate with industry to encourage retention of present industrial establishments and the attraction of new ones. Other states in the northeast already have official bureaus for that purpose. The new division will consist of three bureaus: industry, state publicity, and planning. The present Division of State Planning, the State Planning Council, and the Bureau of Publicity in the Conservation Department, are all abolished, and their civil service personnel transferred to the new agency.

The general powers and duties of the division include the following:

To investigate and undertake ways of promoting the prosperous development and protection of New York business, within and outside the state, to serve as a clearing house for industrial problems of the state and to promote the expansion of markets for New York products.

To promote the location and development of new business in the state as well as the maintenance and expansion of existing business.

To study conditions affecting New York business, and to disseminate information and engage in technical studies, scientific investigations, and statistical research and educational activities necessary or useful for the proper execution of the powers and duties of the division.

To encourage commerce with other states and foreign countries and to devise ways and means of removing trade barriers hampering the free flow of commerce between this and other states.

To coöperate with interstate commissions engaged in formulating interstate compacts and agreements helpful to business.

Ancient Blue Laws in Delaware Repealed

Following a vigorous effort by the state attorney general to enforce the 200-year-old statutes against worldly activities on Sundays, the Delaware legislature on March 7 repealed the antiquated "blue laws" and substituted legislation permitting municipalities to authorize Sunday movies, theatrical performances, public dances, auctions and horse-racing, but forbidding them elsewhere in the state.

State and County Merit System Postponed in Washington

Establishment of a merit system for Washington state and county employees was postponed again this year by the state legislature, which adjourned in March without acting on proposals submitted to it by Governor Arthur B. Langlie and the Washington State Federation of Labor.

The administration and labor bills, differing in several respects, were replaced by a substitute measure to which both factions gave support, but which was opposed by influential state and county officials. The substitute bill compared very closely to model standards, and would have made mandatory the establishment of a merit system for employees of the state and the three largest counties.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Municipal League of Seattle

Post-Defense Planning—National and State

The National Resources Planning Board has presented to President Roosevelt an outline of a six-year program of public construction projects that could be undertaken whenever the existing defense emergency ends or when rearmament activities are much reduced. The report of the board was transmitted by him to Congress on March 17, with his commendation.

The report, entitled *Development of Resources and Stabilization of Employment in the United States,* was accompanied by a letter to the President which said in part: "The six-year program provides a reservoir of long-range projects originated by federal construction agencies from which the Congress and the administration can select activities in amounts and kinds appropriate to the times and the needs of the nation. It suggests alternative lines of policy for land, water, energy, and transportation and of regional development as a basis for improved plans and programs in future years."

Of the eight major recommendations in the report the first three, dealing with the proposed reservoir of projects, were:

"1. Continued and invigorated efforts

to secure the preparation of six-year programs or capital budgets by federal agencies, state governments, local governments and other agencies, public and private, anticipating a large volume of construction activity.

"2. Development of alternate lists of projects included in six-year programs according to size of the project, types and locations of skilled and unskilled labor involved, materials needed, rapidity of beginning, and flexibility of termination—all in relation to employment stabilization.

"3. Immediate inauguration of surveys, investigations, and preparation of engineering plans and specifications for selected projects through allocation of aids to federal and non-federal agencies from a revolving fund to be administered by the President through his executive office, and reimbursed to the revolving fund as part of the cost of construction of the project."

The other five major recommendations, to permit rapid inauguration of work on projects in times of need, included advance authorization by Congress.

The board, which now consists of Frederic A. Delano, chairman, Charles E. Merriam, and George F. Yantis, with Charles W. Eliot as the director, emphasized that though priority is now given to defense undertakings "we must not lose sight of those governmental activities that are vital to our long-term safety, such as the protection of our soil, the safeguarding of national health, the protection of morale, and the preparation for post-emergency adjustments. In a broader sense, these too are measures of national defense."

On March 16 the New York State Advisory Council on Unemployment Insurance proposed to Governor Lehman and the legislature that there be set up immediately a special state planning agency to map public works, relief programs, and other means for averting an economic collapse when defense production comes to a halt. It was suggested that such an agency could be called the State Re-employment Planning Council and that it should include fiscal authorities as well as representatives of all state departments having to do with unemployment, placement, and public works. Unemployment insurance alone, it was pointed out, is inadequate to deal with a problem of such magnitude, which may amount to "a social crisis more acute than ever before," the prevention of which should be planned for now.

Equalization and Extension of Social Security

Federal legislation to extend the social security system and equalize old-age benefits was forecast by President Roosevelt on March 14. The President stated that he was seeking a formula under which persons eligible for old-age pensions in the poorer states could obtain benefits more in line with those in states of greater wealth per capita; individual payments in the latter being four to five times as much as in the former. Gradual increase in the number of people to be covered by the social security program was advocated.

Wellesley Summer Institute

Domestic problems and the foreign policy of the United States will be discussed under leading economists and teachers of political science from many colleges at the Summer Institute for Social Progress, to be held July 5-19 on the summer campus of Wellesley College at Lake Waban, Massachusetts. The central theme is "Strengthening America at Home and Abroad"; the full program may be secured from the director, Dorothy P. Hill, 22 Oakland Place, Buffalo, New York.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

THE **League of Women Voters** apparently is well aware of one fundamental principle of citizen action which all too often is neglected by zealous groups anxious to bring about a particular change. This is the necessity for bringing other groups into the picture to make reform movements truly community-wide. . . . For example, according to the March *Illinois Voter*, it was at the instigation of the **Illinois League** that representatives of dealer, producer, labor, and consumer organizations in the state, interested in the milk problem, met and formed the **Illinois Milk Council.** On such a controversial subject as milk control, the inclusion of representatives of all points of view is certainly a wise move. . . . In a similar manner, the **New Jersey League** recently took the lead in calling a meeting of delegates from many types of organizations for the opening of a campaign to revise New Jersey's constitution.

In January the **West Hartford (Connecticut) League** sponsored a highly successful "Know Your Town" meeting at which all the town officers appeared and spoke briefly and simply on their jobs and the problems they face. This was just what the town was looking for, since over five hundred people attended and responded enthusiastically to the program. . . . We wouldn't be surprised if this were the kind of thing people in a good many cities and towns are looking for, always assuming that such a gathering is intelligently planned and handled in a lively manner to keep it from becoming heavy.

"Paying the Piper," an article in the March issue of the *Independent Woman,* monthly publication of the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs,** contains an excellent outline for use by citizen organizations which want to check up on their local governments. Standards of administrative organization, personnel practices, and fiscal procedures are all included and could easily form the basis of a strenuous year's activity for an organization which decided to go into the subject thoroughly.

We're always intrigued by and strongly in favor of efforts of citizen organizations to enliven what are usually considered dull and uninteresting problems. Membership promotion, for example, is faced by every group and too often in a completely uninspired way. . . . The **City Club of Chicago** has just formed a new group to be known as the 50-50 Club. Actually, all it means is that an effort will be made to get fifty club members who will guarantee to raise at least $50 each, by selling one $50 membership or several smaller memberships. Not an original idea certainly, but we like the sound 50-50.

The trustees of the **Civic Federation and Bureau of Public Efficiency of Chicago** have recently announced that they have shortened the name of the organization to the **Civic Federation,** which seems a good idea. A group with a long name operates under an unnecessary handicap.

For use in its fourth annual civic fund campaign, the **Minneapolis Civic Council** has prepared a solicitor's manual, which includes a detailed outline of the activities of all agencies covered by the fund and excellent suggestions to solicitors on money-raising techniques. The manual ought to suggest useful ideas to any citizen group preparing for a campaign for funds. . . . To whip up popular enthusiasm in the campaign the council also has issued an effective tabloid entitled *Forward Minneapolis,* presenting in succinct fashion some of the civic high-lights of the past year. This combination of careful, thorough preparation for the solicitors and dramatic campaign literature should be a winner.

The **Montclair Public Library** has recently completed a documentary film, "Portrait of a Library," which is being used by taxpayers' organizations and other community groups to show how tax money for library purposes is spent. . . . The film has been made general purposely so it can also be used in other communities. Since libraries are likely to be among the first agencies attacked in a governmental economy wave, this film may serve a useful function in providing a concrete illustration of why funds for public libraries should not be curtailed without careful consideration.

The **Citizens League of Cleveland** may well point with pride to the recent issuance of an annual report by the city administration. The city committee of the league has been plumping for such a printed report for twelve years. . . . Since annual reports provide one of the best means for the citizen to inform himself about his local government, it would be worth while, we think, for any citizen group in a community without some kind of report to urge that one be issued, no matter how simple its beginnings.

The importance and difficulty of getting out the vote on election day is generally recognized.[1] In a New England town the problem is that of getting out the voter to attend the town meeting. The **Amesbury (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association**, faced with a situation in which less than 10 per cent of the voters were in the habit of attending the town meeting, decided to do something about it. Letters are being sent to the 2,400 voters in the town, to be followed by a door-to-door canvass by a committee of the association. A week before the meeting the association will sponsor a forum to rouse community-wide interest in the subjects to be taken up at the town meeting.

R.M.W.

New Booklet Tells 'How to Study a Budget'

Publications are a dime a dozen in the civic world about the "need for" economy, democracy, efficiency, coöperation, ad infinitum. And most people agree there's a "need for" those items and a few others. But publications that tell you "how to" accomplish these ends are scarce as hens' teeth.

That's why we want you to know about the best "how to" publication we've seen in recent months: *How to Study Your Municipal Budget,* by the **New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce.**[2]

In twenty mimeographed pages this booklet tells a citizen group or an individual how to look at a budget, tell what it means, and make a fairly well informed judgment on whether or not a city is spending wisely.

On page one you get a few tips on how to approach the budget problem that make you want to read all the rest of the booklet. These suggestions set the stage for working with local officials where, as is often the case, they are genuinely anxious to work with you, given the proper opportunity.

Then you learn "how to organize for your budget study." There follows a simple explanation of the budget with suggested questions based on sound budget practice. The answers to those questions will go a long way toward helping the citizen to form a fairly sound judgment about his city, town, or county budget.

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[1] See "Getting the Answer to 'Why Voters Don't Vote'," in this section.

[2] A copy may be secured by writing the chamber at 605 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.

Points to be noted about expenditures for each major function of local government are outlined clearly and in most cases directly to the point.

Obviously the booklet is not intended to make a budget expert out of every citizen.

But following it closely will make a citizen group budget-conscious as it has never been before, and capable of making judgments based on valid information.

A part of the booklet deals, of course, with special New Jersey budget requirements but most of it would be useful in every state as a model for producing similar budget guides for citizen groups throughout the country.

Getting the Answer to 'Why Voters Don't Vote'

What could be simpler—and more to the point?

Some 16,000 citizens of a St. Louis suburb, more than half the voting population, failed to vote in the latest primary election.

So the **League of Women Voters** is sending each non-voter a postal card asking why he didn't vote. The answers will help solve for that community one of the basic problems of democracy—"why voters don't vote."

The same job can be done by any civic organization in any locality. And from the answers which come back on the post cards will come clues on how to get out the vote. It's a basic, simple, inexpensive step toward solving one of the most important problems facing every community.

Here's what the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* says (March 6, 1941) about the idea and we heartily agree:

"Some 16,000 citizens in Clayton Township, comprising Clayton and University City, are to be asked next week why they did not vote in the August 1940 primary.

"The question is put by the League of Women Voters, which is mailing postcards to the non-voting citizens containing a check list of possible reasons for their absence from the polls, from illness and heat to lack of transportation and no reason at all.

"These 16,000 are more than half of the qualified voters in the township. In other communities, the absentees from primary elections are a similarly large proportion of the entire electorate.

"This refusal or failure to exercise the franchise has become an increasingly serious problem in our democracy. It often means that highly organized machines, whose members regiment themselves for selfish political reasons, can and do dominate primary elections.

"Here is one of the chief reasons why we have inefficiency and corruption in government, and the fault lies at the door of those who refuse or fail to perform their duties as citizens.

"The irony of it is that the primary was designed as an improvement over the old convention system, where subservient delegates obeyed the will of a party boss. It was designed to extend the democratic process to permit the people to nominate candidates for office, as well as to elect them.

"But as it has worked out, the people, by their refusal or failure to vote, have permitted machine politicians to manipulate primaries as they used to manipulate conventions.

"At a time like this, when democracy is on trial everywhere in the world and when its blessings, long taken for granted, are again being appreciated, it is timely to make a study of the failures of the primary system.

"We hope the 16,000 voters to whom the League of Women Voters' postcard is addressed will take the few moments necessary to check the reason for their failure to vote last August. If they do, much light will be shed on the problem and perhaps the answers will point to certain remedial measures to encourage primary voting.

"And, while the 16,000 persons of Clayton Township await their postcards, how about the St. Louis voters and tomorrow's municipal primary? Will they take advantage of their rights as citizens or will they permit the political organizations to determine who shall be the nominees?"

Efficient National Defense Demands Community Action

After long depression years with numbers of men out of work suddenly came defense and with it came jobs. But does this mean that our employment worries are over? Certainly not. National defense has created new problems for the solution of which the nation needs effective local coöperation.

In a recent memorandum[1] the Council for Democracy points out the problems and how to tackle them. Whether one is interested in the question of what can be done for people in one's community still unemployed or whether one is thinking of factories and man power which might be of help to the nation's defense program, the memorandum offers practical suggestions for local action in any municipality.

Leading point of the memorandum is the fact that Washington's task is primarily to lay out defense work and get it done. But the federal authorities "cannot move more than halfway toward your community. *You* can discover more accurately than any national agency what your community is fitted to do."

In stressing the need for coöperation of the municipalities, and of every citizen, the memorandum hits the nail on the head, as such coöperation is essential to democracy. In critical times there is always a trend toward centralization. Such a trend is not in the interest of the country, nor in line with our idea that local government has a definite, independent role in our nation's administration. Good local government is vital for the whole; its success rests with self-responsibility and freedom of action.

In suggesting what a community can do, the council points to the possibilities offered under the defense program. It lists ideas and examples of how to put unemployed to work and at the same time to assist in the defense program. Several case histories of community achievements serve to illustrate the points made.

In recommending formation of community councils which should represent all local groups, coöperate with existing organizations, and coördinate their activities, the council follows the procedure which some municipalities have already adopted by forming local defense service councils.

As to the work to be done, the main opportunity for local action and the nation's immediate need lies in production. In view of a possible postwar crisis and because of the danger which lies in "booms that boomerang" the council favors the policy of subcontracting defense orders, known also as "bits and pieces" or the farming-out method of production. The main advantage of this policy rests in the fact that it permits maximum production with minimum dislocation of capital, labor, and relief.

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[1] *Community Employment Problems under Defense,* New York, February 1941.

Among the benefits cited for the farming-out idea are: (1) Existing capital investment is fully utilized and no time is lost building new plants and manufacturing new machinery. (2) In the event of bombing attacks upon the United States, the dispersal of industrial activity provided by the farming-out system provides maximum security for maintenance of production. (3) Local labor is employed and this eases the problem of what to do with workers when defense activities cease. (4) There is no increase in the housing problem. (5) Serious dislocations in relief are avoided and the necessity of building temporary schools and other social centers is removed. (6) By utilizing present capacity to its fullest extent, post-emergency adjustment is facilitated.

Efforts to bring new industries into the community, the memorandum advises, "ought to be in accord with a wise and thorough policy conducive to all-round industrial growth and stability and to all-round community welfare in the future." It warns strongly against high pressure methods such as holding out the bait of cheap labor, tax concessions, bonuses, or free land.

The demand for productive capacity must be met by each locality with an authoritative statement of local resources and a workable plan for putting it to use. Cities where this has been done successfully include York, Pennsylvania; Bloomington, Indiana; Kansas City, Missouri; Brooklyn and City Island, New York.

Community action in the field of labor is of equal importance. There are three major points for guidance: Comprehensive surveys of local labor supply and demand, prevention of needless and wasteful migration by urging all unemployed workers to check with the public employment office, and training men to do the skilled work of defense.

A well planned and continuous attention to defense in each community will prove especially valuable in meeting new problems as they arise. These problems include, for instance, housing shortage and labor troubles. The council warns against labor-baiting and strike-breaking which "instead of safeguarding production produce a depressed morale on the part of those who bear the major burden of defense in the form of rising prices and who are generally the first to be asked to make sacrifices in the name of the crisis."

With regard to the employment of aliens and persons who through birth or extraction seem to be connected with a totalitarian country, the memorandum argues that "citizenship is no proof of loyalty" and that "indiscriminate discrimination," instead of protecting us from fifth columnists, creates them. "We must strive to make it seem to every man, woman, and child that America is democracy and that both are worth defending and building. If these people are not treated fairly and honestly, what will they think of our boasted democracy?" To alleviate this problem, the report recommends that communities assist aliens and persons of German and Italian stock who want to identify themselves as loyal Americans and see to it that they have a chance to share in our democracy and like it.

The memorandum concludes with the statement: "The men in Washington go only part way in building our defense; we, the people, must come up to meet them. That is the way democracy works." This is also the way to preserve our communities as healthy, happy, and permanent centers of American life and as active participants in our national efforts for the success of which their coöperation is vitally essential. G. P. BRONISCH

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Nassau County Executive Reports

New charter has paved way for economical and efficient government.

J. RUSSELL SPRAGUE, county executive of Nassau, has issued recently an attractive report telling the story of the tremendous population growth of the county, the demands and needs of the people, the purposes behind recent changes in government, advancements and reforms effected in county government, and achievements resulting from these activities.[1]

Mr. Sprague reports that Nassau is the most rapidly growing county in the United States, increasing by more than 600 per cent from 1900 to 1940. This rapid growth has given rise to acute governmental problems. The road system had to be expanded and improved and health, sewage, and sanitation facilities provided. School functions required the acquisition of additional land and buildings. Problems of unemployment and relief added greatly to the burdens of the county. In short not only were new activities added but all old ones experienced rapid and extensive expansion.

Until 1936 the basic framework of county government continued to follow the form transferred to this country from England, modified only as occasion required. The county, the two cities, the three towns (townships), and the sixty-three villages varied but little from their traditional forms and activities even when it had become apparent that they were no longer adequate to meet new demands.

To solve this problem a survey commission was appointed in 1934 to make recommendations and to initiate an evolution in county government. It was agreed that the right of local home rule of special districts, villages, towns, and cities should be preserved, although activities relating to health, welfare, and the courts were transferred to the county. It was primarily the county government that was reorganized on an efficient basis. The plan admittedly was a compromise.

The commission's proposed charter was presented to the 1936 legislature under authority of the newly adopted constitutional county home rule amendment. It was adopted by the legislature, and in November 1936 by the voters of Nassau County.

Administrative Head Important

The key of the reform charter, says Mr. Sprague's report, lay in the newly created office of the elective county executive. Although many had feared that this office would become the target of all complaints, however invalid, and that the political parties opposing reform would use these complaints to destroy the plan, growing belief in the necessity for an executive head was considered sufficiently valid to warrant the creation of this office.

The county executive in his report states that on assuming office in January 1938 he appointed two deputies, a clerk, and two stenographers to assist him. Since Nassau's was the first county charter in the state under the 1936 county home rule constitutional amendment, organizational work was more difficult since he had no close precedent to follow. A charter organization bureau created by the Board of Supervisors assisted in the work of organization and prepared the first budget under the new charter.

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[1] *Nassau County Government,* Mineola, New York, 1940.

The county executive was given the usual powers associated with such office. He has power to appoint department heads subject to approval of the Board of Supervisors and to prepare and supervise execution of the budget. Under the latter power the present executive instituted the practice of withholding 10 per cent of the appropriations in an emergency reserve fund to be carried over if not needed during the current year. He required also that all purchase orders be routed through his hands, and established standardization of supplies. As a result of these practices, expenditures amounted to one and one-half million dollars less than appropriations during the first year.

Road Debt Reduced

Nassau County is conserving carefully the state aid funds granted it for highway maintenance purposes. Prior to 1933 the county incurred heavy indebtedness to buy land for its highways and those of the Long Island State Park Commission. Since that date, however, there has been only a single highway bond issue. Nassau County has a comprehensive highway system reasonably adequate for its needs, but the taxpayers are carrying too much of the capital cost. The burden has now been lightened, however, by persuading the state legislature to permit Nassau County to apply state aid funds on principal and interest of highway bonds. The county executive pledged that he would urge legislation authorizing continuation of this practice in the future.

The county executive does not become involved in matters of departmental routine but works intimately with problems of costs, policies, and coordination. He has installed photostatic equipment for use of the various departments. He confers with department heads regarding increased demands for services, economies, revenues, new laws, and the elimination of overlapping functions. Also he remains in constant contact with the Board of Supervisors, with other units of government, and with private agencies whose activities touch those of the county. One of his major efforts has been to keep expenditures from fluctuating in order that the burden on the taxpayer may work the least possible hardship.

A real budget was created only after inauguration of the new charter in 1938. Previous to that time there had been only estimates of expenditures and revenues with the difference raised by tax levy. Under current practice estimates of expenditures and revenues as well as inventory of equipment and supplies are submitted by each department, and the county executive reviews them through comparison with former expenditures, conferences with department heads, etc. He states he sometimes reduces the estimates of department heads, or eliminates certain items, but that he always attempts to be just to all departments. Through this power the budget for 1940 was reduced almost a million dollars below that for 1939. Charter provisions that aid the executive in reducing costs include the requirement for parallel columns in the budget document giving comparative data, the provision for a budget message, the requirement for hearings, and the power of item veto.

Mr. Sprague declares in his report that he limits expenditures to the purposes stated in the budget, and that he maintains a balance through the quarterly allotment device. The charter provides elasticity by permitting the executive to revise at any time the work programs upon which the allotment scheme is based, by authorizing him to halt expenditures when income does not equal expectations, and by allowing him to transfer appropriations during the last two months of the fiscal year.

These powers permitted the executive to reduce the debt over three and one-half million dollars in 1939 alone, to establish the lowest interest rate on the county's bonds in its history, and to reduce costs of equipment purchased in 1940 62 per cent below that of 1939.

Improvements in the Board of Supervisors are also noted by the report. Continuation of a small Board of Supervisors has been insured by the charter provision that incorporation of cities in the future will not entitle them to representation on the board. To a board of six members the charter adds the county executive as presiding officer with a vote only in case of tie. The board adopted a calendar practice which requires due delay and publicity before final action is taken on almost any matter. Publicity is insured by the requirement that all board business must appear at least once in each of two partisan newspapers at least four days before the board meeting.

Assessment Changes

Centralization of assessment of property has been highly beneficial. Property was formerly assessed for taxation by the three towns, the two cities, and by some of the villages. Great disparities resulted, and in 1932 a County Board of Equalization was created to adjust the valuations of the towns and cities to permit the levy of an equitable county tax. Inequalities continued to exist, however. Hence the charter created a County Board of Assessors, although villages and cities were permitted to continue to make assessments for their own taxes if they so desired.

A thorough reassessment was completed by the beginning of 1941, in accordance with charter provisions. After competitive bidding by private appraisal companies, the successful bidder received the reassessment contract for $190,000, and completed its work early in 1939. Then followed an extensive publicity and review period for correction of individual errors. Twenty-four thousand taxpayers attended the review hearings, and nearly five thousand requests for reductions in assessments were filed. Five hundred thirty-eight writs of certiorari, asking for reductions amounting to $35,000,000, were recorded. Reductions ultimately granted amounted to $6,500,000 or .6 per cent of the total assessed value of the county.

Creation of a County Board of Health taking that function from the local units resulted in great expansion as well as a 50 per cent reimbursement from the state where formerly local units had to bear the burden without such aid. Improvements have occurred also in the centralization of public welfare.

Justice of peace courts have been abolished and replaced by the county district court, while police justices of villages have been permitted to retain only enforcement of village and traffic laws other than those involving intoxication. Thus part-time, untrained, fee-compensated justices have been replaced by full-time, experienced, salaried judges. The substitution of a medical examiner for coroner has proved to be a desirable change. Although the newly created Civil Service Commission does not yet fully satisfy the county executive, it has advanced the merit system in Nassau County and led the State Civil Service Commission to comment: "The Nassau County Civil Service Commission deserves special commendation for the progress that it has made since its creation—in the period of two years —in adopting efficient and effective methods, practices, and records."

The report criticizes school finance because of the burdens it imposes on the county. No change was made in the school laws and the county must continue to pay school districts the full amount of their tax levies even though the county is able to collect only 80 per cent of it. Since it has taken approximately seven years to liquidate unpaid taxes, this has worked a substantial hardship on the county. The report emphasizes the weight of the burden by pointing out that 45 per cent of the tax levy in the county is for educational purposes.

Nassau County is experiencing considerable success in putting tax delinquent property back on the active tax list. Owners and mortgagees of the property have been forced to redeem property or forfeit their interests to the county through service of a summons and the entering of a subsequent judgment. Thousands of parcels and thousands of defendants were united in single actions thus reducing costs to a few cents per parcel. Two auction sales have been held, and a considerable number of parcels have been disposed of at private sale, with costs of all such sales borne by the penalties collected. Vacant lots thus acquired have been improved rapidly by the new owners. This action has had the effect also of encouraging many owners of tax delinquent property to resume payment of taxes.

County Reform Stirs Again in New York City

The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee has inaugurated another drive for county reform in New York City by putting referendum petitions in circulation once more. Its former county reform amendment to the city charter was thrown off the ballot by a four-to-three decision of the Court of Appeals last October.

The committee now has completed plans for an energetic drive to secure the necessary 50,000 signatures, with a good margin of safety, within the next four months. Assurances of coöperation have been given by many civic, labor, and minority party groups, most of whom assisted in circulating petitions last September.

Under the Court of Appeals' ruling, signers will be confined to persons who registered to vote in the city last fall, but since the presidential election produced the largest registration on record this should not be a serious obstacle. The committee plans to complete the drive by June in order to avoid the summer vacation period, and if successful, the question will appear on the ballot at the mayoral election in November.

The proposed amendment is similar to last year's, except that it will be possible to make the amendment effective next January first. It would abolish the five elective county sheriffs and the four elective county registers and replace them with a single city sheriff and a single city register appointed by the mayor after competitive civil service examination. The criminal jails and custody of criminal prisoners would be turned over to the city's Department of Correction. Competitive employees in the present county offices would be transferred, and the political positions would be either abolished or brought under the merit system.

Tennessee Legislates for Counties

The Seventy-second General Assembly of Tennessee adjourned February 15 after one of the shortest sessions of its history. Very little general legislation affecting counties and other local governments was enacted. Although more than seven hundred bills became law, three-fourths of them were private acts dealing with individual counties and municipalities.

One of the more significant general laws passed was The Local Health Service Stabilization Act which provides state assistance to local units for the organization, operation, and maintenance of local full-time public health services throughout the state. Each county maintaining full-time public health service (and the four major city governments) at the beginning of each fiscal year is to receive not less than $2,500 per year from the state, these funds to be matched by federal funds under the United States social security act. In addition to assistance for established health units, the act provides $50,000 per annum, to be matched by federal funds, "for the purpose of providing essential public health services in areas where special financial or public health problems exist . . . and for any other emergency or essential public health service required for the protection of the public health." None of the funds can be used to replace existing local public health appropriations or health services.

Zoning Law Changes

Another significant act passed by the legislature amended the county zoning law. This law, passed in 1935, was largely ineffective because its provisions did not apply to agricultural buildings or agricultural uses of land. By the 1941 amendment, however, counties may zone "agricultural lands adjacent to or in proximity to the state-federal aid highways, public airports, or public parks."

Other legislation authorizes counties and cities to acquire land for forestry purposes and requires county courts to coöperate with the State Department of Conservation in forest fire prevention.

County governing bodies are empowered to appropriate up to $10,000 for advertising their resources. Another act amended the housing authorities law to permit local housing authorities to undertake housing projects made necessary by national defense.

An act which would have conferred upon the State Department of Local Finance authority to assist counties in formulating a uniform system of fiscal administration was defeated. The proposed legislation provided for uniform systems of accounting, budgeting, auditing, and reporting for counties and provided ways and means for state assistance in the installation and operation of such a system.

Counties where general sessions courts were established to replace justice of peace courts include Bledsoe, Hamilton, Henderson, Lewis, Madison, Trousdale, and Warren. Tennessee counties are not required to operate under budget systems except in a few instances where they have been required to do so by special acts.

Counties brought under a budget system by the Seventy-second General Assembly include Chester, Dyer, Jackson, Overton, and Sevier. Purchasing systems were prescribed for Dyer and Tipton Counties, and a park commission was created in Roane County.

The modified manager act for Hamilton County has already been covered in this department.[1]

As usual the legislative session did not end without the passage of so-called "ripper" legislation. For example, an act applying to McMinn County abolished all existing civil districts of the county and set up new ones. The act names justices of the peace for each of the new districts to serve until the general election of 1942. These justices, who comprise the county governing body, replace those previously elected by the people of the county.

It is possible that some of the laws passed by the 1941 legislature may not apply to any county. Many local laws do not name the county but stipulate a population range which includes only the county intended. (For example, the range may be from 7,120 to 7,125.) During the session just ended, preliminary population figures were used for some local legislative acts, and in at least two instances, the official census figures for the counties fell outside the population range provided in the acts.

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[1] See March REVIEW, page 174.

M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

Washington Grand Juries Now Independent

The legislature of the state of Washington enacted a major change in laws governing county grand jury procedure by providing for appointment of special prosecutors by the Superior Court to advise the juries and by specifying that such attorneys "shall not be subject in any way to the authority of the prosecuting attorney." Where such an attorney is appointed, the county prosecutor is barred from intervening in the jury's proceedings. Except in cases where the prosecutor has initiated the call for a grand jury, he is prevented from attending, appearing, or giving advice to the jury in cases being considered by it.

Approval of the measure by the State Senate was preceded by vigorous arguments and sensational charges that the measure was being enacted in order to "set the stage" for sweeping grand jury investigations in King County (Seattle). In the vote following the debate, the laws were approved by a bare majority of five.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

EDITOR'S NOTE: The name of Dr. Frank W. Prescott, of the University of Chattanooga, was inadvertently omitted as the author of the article entitled "Tennessee County Secures Manager Plan," which appeared in this section last month.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

RFC Takes Arkansas Bonds

Deal may prove of great significance in field of local government finance.

WHEN mention was made in these columns last month of the proposed refinancing of $136,000,000 Arkansas highway debt, it was noted in passing that an interesting feature of the sale of refunding bonds was a plan that part of the refunding issue be taken by a syndicate of investment bankers and part by the RFC. This incidental feature of the refinancing has now developed as one of the most significant events in local finance for some time, with implications which when read with other recent developments are far reaching in importance.

The refinancing, it may be recalled briefly, was for the purpose of securing lower interest rates and releasing highway funds for maintenance and new construction. It contemplated the refunding of the entire Arkansas refunding highway bond issues of 1934, issued to cure default which began in 1933. The 1934 refunding bonds were all callable, approximately $91,000,000 on April 1, 1941, and the remaining $45,000,000 on July 1, 1941.

The marketing of refunding bonds to take up an issue of this size, especially in the case of a state as recently in default as was Arkansas and whose bonds had their widest distribution outside the chief financial centers of the nation, was a formidable task. At the same time, it was not feasible to break the offering up into more manageable blocks—partly because a major reason for undertaking the refunding was to take advantage of prevailing low interest rates.

A solution appeared to have been found in the organization of a vast syndicate of investment banks and bond houses to take the approximately $91,000,000 bonds representing the April 1 option, with the RFC to coöperate by taking the remaining bonds callable July 1.

RFC Buys Bonds

The sale was set for February 27. Shortly before that date the syndicate was doubtful that it could handle the full $91,000,000, and the RFC was requested to increase its commitments to permit the syndicate to bid for as little as $63,000,000. The syndicate also felt itself unable to meet the state's hope of a 3 per cent interest rate on the bonds, and finally determined that it could not do better than about 3½ per cent. The day before the sale the RFC advised the syndicate that it would bid for the entire issue at better than 3½ per cent, and the state did sell the bonds to the RFC at 3 and 3¼ per cent, a net interest cost of about 3.2 per cent.

Rather bitter denunciation of the RFC in the financial press and among investment bankers followed the sale, which is quite understandable in view of the fact that the issue was expected to be a bright spot in an otherwise dull municipal bond market. The RFC was criticized not only for taking the business away from private brokers, but for setting itself up as a judge of fair interest rates (Administrator Jesse Jones had been quoted as saying that 3½ per cent was too high for the bonds of a sovereign state), for abusing its powers (since no emergency was involved in the refinancing), and on other grounds.

Feeling subsided sufficiently, however, to permit a reorganized syndicate under the original leadership to purchase from the RFC on March 18 $35,000,000 of the refunding bonds, with another banking group taking an additional $15,000,000 for later distribution and a third fiduciary buying $10,000,000 for its investment account, all involving a total premium (profit to the RFC) of $850,000.

While the event was, with some reason, regarded by the banking fraternity as an unnecessary and arbitrary invasion by the federal government of the precincts of private finance, the affair has much broader implications.

Effect of Policy

The RFC quite baldly indicated its determination that Arkansas, which is one of the poorer states of the nation, should have the benefit of interest rates comparable to those enjoyed by some of its wealthier and financially stronger sisters. In so far as varying interest rates in a competitive money market act as a deterrent to unwise financing and an incentive to the maintenance of a strong and sound financial position, it is evident that the RFC's policy, if widely applied, might well have an effect which would be, to say the least, unwholesome.

It is also notable that the RFC apparently made an arbitrary decision as to what a fair interest rate on the bonds would be. The bankers' 3½ per cent it thought too high; apparently the average cost of 3.2 per cent which it offered was just right. Why was not the state's hope of 3 per cent just as right? Or why, indeed, was not Arkansas entitled (since the rate was being fixed on the rights of a sovereign state, rather than on the condition of the money market) to a rate approaching that on New York State bonds, some 1970 maturities of which are being offered on a 1.85 per cent basis as this is written? There is every indication that the RFC was at least as interested in underbidding the private bankers as it was in giving Arkansas a break, since it would have otherwise accepted bonds with a really low coupon rate.

A simple explanation of the affair would be that Mr. Jones saw an opportunity to make a profitable investment for the RFC, and took it. The precedent thus established is, however, a dangerous one for local finance, when viewed in the light of other recent developments.

For the past several years, it must be recalled, the federal government has been pressing for legislation to end the income tax exemption of interest on state and municipal bonds, a move fought by the states and cities as a precursor to federal control of local finance. Admittedly, the power to tax is, in Marshall's words, the power to destroy, and however much the ending of this type of tax exemption may be desirable from the point of view of an equitable tax system, there is no gainsaying that it would place a formidable power over local governments in the hands of the central government.

Federal Subsidies Proposed

More recently, apparently as a sop to the local authorities opposing the ending of tax exemption on state and municipal obligations, there have been reports of a proposal to provide federal subsidies as an offset to the hypothetically higher interest costs which would result from the ending of tax exemption.

In this combination of events there are the germs of a disease which might well destroy local autonomy in the nation. It is no idle boast that local government is the training school for democracy, and at the same time there is ample evidence that the best practices of local government and local finance have been developed in those communities in which intelligence, initiative, and ingenuity have been combined and brought to bear on problems which were in their initial impact local in character. If the federal government is to gain control of local finance through the power to tax, the power to regulate local borrowing, and the power to grant substantial subsidies, it will not be long before local financial independence is destroyed. And when that happens, local self-government will be a thing of the past and the strongest bulwark of the republic will have been undermined. For this reason, Mr. Jones's purchase of $136,000,000 Arkansas bonds, if it prove to be the opening wedge in an entirely possible chain of circumstances, may be the most reckless investment of public funds in our recent history.

Recent Financial Reports of Interest

Several reports on local finance have recently been issued which are of interest for one reason or another to students of municipal finance.

A publication which has received a great deal of publicity is the "simplified" new report of the New York City comptroller. New York's annual financial reports have been notorious in the past for their size and disorganization, and Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick's new edition remedies these points with a greatly condensed volume. The nation's largest city, however, still continues to be without any published balance sheets, and it may be suggested also that some fifty-odd pages devoted to a rather pointless listing of bond issues might better have been omitted in favor of a comprehensive bond maturity schedule.

The fanfare accompanying the New

York report recalls the calumny frequently heaped on the head of Chicago for its financial reporting. Columnist Westbrook Pegler and others have in the past frequently alluded with derision to the "country bookkeeping" methods of the nation's second city. The fact is, however, that the annual reports of the comptroller of the city of Chicago are both informative and comprehensive, with many significant balance sheet items supported by explanatory schedules. All too frequently, it would seem, justified criticism of a city's fiscal policies is broadened to a condemnation of its fiscal procedures, which may be perfectly orthodox.

Still another recent report deserving of note is a quarterly report issued for the first time by Comptroller Harold Boyd of the city and county of San Francisco. San Francisco has an excellent accounting system, and its annual financial report may safely be rated as the best published by any large city in the country. The new quarterly reports will supplement this fine annual reporting with regularly published interim statements. The situation will then be comparable with that of Denver, another consolidated city-county government, whose annual financial reports are a close second to San Francisco's in excellence and whose auditor, William H. McNichols, publishes a semi-annual condensed financial statement which is a fine example of this type of report.

A state report of note for recent improvements is that of Kentucky. Professor James W. Martin, of the University of Kentucky, writes of it as follows:

"The *Twenty-Second Annual Report (1939-40)* of the Kentucky Department of Revenue makes an added step forward in using modern methods of conveying factual data regarding the revenue system and its operation. It provides in non-technical language presented in attractive form and through varied mediums the sort of exact information a taxpayer should have.

"In the first half dozen pages the significant facts about the tax and license revenues are shown in tabular and chart form. This is followed by a summary of legislative and judicial developments. In the third and fourth sections, the report explains clearly and objectively the plan and results of operations in tax administration and in other activities respectively. The final section of the forty-three-page report is a vigorous plea for giving property taxation a fair chance.

"The revision of the reporting plan in Kentucky was begun in 1936, and has been worked out gradually. For the first time in the 1939 report detailed property-tax statistics were pulled out of the printed document and mimeographed for only those who required such statistics."

Washington Raises Sales Tax

In order to finance the state old-age pension law approved by the voters last November, the legislature voted an increase in the sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent, and approved a referendum placing before the voters again the question of a state income tax, which is barred in the constitution, and which has been rejected countless times in past elections.

The increase in sales tax was recommended by Governor Arthur B. Langlie, recently Mayor of Seattle, on the basis that it would be in effect only until such time as an income tax is approved by the voters.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Municipal League of Seattle

Proportional Representation

By George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Exit the Party Column Ballot?

Comparison of two election systems in Toledo

I HAVE made a discovery. Voters who have a strong feeling about candidates and desire to vote discriminately find P. R. voting for a council of nine in Toledo municipal elections more simple than voting for six members of the Ohio House of Representatives with the old party column ballot in state elections. Here are the facts.

The Polish voters of the fourth and fourteenth wards in Toledo feel strongly that they can be best represented by a legislator of Polish descent who understands their group problems and can vindicate their positive Americanism.

In the municipal election of 1939 there were five Polish candidates for council. By voting first, second, third, fourth, and fifth choices for these Polish candidates in any desired order before giving a choice to any non-Polish contestant, the ballots of Polish voters eventually accumulated to the credit of their leading candidate, Ollie Czelusta, and he was elected. In this connection it is worthy of note that the Polish voters of the fourth and fourteenth wards had fewer invalid ballots than the "intelligentsia" of the tenth and twelfth wards.

"Scratching the Ticket"

In the state election last fall, six members of the Ohio House of Representatives were chosen by election at large with a regular party column ballot. Now it happened that the only Polish candidate running for this office, Mr. Landowski, was on the Democratic slate; consequently, many Polish voters who were Republican marked their ballot at the top for a straight Republican ticket but put a cross in front of the name of Landowski on the Democratic slate for representative.

Despite the fact that the voters could vote for six representatives, the net result of this procedure was to give the Democratic candidate, Landowski, one vote while the Republican candidates got no votes from these "scratched" Republican ballots.

Eventually, this resulted in the election of four Democrats and two Republicans from the Toledo district in a state election that was, in general, a Republican victory. This result was not achieved, however, until the Ohio House of Representatives conducted a recount of all twenty-four precincts of the fourth and fourteenth wards, because on the original precinct returns only three Democratic representatives were elected out of the total of six.

The error in the original returns was due to the fact that booth officials in these Polish precincts had counted one vote for the Democratic Landowski on the scratched tickets and one vote each for the six Republican candidates for state representative, thus allowing seven votes on each of these scratched Republican ballots when the instructions read "Vote for not more than six."

Complicated Directions

Now these booth officials should not be criticized too severely until the critic has seen official instructions on this point:

> Make a cross mark in the circular space above the name of the party for some of whose candidates he desires to vote, and then make a cross mark in the blank space provided therefore before the name of any candidate of any other party for whom he may desire to vote, in which case the cross mark in the circular space above the name of a party will cast the elector's vote

> for every candidate on the ticket of such party, except for offices for which candidates are marked on other party tickets, and the cross marks before the names of such candidates will cast the elector's vote for them.

Part 3 of this same section further provides that:

> When two or more persons for the same office are to be voted for in any precincts, or two or more representatives or other officers, and the names of several candidates therefor appear on each party ticket, grouped under the office for which they are all running, the elector who has marked a ticket in the circular space at its head, and marked one or more of a group of candidates for such office on another ticket or tickets, must in addition to marking the ticket in the circular space at its head, also make a cross mark before each one of the group of candidates for such office for whom he desires to vote on the ticket thus marked; or instead of marking the candidates for such office he desires to vote for on the tickets marked by him, he may cross out the name of candidates for such office for whom he does not desire to vote on the ticket thus marked by him to the number of candidates for such office marked by him on other party tickets, in which case his vote shall be counted for the candidates for such office not crossed out.
>
> If an elector who has thus marked a party ticket [according to paragraphs two and three] in the circular space at the head thereof, and has marked one or more candidates on another ticket or tickets for an office for which there is more than one candidate on his own party ticket, fails or neglects to indicate, either by individual marks or by crossing out names, which of the several candidates for the same office on his own party ticket he desires to vote for, then the vote shall be counted only for the candidates for that office that have the distinguishing mark before his or their names.[1]

It must be conceded that an expert on election law can ascertain the exact meaning of these instructions, but it certainly cannot be maintained that the average booth official should be able to understand them, at least not until after he has had the correct interpretation called to his attention.

P. R. Directions Simple

In contrast to these intricate instructions on how to vote discriminatingly for the six representatives from the Toledo district to the Ohio legislature note the voting instructions for the Toledo city council of nine members.[2]

Directions to voters:

> Put the number 1 opposite your first choice, the number 2 opposite your second choice, the number 3 opposite your third choice, and so on. You may express thus as many choices as you please without any regard to the number being elected.
>
> Do not put the same figure opposite more than one name.
>
> If you spoil this ballot, tear it across once, return it to the election officer in charge of the ballots and get another from him.

Even the instructions as to valid and invalid ballots are less complicated under the P. R. system. Section 20 of the Toledo charter reads:

> A ballot shall be held to be invalid if it does not clearly show which candidate the voter prefers to all others, or if it contains any word, mark, or other sign apparently intended to identify the voter. . . . No ballot shall be held invalid because it is marked in ink or indelible pencil or because the names of candidates thereon for whom the voter did not mark a choice have been stricken out. A single cross on a ballot on which no figure one appears shall be considered equivalent to the figure one. . . .

Straight Party Voting

The party column ballot is faced with

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[1] Election Laws of Ohio, Section 4785-131, Parts 2 and 3.

[2] Section 15, Toledo Charter.

two difficulties. The first is that it was designed to simplify straight party voting on a ballot with many candidates and many offices to be filled in a country where the average voter prefers to scratch his ticket. The intelligent American voter, however, cannot be induced to vote a straight party ticket simply by making it easy to vote a straight ticket and hard to vote a split ticket.

The second difficulty is that there is an increasing tendency to elect state representatives from urban districts having two to fifteen representatives. Since it is customary to chose such representatives by election at large these plural-member districts complicate the voting on a party column ballot.

To scratch a ticket in a single-member district is simple enough. A Democratic voter who marks his ballot at the top for a straight ticket and then crosses over to the Republican column to vote for a Republican candidate leaves no doubt as to his intention. But in a plural-member district this scratching of the Democratic ticket to vote for a Republican does create a most substantial doubt as to the Democratic candidate for whom the voter did not want to vote.

Is Party Column Ballot on the Way Out?

In 1936 many Democrats in Ohio voted the straight Democratic ticket in spite of their great dislike for Martin Davey because they were afraid that if they scratched their ticket the entire ballot would be thrown out as invalid. They were so enthusiastic for Roosevelt that they were willing to accept Davey for governor rather than risk having their vote for Roosevelt discarded. In fact, this situation was so clear to both Republicans and Democrats in Ohio that last year the legislature separated the presidential ballot from the state ballot to make it easier for Roosevelt supporters to vote against Martin Davey, who was again the Democratic candidate for governor.

Perhaps the party column ballot has outgrown its usefulness even to the major parties. Republican leaders in Ohio admitted this when they voted to separate the presidential ballot from the state ballot. And the vote for state representative in the two Polish wards of Toledo shows that the party column for the state ticket worked out badly for the Republicans. Republican voters in these two wards who scratched their ticket to vote for the Democrat, Landowski, were responsible for the election of the fourth Democrat, Laderman, by default as explained at the beginning of this discussion.

Thus it happened that the Toledo electorate in 1940 gave the Republican candidate for governor a substantial majority and then elected four Democrats and only two Republicans to the Ohio House of Representatives. This is all the more unique in view of the fact that for forty years Ohio has elected a Democratic governor and a Republican legislature. John Bricker has the distinction of being the first Republican in that time to be elected to the office of governor.

O. Garfield Jones
University of Toledo

Correction

The following change should be noted in the tables appearing with "Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities—1940" in the December 1940 Review: City No. 33, St. Paul, Minnesota, city rate is $42.28; school rate, $20.13.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Public Management in the New Democracy. Edited by Fritz Morstein Marx. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1940. ix, 266 pp. $3.

The term "the New Democracy" is used as a synonym for "the service state," in contradistinction to "the police state." The fifteen essays which make up the book consist of explanation and criticism of the means whereby the various governmental agencies and levels of our country are providing the many service-ends which legislation now orders them to pursue. Each essay has a high value as exposition and is worth reading by civic-minded citizens. But some are more than usually provocative and call attention to problems for which we simply must provide answers.

One such is "Political Neutrality" by Wallace C. Sayre, civil service commissioner of New York City. Dr. Sayre asks, and rightly, whether it is safe or wise to deny all political activity to civil servants. Enno Hobbing by showing how "veteran preference" deprives civil service of much youthful ability lays bare a situation which costs far more than bookkeeping can picture.

The meaning of one sentence in "Administrative Coördination" by H. A. Hopf—one of the meatiest essays in the volume—is not quite clear: "However admirable in principle are the series of legislative enactments which have resulted in making this service [U. S. civil service] what it is today, the conclusion is inescapable that the results of its operations have thus far failed in general to raise the level of government personnel much above the level of mediocrity." If that last word means "below the average capacity of the citizens they serve," then we have a bad situation. But if mediocrity means a sort of combination of "the average, the median, and the mode," then things are as they should be. It would not be wise in this country for civil servants to be better in general ability than average citizens. They would sooner or later come to know it; unless such knowledge were tempered with the humility of an Einstein, the snobbery exhibited would be so unbearable the average citizens would abolish civil service.

The essay of David Cushman Coyle deals with a subject seldom discussed but of great importance. Elected and top-flight administrators must make many decisions which are so general as to be policy-making and legislative; where and how do they get advice on such matters? Mr. Coyle raises the curtain on "the king's barber," and what one sees sticks in the memory. Luckily, city managers do not have that problem.

One simple sentence of Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., is worth many acres of the print this reviewer has plowed through lately on the subject of democracy and how to save it: "It is time that stress be laid on the importance of educating the youth of America to understand that the true price of democracy is *voluntary party service* without expectation of reward." Adults need that lesson as much as youth and the more they ponder it the more profoundly true they will find it to be.

Another trenchant sentence, this time by Arnold Breck, is that an administrator will never rise to greatness "unless he has retained the capacity for taking excursions into utopia in his off hours." Far too few administrators or even policy-makers ever go on such journeys. But it is good to have such a fine book entice them. That lightens the labor of the National Municipal League for one of its great objectives is to have the citizens such administrators serve make similar pilgrimages for the inspiriting of their civic souls.

W. J. M.

Contemporary Economic Systems—Their Analysis and Historical Background. By Earl R. Sikes. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1940. xiv, 690 pp. $3.

Professor Sikes of Dartmouth College has done an interesting and readable book on the background and development of current economic systems. It is a volume that needed very much to be written not only for the college student but also for the general reader. The book is both descriptive and analytical in character, and practically free of prophecy and propaganda. It is intended to appeal to mature persons who know something about elementary economics, and who are interested in present world problems.

About a third of the book is devoted to a brief account of our economic order and to historical sketches of proposed systems under radical movements. This part serves as an introduction to the remainder of the book, which deals mainly with the economic systems of Russian Communism and Italian and German Fascism. A concluding part is entitled "The Coöperative Movement and Economic Planning." It is devoted largely to a discussion of modifications without revolution in systems which still hold to the general theory of private capitalism. The first two chapters of this final part are devoted to the coöperative movement, presenting a compact and informative outline of this movement. The last two chapters are on economic planning under capitalism, the main part of the discussion centering around New Deal theories and practices.

A. E. Buck

Institute of Public Administration

Freedom or Fascism? By Connecticut League of Women Voters (Hartford). New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. 56 pp. 25 cents (special quantity rates to organizations).

This pamphlet tells the straightforward story of the essential differences between the Fascist and the American ways of life. It sets forth objectively and by means of vivid, homely details what daily life is like in a totalitarian country. It compares that life with ours under such headings as Fascism in the home; making a living; life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the citizen and his government; and paying the price. The contrast between the two ways is brought out by frequent discussion questions.

This project in popular education, while primarily designed for busy grown-ups, is appropriate for study groups of all ages. The Connecticut State Board of Education has given it official sanction by recommending it to its public schools. This reviewer has found it serviceable for adult groups, with the quiz questions on freedom and Fascism proving provocative and stimulating.

The pamphlet is a genuine contribution to the current re-valuation of democracy.

Sophia A. Olmsted

Additional Books and Reports

Budgets

How to Study Your Municipal Budget.[1] A Brief Outline of a Suggested Procedure for Citizens' Taxation Committees. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1941. 20 pp. mimeo.

Constitutions

The American Constitutional System (second edition). By John Mabry Mathews. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940. xx, 526 pp. $4.

County Government

Montgomery County Survey. Report on Local Governmental Services in Dayton and Montgomery County, Ohio. Conclusions and Recommendations of the Survey Board; Survey Staff Report. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. xix, 529 pp. $3.50.

Report on An Exploratory Examination of Local Government in the Knoxville-Knox County Area. Part I, The Government of Knox County, Tennessee; Part II, The Government of the City of Knoxville; Part III, Relationships between the Governments of Knox County and the City of Knoxville. By Griffenhagen & Associates. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1940. Volume I (Part I) xxv, 178 pp.; Volume II (Parts II and III) xxi, 230 pp. $2.50 each.

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Public Administration and the United

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[1] For a review of this pamphlet see p. 229.

[2] For a report on this publication see "Printing Scandals Investigated," page 204.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

New League Council Members

The President and Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, in accordance with action taken by the League membership at the annual business meeting in Springfield last November, have announced the election of the following new members of the Council of the League:

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of the staff of *The Queen's Work*, official publication of the Sodality of Our Lady, member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League, who has lectured extensively on P. R. and other civic problems;

C. A. Dykstra, chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board and formerly president of the National Municipal League;

Clarence Francis, president of General Foods Corporation, formerly commissioner of finance of Bronxville, New York;

George H. Gallup, founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, professor at Columbia University's Pulitzer School of Journalism;

Robert W. Johnson, chairman of Johnson and Johnson, former mayor and councilman of Highland Park, New Jersey, and New Jersey civic leader;

Mark S. Matthews, president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, formerly head of the legislative division of the New York City Corporation Counsel's office in charge of drafting and introduction of all legislation for the city in the state legislature;

Major Fred N. Oliver, general counsel for the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks;

Harold E. Stassen, Governor of Minnesota.

New Publications

Local Progress in Labor Peace, by William L. Nunn of the University of Newark, a reprint of three articles which have appeared in recent issues of the REVIEW, will be published on May 15. The pamphlet will contain a suggested ordinance by Mr. Nunn for the establishment of a municipal labor board. Mr. C. A. Dykstra, director of the National Defense Mediation Board and formerly the League's President, has written an introduction. Price of the leaflet is thirty-five cents; copies may be ordered through the League's office.

Citizen Organization for Political Activity—The Cincinnati Plan, first issued by the League in 1934, is now available in a new and revised edition. This is the story of the accomplishments of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee which for sixteen years has led the movement to secure and keep good government in the "best-governed city." Its price is thirty-five cents.

State Committee Chairman Honored

Governor Lehman has appointed **M. P. Catherwood** of Cornell University, chairman of the League's New York State Committee, as head of the newly created New York State Division of Commerce. Dr. Catherwood has been chairman of the State Planning Council, which heads the Division of State Planning, since 1938. That division, together with the Bureau of State Publicity, has now merged with the new Division of Commerce.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Plans for Defense – and Action!

THE cynical wags are beginning to say that everything from ordinary road building to routine operation of hospitals is seeking to label itself a defense activity. On the other side of the picture, some agencies, both public and private, have quietly but effectively reshaped their programs in order to make substantial contributions to an all-out defense program.

An impressive illustration of this is the record of the New York State Division of Planning. The division's program during the past year placed principal emphasis on the following:

1. Preparation of a directory of those manufacturing and non-manufacturing industries in the state which might be useful directly or indirectly in defense. These directories are in the hands of the British Purchasing Commission and the various government procurement offices, among others.

2. An inventory of idle plants to show what they had once produced and various uses to which they might be put.

3. An inventory of machine tools in all plants, with complete data on type, condition, age, geographical location, and number of idle hours available.

4. Establishment of a clearing house to bring primary contractors and potential subcontractors together on defense work.

Even before the inventory of machine tools was completed it began to bring results: it disclosed information about small plants which enabled one of the largest manufacturers of defense materials to accept six of them as subcontractors immediately. As the inventory progressed there were other similar developments.

To hasten and expand further the program of farming out defense production work, clinics are being held throughout the state at which potential subcontractors meet with representatives of the State Defense Council, local defense councils, the United States Office of Production Management, the Division of State Planning, and six large prime contractors. The meetings are followed by inspections of neighboring shops and the working out of details of subcontracting.

The manifold advantages of all this information are obvious. If properly used and if duplicated in some of the other important manufacturing states, it might go far toward the eliminating of troublesome bottlenecks, preventing the overcrowding of manufacturing centers and lessening the overdevelopment of new facilities. It is easy to see why it has been predicted that the New York plan will serve as a model for other states.

"Practical" minds now and then are prone to suspect planning agencies of a tendency to explore only remote and seldom attainable possibilities, something like the false idea of professors wandering around in a metaphysical, ivy-draped world, emerging now and then to make pronouncements which too few understand. But it is difficult to imagine a plan more in tune with the needs of the moment and one which promises more immediate benefit to business, industry, labor, and the country's defense program. It is not alone planning of the highest order. It is planning translated promptly and effectively into action.

National Defense and the Cities

SPEAKING of defense plans and planning—as everyone is nowadays—the problems municipal government is facing in connection with the national program are becoming more numerous and pressing.

It is appropriate that the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW should include in its columns a new department, "National Defense and the Cities," which begins with this issue. And it is especially appropriate that this new department should be prepared by Daniel W. Hoan, who for many years was the distinguished mayor of Milwaukee and who did so much to change the world's idea of just what it was that made Milwaukee famous.

Mayor Hoan knows and has solved a great many of the problems a city faces in good times and bad. He guided Milwaukee through the complete cycle of war, boom, and depression. In his present position as assistant director of the Division of State and Local Coöperation of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, to which he was called early in the defense program, he is in constant touch with developments and is participating in the solution of problems and the evolvement of policies.

Jersey City Papers Please Copy

WHEN budget time rolls around, the officials of many communities are in no mood to hear complaints and suggestions from ordinary citizens who, after all, haven't been sitting up nights and getting furrows in their brows trying to make things turn out right.

Frequently the welcome mat is definitely removed from the city hall doorstep, figuratively speaking. Few cities go so far as to pack the budget hearing with a cheering section to hoot down those who ask embarrassing questions, as happened recently in Boss Hague's Jersey City; indeed, the police escorted from the hearing the only citizen who was bold enough to demand information.

So it is especially refreshing to find public officials going out of their way to help the average citizen know as much as possible about a proposed budget before it becomes a *fait accompli.* Every household in the village of Bronxville, a suburb of New York City, recently received a copy of the proposed budget for 1941-1942. It wasn't just a set of intricate figures, either, such as those commonly published in small type in newspapers and which look troublesome to the fellow who "wasn't very good at arithmetic in school, anyway." An attractively printed, read-

(Continued on Page 316)

New York State Extends Merit System

Governor signs bill making application of the merit principle mandatory on all local units of government within state.

By **MORTON YARMON**
State Editor, Civil Service Leader

LIKE a giant Rip Van Winkle, New York State was sound asleep for the forty-four years from 1894 to 1938, completely oblivious to the demand in its own state constitution that all public jobs must be filled by competitive test wherever practicable. Following two years of intensive study of remedies for this oversight, however, the state legislature has now passed and Governor Lehman has signed a bill which lays plans for the first wholesale extension of civil service to every jurisdiction within the state.

Provisions of the act introduced by Assemblyman Emerson D. Fite and Senator K. K. Bechtold, embracing recommendations of the New York State Commission on Extension of the Civil Service, are all frankly experimental. The act itself allows for changes in type of civil service administration after a relatively short period of time.

An explanation for New York State's extended slumber is hard to find. The state constitution is clear in its mandate that a merit system prevail, and the courts upheld the particular provision in vigorous tone shortly after its passage.

This provision of the constitution was adopted in 1894:

> *Article V, Section 6.*—Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the state, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive.

Two years later the Court of Appeals ruled that civil service was basic to the governmental fabric of the state, beyond touch of legislators. In *People ex rel. McClelland v. Roberts* (148 N. Y. 360), it said:

> The principle that all appointments in the civil service must be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained by competitive examinations, is expressed in such broad and imperative language that in some respects it must be regarded as beyond the control of the legislature and secure from any mere statutory changes. If the legislature should repeal all the statutes and regulations on the subject of appointments in the civil service, the mandate of the constitution would still remain, and would so far execute itself as to require the courts, in a proper case, to pronounce appointments made without compliance with its requirements illegal.

Extension of civil service throughout New York State has been nevertheless slow, uneven, incomplete, for the State Civil Service Commission interpreted the constitutional mandate to mean that the civil service law was to be extended when the commission deemed it practicable. Only in the cities has the job been done fully; each of the sixty-one cities has its own municipal commission, functioning under general supervision of the state commission.

Early Extensions

Between 1900 and 1914 the merit system was extended to the five counties of New York City and to twelve upstate counties. In 1938 an independent commission was set up in Nassau County, operating under a status similar to that of the municipal commissions. Under the new Westchester County charter, which went into effect in 1939, civil service moved from the state commission's jurisdiction to that of a personnel officer, although the state commission retains various technical duties.

In addition one town, one school district, and four villages have come under civil service, along with such miscellaneous positions as probation officers, public health nurses in the counties, and police in villages and certain towns.

Last winter the Social Security Board threatened to deprive New York State of federal funds unless all county welfare jobs came under civil service, and lists were recently established as a result of tests held in the fall.

Three-fourths of the state remained outside the merit system. Included were forty-four counties, more than nine hundred towns, five hundred villages, eight thousand school districts, and several thousand special improvement districts.

Failure to fulfill the constitutional provision more adequately came before the Court of Appeals in 1937, when a carpenter named Palmer sued the Board of Education of Union Free School District No. 2, Town of Geddes, Westchester County. He claimed damages, maintaining he had been illegally fired. He had been under contract for a year but his services were dispensed with before the time was up.

In ruling against Palmer the Court of Appeals went beyond its decision in the McClelland case. The defendant could not make a legal contract with Palmer because he had not been hired through civil service and the 1894 mandate of the state constitution had not been carried out. The court hinted at the chaos that might result were such a situation allowed to continue (276 N. Y. 222):

> The people of the state have declared in unmistakable terms that merit . . . shall govern appointment and promotion in public service. No administrative officer may violate the provisions of the constitution and no court may sanction a violation. An employment which in its inception violates the provisions of the constitution is illegal and against public policy regardless of the good faith of the parties. . . . The failure of the legislature, the Civil Service Commission, and the Department of Education to provide for ascertainment of merit by examination has led local bodies to assume that appointment might be made without such examination. . . . A person holding an administrative position by appointment or contract of employment without compliance with

> the provisions of the constitution has no legal right which is violated by a discharge. . . . There can be no right to make an appointment or contract which would create a legal right of tenure where the constitution forbids the creation of such a right.

The implications were staggering. Employment contracts made in good faith were in fact invalid. Any taxpayer might challenge the right of 150,000 employees in these forty-four counties and thousands of towns, villages, school districts, and special districts to remain on the job. Several such suits were actually started and many others threatened.

The 1938 session of the state legislature learned of the Court of Appeals' decision in the Palmer case, but decided that any action would await the constitutional convention meeting that summer. The convention, however, continued the inactivity, although no one suggested rescission or amendment of the 1894 constitutional provision.

Study Commission Appointed

In his message to the state legislature in 1939 Governor Lehman called attention to the seriousness of the situation and urged appointment of a commission to study the problem and suggest a remedy. The legislature moved swiftly, passing an act which set up a commission, its members to be appointed in part by the legislature, in part by the Governor.

The law permitted the Governor to choose a representative of the State Civil Service Commission, a representative of the State Education Department, and a third independent member. Lehman's choices were among the outstanding civil service experts in the state: Howard P. Jones, member of the State Civil Service Commission and secretary of the National Municipal League; Charles A. Brind, Jr., head of the law division of the State Education Department and president of the Association of State Civil Service Employees; H. Eliot Kaplan, executive secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League.

Provision was also made for the secretaries of the organizations of officials in towns, villages, and counties to join the commission. Three senators and four assemblymen were picked by the leaders of the two houses of the legislature. As their chairman, commission members elected Dr. Emerson D. Fite, professor of political science at Vassar College, who is chairman of the Civil Service Committee of the State Assembly. The body came to be known popularly as the Fite Commission.

For its technical work the commission employed a counsel and a director of research. They were John T. DeGraff, counsel to the Asssociation of State Civil Service Employees and member of the State Board of Law Examiners, and W. Earl Weller, director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research.

Mr. Weller and his staff immediately prepared a complete survey of public employment in New York State, the first ever undertaken. Following this, the commission held public hearings in representative cities throughout the state, where interested individuals and groups were urged to present their opinions on civil service extension. On the basis of these suggestions and its own deliberations, the commission prepared and submitted to the legislature two reports,[1] the second of which contained proposed legislation for carrying out its recommendations.

Counties Have Choice

The act permits each of the counties to select from among the three types of civil service administration already in operation in New York State: county civil service commission, county personnel officer, administration by the State Civil Service Commission. In its report to the legislature the commission says:

> The well established principle of home rule would seem to require that each county be given an opportunity to select the form of administration that seems best suited to its requirements.

The Board of Supervisors in each county is to select one of these three options, following a public hearing, by July 1, 1942. Should it fail to make and adopt its choice by that date the county automatically comes under the jurisdiction of the state commission. The civil service law goes into effect in each county by July 1, 1943, or earlier if the county administration so chooses.

These are the details of each optional form:

1. *County commission.* Three commissioners are to be appointed by the Board of Supervisors, not more than two from the same political party. Rotation in office is provided for; initial members are to be appointed for terms of two, four, and six years respectively, and future members for six-year terms. The state commission enjoys the same general supervision it now exerts over city commissions, that is, the approval privilege over all rules and regulations. If the county commission so desires, the state commission will conduct its examinations free of charge.

2. *County personnel officer.* The officer is selected for a six-year term by the Board of Supervisors, and is removable only for incompetency or misconduct after a public hearing. He performs all the duties of the civil service commission with the exception of the conduct of examinations and the establishment of eligible lists, these technical functions to be handled by the state commission.

3. *Administration by the State Civil Service Commission.* All local functions are performed by the state commission.

In the matter of expense to the individual county, the cost is greatest with the county commission, less when the personnel officer form is adopted, and no expense at all is incurred when the county comes under the state commission.

Each county has the privilege of changing its form of administration should it prove unsatisfactory. After July 1, 1944, a change may be adopted by the Board of Supervisors following a public hearing, to go into effect one year or more after the change is authorized.

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[1] State of New York, *First Report of the New York State Commission on Extension of the Civil Service,* submitted March 15, 1940, Legislative Document (1940) No. 92; *Second Report of the New York State Commission on Extension of the Civil Service,* submitted February 20, 1941.

A similar privilege to change is given to the cities of the state where civil service is now administered by municipal commissions. At any time a city may elect to abolish its own commission and come under the jurisdiction either of the state commission or of the commission or personnel officer of the county in which it is located. After a limited period it may decide to change once more, and is permitted either to reëstablish its own commission or to adopt the remaining alternative. The vote of the common council decides in all cases. By merging with a state or county body, the Fite Commission explains, the city effects a saving in its civil service administration.

The legislation specifically retains under the jurisdiction of the State Civil Service Commission supervision of the five counties within Greater New York City, where county reorganization is under discussion, and adds to its jurisdiction school districts other than city school districts. These are in addition to cities and counties electing to come under its direct supervision and those counties failing to adopt an optional form of administration by July 1, 1942.

State Would Bear Cost

As a stimulus to local commissions to make use of the technical facilities of the state commission, a change in the present law is made so that such services will be made available without cost. At the same time an appropriation of $50,000 is granted the State Civil Service Commission to take care of the additional expenses incurred when its staff coöperates with and advises the local commissions.

Although the Fite Commission members were united in their belief that the proposed set-up is experimental, two members appended a note to the report to the legislature. Howard P. Jones and H. Eliot Kaplan appealed for an administrative form that would leave the technical functions of classification and examination in the hands of the state commission. They point to Westchester County, which recently adopted the personnel officer form of administration as part of its home rule charter, where these functions are handled by the state commission.

On the matter of the status of the 150,000 incumbents the study commission has recommended that all those employed one year before the civil service rules become effective in their particular jurisdiction be continued at work without further examination. In this it is following the practice of other states and of the federal government. According to the commission's public employment study, only from 20 to 25 per cent of the positions involved in the extension logically fall into the competitive class.

As to residence requirements, another controversial issue, appointing officers are given the privilege of limiting appointment to residents of the city or other civil division in which the job is located. At the public hearings many local officials

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Metropolitan Atlanta

Functional consolidation appears to be only practical soluton to city-county problem in Atlanta-Fulton County area.

By DORIS DARMSTADTER

THE Atlanta metropolitan district presents two fortuitous, and perhaps fatal, difficulties not found in other metropolitan situations. In the first place, the nucleus city of Atlanta lies in two counties. The whole of the original and the greater part of the present city is in Fulton County, but some years ago Atlanta—not foreseeing the consequences—annexed a small area in DeKalb County. In the second place, Fulton County was enlarged about a decade ago by the annexation of two impoverished rural counties, Milton and Campbell.

Were it not for these two unfortunate circumstances, the Atlanta-Fulton County area—minus the DeKalb part of Atlanta and the Milton and Campbell parts of Fulton—would present a relatively simple metropolitan problem. For old Fulton County, now largely built up but having only a few small incorporated municipalities other than Atlanta, offers an ideal case for consolidation.

The fact that part of Atlanta is in DeKalb County puts apparently insuperable barriers, practical and constitutional, in the way of any comprehensive plan of metropolitan consolidation. It is the practice of the Georgia legislature not to pass any bill affecting a particular local unit except with approval of the legislative delegation from the county concerned. Since Atlanta is partially in DeKalb County, the consent of the DeKalb delegation must be obtained to legislation affecting Atlanta-Fulton-DeKalb relations. But the DeKalb part of Atlanta is so small a part of that county that the wishes of Atlanta voters hardly register with the DeKalb delegation, which is swayed by the demands of the county's rural section or by a desire to use its strategic position for political horse trading.

As the possession of the assessed valuation within the Atlanta limits, for which no corresponding services need be rendered, seems so valuable to DeKalb County there is not much chance of ever getting passed any real county consolidation plan.

The Georgia constitution, while it provides for city-county consolidation by popular referendum with approval of a majority vote in the county and in each incorporated municipality affected, contains a joker which specifically forbids consolidation in the case of a city lying in more than one county.

The Atlanta metropolitan area, as defined by the United States Census Bureau, is composed of the city of Atlanta, most of old Fulton County (not including the Campbell and Milton additions), the western part of DeKalb County, a bit of Cobb County just across the Chattahoochie River, and an insignificant part of Clayton County. The total population, according to the 1940 census, is 442,294, of which 273,294 is in the Fulton County part of the city of Atlanta, 96,006 in Fulton outside Atlanta, 28,994 in the Atlanta part of DeKalb County, 39,329 in DeKalb outside Atlanta, 2,474 in Cobb County, and 2,197 in Clayton. The area involved is approximately 225 square miles, of which about 15 per cent is in Atlanta and 85 per cent outside the city.

While the Census Bureau does not include the Milton and Campbell parts of Fulton County, or the so-called Roswell district, in the metropolitan area, they constitute 65 per cent of the area of the present Fulton County. The acquisition of Campbell at one end and Milton at the other projected the dimensions of Fulton to a length of sixty miles as against a width of from two to twenty miles—a very awkward and expensive area to service. These two sections are sparsely settled rural areas dotted by a few hamlets. They succeeded in annexing themselves to Fulton County because they were too poor to help themselves, and they have involved Fulton County in expenses for services such as police, roads, and schools, far better than they had been accustomed to prior to annexation and utterly out of proportion to their taxpaying ability.

Consolidation of the entire present Fulton County with Atlanta would only aggravate an already bad situation so far as expense is concerned. Any attempt to consolidate Atlanta and Fulton County, omitting the old Campbell and Milton areas, would be fought bitterly by the people of those areas who do not want to descend to their former neglected state. It would be legally impossible anyway because the Georgia constitution provides no method of disjoining counties once consolidated. To give them services on a genuinely urban scale would be prohibitively costly, and to impose full city and county taxes on them simply confiscatory.

Back in 1929 the Georgia legislature, at the instigation of the Atlanta delegation, passed an act creating a "Greater Atlanta," but provided it with no powers and no budget. When the United States Census authorities refused to recognize the district even for population purposes, it lost its only excuse for existence and was allowed to lapse.

Survey of Atlanta

In 1937 the Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta, the city, and Fulton County joined in employing the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League to make a detailed study of the two units.

This study, under the direction of Thomas H. Reed, found that aside from numerous defects in the internal operation of each unit, the worst features of the situation were that the city taxpayers paid not only the full cost of the city government but five-sixths of the cost of the county government, and that certain services such as health and police, which require centralized command for efficiency, were administered separately.

Of these difficulties by far the most important were those relating to taxation. The undue share of the burden borne by city taxpayers was due in part to the crude assessing methods used by the county which resulted in excessive undervaluations of properties outside city limits. On this point the study recommended establishment of a single authority to equalize city and county valuations. This remains to be accomplished, although there has been some increase in the general level of valuations outside Atlanta.

As to *consolidation,* the study concluded that "it would be much better, other things being equal, if all existing political lines could be wiped off the map of this section of Georgia and the boundaries of a new consolidated city and county drawn in their stead. . . ." It found, however, that such a change was not possible because "in the first place there is a constitutional provision in the way. Ostensibly placed in the constitution to enable the city and county governments to unite, it contains a provision that no consolidation can take place if the city is in more than one county.

"In the second place, it must be recognized that most of the political leaders of both counties and the city would naturally be loath to see a consolidation plan adopted which might deprive them of power and profit. The people dwelling beyond the limits of the new city would naturally revolt from being forcibly separated from Santa Claus in the shape of high downtown valuations of Atlanta which make a mill on the county tax rate mean something substantial. And then there is the reluctance of men to break with tradition.

"Altogether, the forces against an out and out consolidation of the whole metropolitan area are too strong for the present to make it worth while to engage in a pitched battle with them."

Recommendations

The survey therefore recommended a reallocation of governmental functions between Atlanta and Fulton County. It urged, first, the establishment of a metropolitan planning authority whose duty it would be to make a master plan for the metropolitan area. The city had a planning commission but no plan, the county had neither. There had not even been an attempt at a coördinated regional plan so necessary in a growing metropolitan area.

The survey recommended that police protection in Fulton County be provided by the Atlanta department on a contractual basis. There were, it found, separate police forces for city and county, working out of police stations within two or three blocks of one another, each having concurrent and occasionally conflicting jurisdiction within the city. The county force was inadequately organized, trained, equipped. Certainly a single police department for the metropolitan area would be highly desirable and more efficient in operation, and in the long run probably more economical. The legislature, in 1939, opened the way to such an arrangement by an act permitting the county to contract with Atlanta for police and other services.

It was found that the administration of relief had been centralized in a well organized county board of welfare as a result of state legislation stimulated by the social security act. The city, however, was still making substantial contributions to the cost of relief, besides paying five-sixths of the county's share. It was recommended, therefore, that the whole cost of relief be placed in the county budget. This has since been done.

The study disclosed that Atlanta had a somewhat inadequate department of public health and Fulton County a still more inadequate department of sanitation and quarantine. These conditions were reflected in high morbidity and mortality rates. Supplementing a report that had been made by Assistant Surgeon Charles F. Blankenship, of the United States Public Health Service, the study urged complete consolidation under the city and modernization of health services for the whole area, the cost to be divided between the city and the county outside the city on a per capita basis.

The survey also recommended that the four charity hospitals of Atlanta be placed in charge of a joint city and county board and supported by county appropriations, except that the city of Atlanta should pay for the care of persons from the DeKalb portion of Atlanta and for the support of the Steiner cancer clinic, the latter because of the terms of its endowment. A partial step in this direction has been made by putting the two principal hospitals, Grady and Battle Hill Tuberculosis Sanitarium, under a single city board.

A *modus vivendi* had already been established on a small scale with regard to fire protection and library service. The city has been providing library service to the county, the county contributing some part of the cost. While it is true that the present library service to the county is inadequate, a pattern for future procedure has been created.

The same thing is true with regard to fire protection. Where fire stations have been set up in the county, the personnel has been placed under the command of the chief of the Atlanta department.

The beginning of somewhat similar coöperation in the handling of parks was to be found in the city operation of an eighteen-hole golf course located outside the city limits. The survey recommended that the day-by-day administration of the several county parks then under construction and the provision of recreational facilities be entrusted to the city park department through a contractual arrangement.

Sewage Disposal

Sewage disposal works, constructed as a WPA project under city and Fulton County sponsorship, were just being completed as the survey was made. They are now being operated by the city, the county contributing one-third of the cost. These sewage disposal works benefit to some degree DeKalb County outside of Atlanta. The contributions of DeKalb County, however, have been negligible.

Water is supplied to the metropolitan area in both Fulton and DeKalb Counties by the city of Atlanta which owns the only available source of supply in the region. The city of Atlanta makes a handsome profit by selling water outside the city limits at double the city rates, plus a fifty-cent service charge. This is a partial compensation to the city for the excess contributions of its taxpayers to county services.

Both the city and Fulton County have large departments of public works. Both make use of the labor of prisoners in their custody. In the case of the county, the cost of caring for prisoners is mingled inextricably with the cost of doing public work. The county has always recognized the fact that since the city taxpayers pay five-sixths of the cost of the public works department, some of this money should be expended within the city limits. The aggregate amount expended over a period of years, including outlying city projects such as the airport, is considerable.

As the rapid increase in population in the county has given rise to ever greater demands from the area outside the city, the significance of county public works within the city has dwindled to almost nothing. As the county outside the city, however, would be entirely unable to bear the cost of necessary public works in a rapidly developing community, and as the great bulk of the prisoners cared for come from Atlanta, the survey made no suggestion concerning consolidation in this field.

School Situation

The situation with regard to schools is highly anomalous. The taxpayers of Atlanta, in addition to maintaining the city school system, pay a 1.5 mill tax for county schools, plus five-sixths of an appropriation made by the county for a county school system to which no city child is eligible. The county schools, while well run from a business standpoint, give fewer years of instruction, less education to Negroes, no night schools or special classes or kindergartens, and pay much lower salaries to teachers than do the city schools.

One of the principal county high schools is located in the heart of Atlanta, and pupils attending it have to pass similar city schools on their way to and from home. Children from that section of Atlanta have to go long distances past the county school to attend city high schools. On the city-county boundary there are several situations where an exchange of pupils would be mutually advantageous were it not for the differences in educational offering.

Though it recognized that consolidation was ultimately necessary, the survey did not recommend it for immediate adoption because of the great expense involved in raising county schools to the city standard, especially in the matter of teachers' salaries for which funds were not available. It did recommend a salary commission to work out a harmonious schedule for both departments, together with coöperation in a program of vocational education.

In 1939 some influential Atlantans came forward with a proposal for a comprehensive solution of this difficult consolidation problem. Under the name of the One Government League they suggested an enabling amendment to the constitution and accompanying legislation to set up a single consolidated city-county government for Fulton County as now constituted. The governing body would have been a council of nine nominated and elected at large, which would choose an executive (*eo nomine*) and a mayor for ceremonial purposes.

The general executive and certain basic departments such as finance, assessment, law, personnel, public buildings, hospitals and welfare, together with the courts and their adjuncts, would be supported by a general county-wide tax. Other departments such as police, fire, health, and parks, would serve only such areas—not the whole county—as should be determined by the council and only those areas should be taxed for each such purpose.

Revenues other than from the general property tax were to be distributed between departments in proportion to their total expenditures provided in the budget, and the balance of their requirements levied either on the county as a whole or a portion of it as the case might be. An area desiring the extension of a service to itself could initiate an ordinance to that effect by means of a petition signed by 10 per cent of the registered voters. Passage of the ordinance by both the council and the people of the area on referendum would have been necessary.

This portion of the plan seems ingenious and worthy of consideration. So far, however, no practical progress has been made towards its adoption.

Even if all other difficulties could be removed, there would still remain the problem of the portion of Atlanta in DeKalb County. This the One Government League proposed to meet by allowing the citizens of that area to vote on whether they would accept from the new government each of the services they now receive from the city of Atlanta. If they voted to do so in respect to any service they would be taxed for it in the same manner as if they were part of Fulton County. They would remain citizens and taxpayers of DeKalb County, but if they decided to accept all the services from the new government they now receive from Atlanta, they would be allowed to vote for non-judicial officers in Fulton County and to hold office there as well.

Local Government Commission

It is significant that the Atlanta Local Government Commission, appointed by the January-February (1940) Fulton County Grand Jury, on which the city and county governments as well as the Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters, and other civic interests were represented, after due consideration rejected the idea of consolidation. In its recently published report it makes fifteen specific recommendations. Of these, eleven relate to the internal management of the city or county. Some of them, such as the recommendation of a county manager, the appointment of department heads by the mayor, the establishment of civil service on a sound basis in both units, are important and far-reaching changes strongly advocated in the

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The Negro Vote in Northern Cities

Urbanization, growing class-consciousness, unemployment relief, all play part in the shift of Negro vote to the Democratic party.

By **HAROLD F. GOSNELL**
University of Chicago

BEFORE the 1940 presidential election there was a good deal of speculation as to how Negroes in northern cities would vote. Various estimates were made as to the size of this vote. Usually the figure was over two million. All of the more or less established straw polls indicated that for the first time since 1916 the election was going to be a close one. Here was a situation where the Negro vote might have swung the result one way or the other.

In the north and border states the Negro vote was found largely in the metropolitan centers of the following eight states: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Maryland, Indiana, and Missouri. With the exception of Maryland these were states where the vote was very close and a relatively small switch might have changed the result. Two of these states were carried by Willkie—Michigan and Indiana. If he had carried the other six he would have received 153 more votes in the electoral college or nearly enough to have defeated Roosevelt.

What were some of the speculations regarding the voting behavior of Negroes in 1940? In the October issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* Lawrence Sullivan made a number of guesses regarding the Negro vote which were 100 per cent wrong. On the basis of a misinterpretation of certain erroneous figures regarding voting behavior in Chicago he laid down the following fallacious propositions:

1. That the Negro vote would not be decisive in any state in 1940, even Illinois;
2. That the 1940 election would mark a large return of Negro voters to the Republican fold;
3. That three-fifths of the Negro vote in the city of Chicago which was typical of the national Negro vote would be for Roosevelt.
4. That the Negro vote was influenced chiefly by relief in the past but now the Negroes were getting tired of relief.

What about Sullivan's first proposition? In presidential elections the Negro vote in Chicago used to be almost four-fifths Republican. In 1940 it was about one-half Republican. About one-third of the voters in the South Side had shifted their vote. According to estimates which I have made this would be about 50,000 votes for the city. The shift from 1928 and 1932 was sufficient to carry the state for Roosevelt.

The second proposition may be put in the form: Why didn't the vote shift? In Chicago there was no shift of the South Side back to the Republican party. Contrary to city-wide trends, its Democratic vote was 3 per cent higher in 1940 than in 1936. The city as a whole shifted away from Roosevelt, but the Black

Belt continued its swing toward Roosevelt at a slackened pace. There was a shift toward the Republican party in state affairs, however, corresponding to the shift that took place in the state as a whole.

So far as Chicago was concerned Sullivan greatly overestimated the strength of the Democratic party among Negro voters. It has not been possible to obtain 1940 figures regarding the behavior of Negro voters in other cities but it is clear that they are more Democratic in New York and less Democratic in Cincinnati.

Relief Situation

Sullivan's last proposition was that the Negro vote was influenced chiefly by the relief situation. There is no question that this is an important consideration with unemployed citizens, white or colored. Studies which I have made in California, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Pennsylvania bring this out very clearly. Public opinion polls have presented corroborative evidence. It is doubtful, however, whether it is a chief consideration.

Since the 1940 election returns have just recently become available and since the 1936 election so closely resembles the 1940 election, I will have to draw upon an analysis made by one of my students, Elmer Henderson, who studied the Negro vote in the 1935, 1936, 1938, and 1939 elections.

Henderson found that in 1936 the relationship between the Roosevelt vote and the percentage of persons on relief by census tracts was a positive one but not close. Putting it in technical form, about 16 per cent of the variation in the Negro vote as between census tracts could be explained by variations in the ratios of those on relief. Since in 1940 about 60 per cent of the Negroes in Chicago were on relief, and the Negro vote was only 50 per cent Democratic, it is obvious that there were at least 10 per cent of those on relief who voted Republican. I am inclined to the view that a much larger proportion of the Negroes on relief actually voted Republican.

It is useless to deny that the relief situation is not important in explaining the shift of the Negro vote from the Republican to the Democratic party in the past eight years. There are many other influences, however, which are just as important. Henderson has listed the following:

> 1. Urbanization produces social and psychological changes in individuals and groups which tend to break down stereotyped and traditional allegiances;
> 2. Growing dissatisfaction with the Republican party because it did not grant gains to the group commensurate with the support given;
> 3. Changing attitude of the Democratic party—the Roosevelt administration was more liberal in its attitude toward Negroes than previous Democratic administrations;
> 4. Growing class-consciousness among Negroes—the increasing exposure of Negroes to the labor movement and radical propaganda.

In addition to these I would add:

> 5. As local administrations became Democratic, it was necessary for the Negro underworld to swing

> behind the Democratic machines or go out of business.

Consider how applicable these considerations are to the 1940 campaign.

The proposition regarding urbanization is not particularly related to the depression and its effects. We would expect it to operate regardless of economic conditions. Those Negroes who migrated from rural to urban communities some time ago would be expected to be the most emancipated from the traditional view toward the Republican party. We would expect, then, other things being equal, that the oldest Negro communities in northern cities would show the most pronounced tendency to support the Democratic party. Harlem is one of the older communities and it is the most sophisticated. It fits the pattern. One of my former research assistants, Miss Frances Williams, who has been living in New York City, told me how impressed she was with the contrast when she came to Chicago for a few days in October. The so-called Republican fixation is much stronger there than in New York City. On the other hand, the Negro community in Cincinnati is an old one. It has not swung to the New Deal as Negro communities have in other northern cities. Some of the reasons for this will be discussed presently. Other things are not equal in Cincinnati.

There is no doubt that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the Republican party in the period immediately preceding the advent of the New Deal. So far as the Chicago situation is concerned, I have developed the earlier phases in my *Negro Politicians.*[1] We are concerned here with the question: Were the Negroes dissatisfied with Willkie and with the Republican campaign which was put on in 1940? It does not seem that Willkie was a particularly strong candidate so far as the Negro group was concerned. His home town of Elwood had a reputation for being rabidly anti-Negro, a typical small town community in the state that produced the strongest Ku Klux Klan movement in the north in the years following 1918.

"Seeing Is Believing"

Willkie was a novice in politics and he had no previous contacts with Negro politicians. All that he could do was promise. Somehow his promises were less tangible than Roosevelt's record. The Republicans tried to exploit Joe Louis' Willkie stand and they also tried to make something out of the Steve Early incident in New York City. Great crowds came to hear Joe Louis but not much was made of the Early incident in Chicago. The local Republicans had more money than in recent years and the prospects of a state victory looked good, but these considerations were not sufficient to swing the vote back into the Republican fold.

Did the Democratic campaign win votes? When we consider that the party held its own in the Black Belt although it was losing out elsewhere we must conclude that the Democratic campaign was effective. Roosevelt ran well ahead of all other Democratic candidates in the wards

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[1] University of Chicago Press, 1935.

Percentage of Negro and White Vote Democratic and Percentage of Negro Vote Democratic by Selected Wards Chicago, 1932-1940[a]

Election	City		Negro percentage by Wards								
	White	Negro	1	2	3	4	5	6	19	20	28
Roosevelt, 1932	59.2	23.4	63.3	21.7	19.8	18.1	21.4	19.4	—	35.6	28.4
Congressman at-Large, 1934	64.0	41.8	73.0	31.0	44.3	48.6	44.1	27.1	—	—	—
Kelly, 1935	82.7	80.5	98.2	78.8	79.6	87.1	83.9	54.9	—	94.0	77.2
Roosevelt, 1936	66.9	48.9	77.8	46.3	49.3	51.3	52.0	41.1	—	46.9	47.5
Congressman at-Large, 1938	60.8	51.9	84.5	43.9	56.1	58.6	56.1	36.7	—	52.5	54.4
Kelly, 1939	56.1[b]	59.5	90.0	55.4	58.4	60.1	62.2	43.9	—	88.5	62.3
Roosevelt, 1940	58.4	52.0	61.8	50.4	54.0	55.2	53.3	45.0	46.0	51.8	46.1

[a] Figures for period 1932-1939 from E. Henderson, "Negro Political Changes in Chicago," The University of Chicago, Master's Dissertation, 1939.

[b] City totals including Negro.

inhabited largely by Negroes, although he was not the top man in other parts of the city. The party could point to many concrete achievements such as the Ida Wells housing project, the NYA program, the social security program, and the appointment by Roosevelt of many Chicago Negroes to important federal positions. Mayor Kelly had appointed a Negro to the Board of Education, a sign of recognition which even Mayor Thompson was unwilling to make. There were many county institutions which had not discriminated against Negroes under Democratic administrations. Among the Negro leaders of the Democratic party were to be found young men with professional training who were group conscious and socially minded.

There has certainly never been a Democratic candidate for President who was so appealing to the group as Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt is also an asset. Bishop Wright mentioned the fact that the Roosevelts always hired colored domestic help. This "black mammy" argument is not particularly popular in many parts of the South Side but the Marian Anderson episode showed that the Roosevelts were genuinely interested in fair treatment. Of course, the Southern Democrats are hard to handle, but the Roosevelts have done more to hold them in check than any other Democratic administration has.

An element in the Democratic swing which was not developed by Henderson is alliance with the underworld. Probably the richest men in the Black Belt are the policy gambling kings. This year one syndicate had 1,500 policy writers on the streets canvassing for the Democratic ticket. One of the leaders of this syndicate recently made a settlement with the federal government of $500,000 for his back income taxes in 1938. A rival syndicate that sponsored a Willkie meeting was raided and practically closed down. The police have this element of the Negro community well under control.

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Wanted: Experienced Legislators

Membership in Ohio's General Assembly shows serious lack of continuity; at no election during '30's did half the incumbents return.

By MONA FLETCHER
Kent State University

TOO little attention is given to the qualifications and activities of the men and women who pass our laws. Although the most spectacular contests lie in the national field, the selection of state legislators is of great importance. The citizen is vitally affected by the laws they enact. A sales tax is imposed, an income tax passed, school attendance age changed, business licensing requirements increased. The January 1938 issue of *The Annals*,[1] devoted to "Our State Legislators," contained numerous expressions of regret because the absence of continuous experience so generally characterized state representatives.

Little material is available as to exact facts regarding legislative turnover. Some contribution, accordingly, may be found in the statistical data for Ohio covering the past decade.

The political pattern in Ohio is of interest for several reasons. The state is always important in presidential election years. Its electoral votes have been cast for the winning candidate in all but one of the last fourteen elections. (Ohio supported Harrison in 1892.) This suggests that the state may be politically typical, and prompts a question as to the relationship between national and state party tickets.

Again, Ohio is diversified in its economic interests, containing great cities as well as rich agricultural areas and coal mining communities in the Ohio River Valley. Furthermore, Ohio is essentially a two-party state, dramatically illustrating the partisan clash between Democrats and Republicans in the fight for office.

The General Assembly of Ohio is bicameral: the Senate contains from thirty-one to thirty-eight members; the House of Representatives has a membership of from 128 to 138 as the apportionment provides.

The representative units in Ohio are the eighty-eight counties. Each county has at least one representative. Senators come from senatorial districts, proportionate to the population, including from one to nine counties each. Elections are biennial with nomination by direct closed primary.

Do the two million Ohio voters cast their ballots for experienced legislators? How frequently and how consistently do they choose Senate and House incumbents? The following tabulation was prepared in order to provide a basis for answering such queries. The table indicates the proportion in each house who were elected to succeed themselves, and whether the others failed

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[1] *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* vol. 195. See especially "Tenure and Turnover of Legislative Personnel," by Charles S. Hyneman, pp. 21-31.

TABLE I

Outcome of Election for Members of Previous Assembly in Percentages

	1930		1932		1934		1936		1938		1940	
	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House
Re-elected	35%	36%	41%	51%	41%	35%	44%	52%	25%	33%	57%	62%
Failed to File	35	27	34	28	50	42	28	21	22	17	17	16
Defeated in Primary	3	11	9	9	—	8	3	9	14	15	6	5
Defeated in General Election	27	26	16	12	9	15	25	18	39	35	20	17

to seek reëlection, lost the nomination, or were defeated in the final election.

Not until 1940 were as many as half the incumbents reëlected to the Senate; but only twice did the number who were returned drop below 41 per cent—in 1938 only one in four went back to the upper house. A return of 57 per cent followed the 1940 election. The voters cannot be held responsible for all of the turnover in the Senate, however. The number defeated at the polls in either the primary or the general election was less than the number who failed to file until 1936 when it was the same, 28 per cent. In 1938 the primaries became a more serious hazard for senatorial candidates, and defeats in the general election were also unusually high.

The pattern was much the same for the House, but with a higher percentage of reëlection than in the Senate, save in 1934. The number of withdrawals was somewhat less than among senators. In 1940 the House reached its high point for the period in reëlections, almost two of every three were returned. There was a greater tendency to reëlect in presidential years than in "off" elections.

The low point in desire for reelection was in 1934, when 50 per cent of the senators and 42 per cent of the representatives did not seek a further term. The legislature elected that year doubled the annual salary for members of the General Assembly to $2,000. The marked drop in the percentage of those who failed to file in the three subsequent elections may be connected with the fact that legislative officeholding had become more remunerative.

It is necessary to examine these data in the light of the national political scene. The swing from one party to the other, with evidence of the influence of presidential elections, may be seen in Table II which shows partisan distribution in each house for the period.

The oscillation of party control in the first half of the period found a quicker response to the Democratic trend in the House than in the Senate. Between 1936 and 1938 a complete reversal of party power was recorded in both houses.

The year 1938 witnessed a Republican comeback which not only thrust

TABLE II

Party Distribution

	1928	1930	1932	1934	1936	1938	1940
			Senate[a]				
Democrats	—	14	16	*19*	*31*	8	17
Republicans	*31*	*18*	16	13	5	*27*	*19*
			House[a]				
Democrats	11	58	*84*	67	*105*	36	60
Republicans	*121*	*70*	51	*68*	33	*100*	*78*

[a] Italics indicate majority group.

Senator Taft and Governor Bricker into the national scene but also produced an abnormally high turnover in the General Assembly. The members of this legislature enacted a measure which separated the presidential ballot from the state ticket. This was undoubtedly an important factor in continuing Republican power, but even so its majority was markedly reduced in 1940.

An analysis of this "peak" year of 1938 may help to explain why sitting legislators failed to reappear the next session. Although withdrawals were at their lowest for the decade they still accounted for the disappearance of one out of every five legislators. Half the incumbents were defeated, however, 15 per cent in the primaries.

At the same time that party members in some areas were blocking the continuance in office of their own sitting legislators by the nomination of numerous primary candidates there were other areas in which no primary contests were held. In half the senatorial districts Republican aspirants had no opposition for nomination, and in a quarter of the districts there were no Democratic intraparty rivalries. Similarly, for the House, the Democratic party had thirty-six uncontested candidacies, and the Republicans presented forty-three candidates for forty-three places, distributed among thirty-five counties. Nineteen of the eighty-eight counties were without primary competition in either party. Indeed in six counties the Democrats had no candidate in November. The Republicans, eager as they were for office, failed to provide a contestant in one county.[2]

Manifestly, this absence of primary competition in 1938 was not statewide. In the Senate the Democrats averaged three aspirants for each contested nomination, while Republicans averaged four. For the House, where several representatives are selected at large from a single urban county, the number of would-be legislators produced a formidable list. In Franklin County, which includes the capital city of Columbus, there were sixteen Democrats and twenty-three Republicans contending for nomination to the six representatives' places. Summit County, embracing Akron, witnessed twenty-five Democrats and twenty-six Republicans aspiring to its five seats. In Hamilton County the Democrats had won all nine places in 1936, but, even so, twenty-nine names appeared upon the Democratic primary ballot. The Republican organization of Cincinnati, functioning with its customary efficiency, offered a remarkable contrast when they presented nine names for nine seats.

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[2] In 1940 the Republicans had forty-six uncontested primary places, the Democrats were offering only one candidate in thirty-seven counties. No Democrat ran in six more counties. In twenty-one counties neither party had a contest for legislative candidacies.

That mortality at the primaries was higher in the cities than in the country in 1938 is indicated by Table III, which presents the data of Table I, rearranged to contrast the results in urban areas with those in the rest of the state.

How far should the urban primary voter be blamed for his failure to select incumbents from the long lists which are inevitable under the multi-member district system? In Lucas County, to comment further on 1938 data, the Democrats had to choose from among fourteen candidates, and the Republicans from among sixteen. All five elected in November were Republicans, all five were new to the legislature! In Cuyahoga County, including Cleveland, with eighteen representatives to be nominated, there were 130 Democratic and 125 Republican contestants. Half of those who won seats were new to the General Assembly. In 1940 Cuyahoga County presented 155 Democratic names, the Republican list

TABLE III

Outcome for Urban and Other Members of Previous Assembly in Percentages

	1930		1932		1934		1936		1938		1940	
	Urban	Others	Urban	Others	Urban	Others	Urban	Others	Urban	Others	Urban	Others
						Senate[a]						
Re-elected	40%	30%	30%	58%	23%	52%	61%	33%	39%	17%	54%	59%
Failed to File	40	31	60	19	80	37	30	27	15	27	23	14
Defeated in Primary	—	4	—	9	—	—	9	—	25	8	—	8
Defeated in General Election	20	31	10	14	7	11	—	40	23	48	23	19
						House[a]						
Re-elected	34%	37%	37%	58%	25%	42%	42%	59%	20%	41%	56%	67%
Failed to File	34	23	39	22	46	38	26	19	16	20	15	16
Defeated in Primary	8	13	5	11	8	9	11	7	22	9	3	6
Defeated in General Election	24	27	19	9	21	11	21	15	42	30	26	11

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[a] "Urban" for Senate covers four senatorial areas including five urban counties: Cuyahoga, Hamilton, Lucas, Mahoning, Trumbull. These have 43 per cent of the senators, with 37 per cent of the state's population.

"Urban" for the House includes nine urban counties: those named above plus Franklin, Montgomery, Stark, Summit. These nine counties send 40 per cent of the representatives, with 55 per cent of the state's population.

Note: In the Senate apportionment the four additional urban counties are combined with a rural county in each case, so that comparisons are not possible.

dropped to 101. Of the eighteen elected only three were newcomers to the State House.

One can well marvel that any candidates with previous experience were nominated from such aggregations of aspirants. In any area of multiple candidacies the voter needs intuition or a flash of inspiration to cast an intelligent vote. The task for the electorate is too great. Some method of curtailing wholesale candidacies needs to be found.

In November the voter has the guidance of the party label, and in 1938 he seemed to follow that lead, for 35 per cent of the incumbents were defeated in the general election as part of the nation-wide swing towards Republicanism. In other years of the period defeats in the November election did not account for as much loss of experienced talent as did withdrawals, although in 1930 and in 1936 defeats were almost as large a factor as was the failure to run. In House elections the proportion of defeats in November was higher for city members than for those from the country, except in 1930. In the Senate elections, however, it was greater for the rural legislators, until 1940 (see Table III). This situation may be partially explained by the fact that the proportion of withdrawals among city dwellers was always higher except in 1938.

In spite of the evidence of turnover

TABLE IV

Party Membership of Senate and House with Percentage of New and Former Legislators

	1930		1932		1934		1936		1938		1940	
	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House	Senate	House
New:												
Democratic	8	41	9	36	7	43	14	55	2	13	8	26
Republican	2	27	4	23	3	40	2	8	10	60	2	17
Total New	10	68	13	59	10	83	16	63	12	73	10	43
Percentage	32%	53%	41%	45%	32%	62%	45%	46%	35%	53%	28%	31%
Experienced:												
Democratic	6	17	7	48	12	24	17	50	6	23	9	34
Republican	16	43	12	28	11	28	3	25	17	40	17	61
Total Experienced	22	60	19	76	23	52	20	75	23	63	26	95
Percentage	68%	47%	59%	55%	68%	38%	55%	54%	65%	47%	72%	69%
Total Members:												
Democratic	14	58	16	84	19	67	31	105	8	36	17	60
Republican	18	70	16	51	13	68	5	33	27	100	19	78
	32	128	32	135	32	135	36	138	35	136	36	138

which has been presented there are more "old-timers" to be found in Columbus than these figures indicate. This may be seen from Table IV, which shows the party distribution in each house for new and experienced legislators. A comparison of the following data with those presented in Table I will make this clear.

In the Senate in 1930, for example, although only about one-third of the incumbents were reëlected, more than two-thirds had seen prior service. Not once in the six elections did the membership of the upper house include 50 per cent newcomers, although 41 per cent of the senators was the greatest number immediately reëlected, until the high point of 1940. In 1938 one in four senators was returned. The Republicans gained twenty-two places, yet only ten were newcomers, twelve were back after voluntary or enforced absence from Columbus. The distribution of experienced members between the two parties is also of interest. In 1930 and again in 1938 the Republican group of "repeaters" numbered about half the total. In 1936 the Democrats reached almost 50 per cent with their "old-timers."

It is also of interest to note that except for 1938 the larger group of new arrivals was in the Democratic ranks. But, in the 1932 and 1936 presidential elections many more experienced Democrats were returned than were Republicans with prior service. In 1940, however, eight of the nine seats gained by the Democrats were filled by newcomers. All but two Republicans had served in some previous Assembly.

One case is worthy of mention as an illustration of how strong the pull back to the State House may be. In the Assembly chosen in 1932 one Republican senator was listed who had served seven previous terms. In 1934 he dropped out—he just did not file. In 1938 a House Republican who had served eight prior terms was this same veteran, back for another biennium. He returned once more in 1940, winning by a safe majority over his Democratic opponent.

This tendency may be further illustrated by the 1940 Assembly. In the Senate eleven members, 30 per cent, had been elected at least twice before. Two were back for ninth terms. The lower house contained 32 per cent with at least two Assembly terms to their credit.

The complete record for the House of Representatives is less favorable from the standpoint of experienced membership. In the non-presidential election years of 1930, 1934, and 1938 more than half the representatives were newcomers. The differences between Table I and Table III are not great until 1938. Here, although only one-third of the lower house incumbents were immediately reëlected, 47 per cent had seen previous service. In 1940, with 62 per cent succeeding themselves, 7 per cent more were returned for non-consecutive terms.

In bi-partisan Ohio during the past decade the number of legislators immediately reëlected was naturally lowest in 1930 and 1938, when the Democratic and Republican revivals were most marked. On both of these occasions, however, the rising party was represented by many experienced members, especially in the Senate.

Rural counties showed a greater tendency to reëlect representatives than did urban counties. This was not true for the Senate in 1930, 1936, and 1938. Even in the rural areas, with a minimum of primary contests, however, there were large percentages of neophytes, due to the failure of the experienced legislator to file for reelection. The increased salary has diminished the number of withdrawals. Is the number of disinterested members large enough to dispute the stereotype of a legislator as a perennial Barkis?

Even though 1940 may indicate a trend towards the election of a more experienced body of lawmakers it still remains true that the voter in the urban constituencies is faced with a well nigh insoluble problem of selecting candidates from a multitude of aspirants. Widespread filing for primary contests and the high number of withdrawals must be further reduced if Ohio is to have legislators with the experience requisite for the most efficient functioning of its lawmaking body.

NEW YORK STATE EXTENDS MERIT SYSTEM

(Continued from Page 257)

expressed the fear that extension of civil service would bring in "outsiders," thus impairing home-rule rights of local jurisdictions.

Holding that the labor class has worked out unsatisfactorily in cities, the commission recommended that it not be established in counties. Such labor jobs, it maintains, may be placed in the exempt class, as is the case in the state service, or in the non-competitive or competitive class, according to the decision of the commission or officer holding jurisdiction.

Although there was considerable opposition to the Fite-Bechtold bill both in and outside the legislature, legislators really had little choice but to approve its provisions. The shadow of the state's highest court hung over them. A few days before the 1941 session convened, the Court of Appeals reversed a decision of the lower courts that the State Civil Service Commission must conduct competitive examinations for public positions in local communities, acknowledging that the Fite Commission was considering the problem.

Yet in reversing the lower courts, the Court of Appeals reinstated the order at special term denying the petitioner's application without prejudice to its removal. In other words, if action were not taken within a reasonable time as a result of the commission's recommendations, the proceeding could be renewed and the courts again order the state commission to extend its jurisdiction to local units.

In effect, then, failure on the part of the legislature to act might very well have had one simple result, that of forcing upon the counties the jurisdiction of the State Civil Service Commission. Under the terms of the act, however, that is but one of three alternatives from which they may choose. From now on, the counties have only themselves to blame if their choices prove unhappy.

The Case for the "Open Back Door"

"If we keep the front door carefully guarded, the back door will take care of itself." — George William Curtis.

By **HARRY W. MARSH**
National Civil Service Reform League

AS TIME goes on and we have more and more evidence of the advantages and disadvantages of legal requirements calculated to protect civil service employees from unjust removals, we find little that is new pointing to a solution of the problems of discipline in the civil service.

The early advocates of the merit system met the question as to how to provide for dismissals by the theory so clearly stated by George William Curtis: "If we keep the front door carefully guarded, the back door will take care of itself." In other words, the merit system intelligently and strictly applied to entrance to the civil service will effectively prevent opportunity for political appointments by an appointing officer. Such officer, if he should have a political motive in dismissing an employee, could gain nothing so far as the distribution of patronage is concerned. Under such circumstances he would doubtless make dismissals only "for the good of the service."

Nevertheless, these same early advocates of the merit system recognized the right of any civil servant to demand a statement of reasons for a dismissal and an opportunity to present his own side of the case if charges were preferred against him. This being done, however, the question as to whether dismissal or any other form of punishment—suspension without pay, demotion—should follow was left solely in the hands of the appointing officer, except in so far as procedure prescribed in the law was reviewable in the courts. There was no recourse on the part of the employee for a reversal of the decision of the appointing officer. This is generally accepted as "the open back door."

At times circumstances surrounding dismissals have given rise to differences of opinion as to the sufficiency of the reasons for the disciplinary action taken. Unprejudiced observers may hold a different opinion on a case from that of the appointing officer. An example of this type of case may give point to this discussion.

A telephone switchboard operator, who is required to arrive promptly at 8:30 A. M. in order to have the telephone service of a department made available promptly to a large staff of employees, arrives ten minutes late on Monday. She is warned that lateness cannot be tolerated, particularly in the position which she holds, and that it must not occur again. She arrives five minutes late on Tuesday. Another warning is administered and she affirms that she will be on time in the future. She is on time on Wednesday, but arrives fifteen minutes late on Thursday.

The telephone service has been seriously handicapped on the mornings when she is tardy. The head of the department, therefore, brings charges against the operator to dismiss her for successive tardiness. The employee makes an answer to the charges, admitting that she was tardy, with the explanation that she is the sole support of an invalid mother who is in need of a certain amount of care before the employee can leave for work. On the mornings in question her mother's condition was such that she could not reach the department on time. The appointing officer is sympathetic with the conditions under which the employee suffers but finds that in the interest of the service he cannot tolerate any tardiness in her particular position. He therefore makes the dismissal.

The humanitarian features of such a case lead observers to criticize the arbitrary power of an appointing officer to effect a dismissal in such a case without any further attempt to adjust conditions so that this employee, who is in every other way a perfectly satisfactory and efficient person, could continue in her job. It is such cases that have led organized groups of employees to bring pressure on legislative bodies to provide for a reviewing agency. Such agency—a civil service commission or an advisory committee or even the courts—would determine, independent of the appointing officer, the sufficiency of the reasons for the disciplinary action and restore the employee to his former position if in its judgment the appointing officer's action was arbitrary or unfair.

The Closed Back Door

This action by an independent agency to restore an employee over the objection of the appointing officer is generally characterized by the phrase, "the closed back door." Where such provisions exist in law, appointing officers usually throw up their hands and say, "What's the use!", when it comes to ridding the service of really incompetent employees.

Such provisions in the law do more harm than good because appointing officers will refuse to take disciplinary action for fear of being placed on trial themselves before the reviewing board. It is such provisions of law that have led to the general characterization of the merit system, usually by those who know but little about it, as one which produces stagnation of the service and a lackadaisical staff without loyalty to the executive heads of government.

Instances of unjust removal which can be demonstrated are so few as to be quite unimpressive as justification for legislation for a "closed back door." The recent account in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW[1] of a study made in a state which operated for about two and a half years under a merit system with a so-called open back door gives no basis for the conclusion that, even under pressure of a change of administration, dismissals were made in any substantial number for purely political reasons or, for that matter, against the best interest of the service itself. When a merit system is newly installed in a state, political conditions are likely to develop which, after a period of time, will disappear from the scene so far as administration is concerned. It is true there will always be some political sniping at the merit system so long as political parties think they must depend on patronage as a means of livelihood.

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[1] "The 'Open Back Door'—A Case Study," by Edward H. Litchfield, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1941.

Findings Not Conclusive

In the study referred to, 127 cases of dismissals were analyzed as representing unjustifiable dismissals because the State Civil Service Commission, after hearing them, so concluded. The question as to whether the commission's findings were impartially reached was answered affirmatively in the article because "not only did the commission follow the recommendations of a clearly non-political director in all but one instance but the dismissed employees belonged to a party which had representation on the commission equal to that of the party responsible for the removals."

Granting for the sake of argument that the reviewing agency was not motivated by political considerations, it does not follow that another personnel director and another commission might not have found many of the 127 cases meritorious, rather than unjustifiable, removals. In another state, where an independent agency had power to reinstate dismissed employees, in approximately the same period of time fifty or more dismissed employees appealed. In no case did the reviewing agency find justification for reinstatement. The reviewing agency in that state was also composed of persons representative of both political parties. Does it follow that there were no unjustifiable removals represented in the fifty odd cases that came before that committee?

No conclusion can be drawn as to whether removals are justifiable or unjustifiable by the single process of comparing the differences of opinion between the head of the department making the removal and one reviewing agency, however honest and disinterested it may proclaim itself to be. Yet the author of the study, on the basis of these 127 cases, concludes that: "The open back door procedure in this jurisdiction has not been satisfactorily mitigated by the process of placing the names of the unjustifiably dismissed employees on reëmployment registers for future certification."

Another false conclusion which seems to have been drawn from the 127 cases is that the open back door is in its least satisfactory form when it appears that four departments were responsible for 57 per cent of the dismissals and that one agency alone dismissed 30 per cent. It is difficult to perceive how the concentration of alleged unjust dismissals in any one department or any group of departments is proof of the failure of the open back door method.

The point of this whole matter is that the remedy for unjustifiable removals is not to be found in the arbitrary action of an independent agency authorized to reinstate the employee but to prevent the unjustifiable removal from ever occurring. This can be done by the use of intelligent and modern employment management methods in all of the operating agencies. In other words, every possible means of adjustment of personnel problems should be made before any dismissal action is taken.

The average operating head of a department cannot give his own time and attention to such matters. He needs a full-time personnel director and, if it is a large department, such a personnel director in turn needs an adequate staff to enable him to do justice to the personnel questions which are constantly arising in any government agency. The existing provisions of merit system laws which lead employees who are subjected to discipline to run to a reviewing board with an appeal, with the result that the operating head of the department concerned is placed on trial, has done more damage to the service as a whole than ever was done to the service by unjustifiable dismissals.

THE NEGRO VOTE IN NORTHERN CITIES

(Continued from Page 267)

The 1940 elections were a further illustration that economic conditions are having a more and more important influence upon the voting behavior of Negroes in northern cities. We might state it as a generalization that where the Negroes have had an opportunity to join the industrial proletariat they have swung more rapidly to the Democratic fold than in those sections where they have been confined largely to the field of domestic employment. An examination of the occupation statistics for Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, and St. Louis shows that there are proportionately more Negroes employed in industry in Detroit and Pittsburgh than in Cincinnati and Philadelphia. The switch to the Democratic party took place more rapidly in Detroit and Pittsburgh than it did in Cincinnati and the Quaker City. The CIO unions in the steel, packing, and automotive industries have in general been more sympathetic toward admitting Negroes than the old line unions under the A. F. of L.

The behavior of northern Negro voters is more typical of the country as a whole than it was eight years ago but there is still a time lag. Among the well-to-do Negroes and among those whose livelihood is in no way connected with politics, the Republican tradition is still strong. On the other hand, the unionized and industrialized elements, the underprivileged who are dependent upon governmental aid, those connected with the underworld, and a growing number of young realists support the Democratic party.

Here Are the Answers to 'Why Voters Don't Vote'

Clayton Township, Missouri, voters find many reasons for failure to cast their ballots at summer primary.

By **SELWYN PEPPER**, ***St. Louis Post-Dispatch***

The returns are in from the poll in which the **League of Women Voters in Clayton Township, Missouri,** sought the answer to why voters didn't vote in the primary last August.[1]

Already the returns have startled the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* into an editorial campaign for a change in the date of the primary and for the secret ballot—two reforms for which the League of Women Voters is also plumping in Missouri.

The results of the poll, outlined in the following article from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of April 11, will encourage other communities to ask their non-voters similar questions.—EDITOR.

FIFTY-THREE per cent of 4,378 voters in Clayton Township who failed to go to the polls in the primary election last August did not vote because they were out of the state at the time, it was found in a survey by the League of Women Voters, completed today.

More than 9 per cent abstained from voting because they did not have enough information about the candidates, they indicated in replies to a league questionnaire. This was the second largest group. Eight per cent failed to participate in the state and county primary because they were not registered.

Other reasons for not voting, in the order of the frequency with which they were given, were: Illness on election day; "intended to vote but forgot"; fear of a non-secret ballot; "independent voter," that is, one who felt he should not participate in party primaries. Two per cent did not know that there was an election, while 1.8 per cent thought the primary unimportant. Others gave their reasons as: reluctance to ask for party ballots; no interest in politics; too many offices to be filled.

Preference on Change of Date

Asked what month they thought would be preferable to August for the primary, 28.3 per cent said they favored May, while 19.9 per cent advocated September. The findings accentuated the movement to change the date of the primary because so many voters are on vacation in August.

About 14,000 voters in Clayton Township, which includes University City, Clayton, Ladue, Huntleigh, and large unincorporated areas, received post cards asking them to tell why they did not participate in the selection of party candidates. Of 26,648 registered voters in the township, only 12,393 voted in the primary. Of those not voting who were thought to have registered 4,378 answered the questionnaire.

Why They Didn't Vote

Grouping the reasons for not voting, the league prepared this classification: Absence, 53 per cent; need of more careful political education, 16.6 per cent; inertia, 9.3 per cent; physical disabilities, 5.9 per cent; ineligibility, 8.6 per cent; other reasons, 6.6 per cent.

Mrs. Virgil Loeb, chairman of a group of sixty-five women who made the study, said:

"The fact that 53 per cent of the non-voters who replied were absent from the state gives strong support to our contention that the absentee ballot law should be amended and that the date of the primary should be changed to a time more convenient to a majority of the state's citizens. The league favors September since a brief and intensive campaign is probably more desirable from the point of view of candidates and voters.

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[1] See April REVIEW, p. 230.

Secret Ballot Move

"The fact that 122 persons refrained from voting because they feared the ballot was not secret is a serious matter. The thousands of signatures now being received from throughout the state in the league's campaign for the secret ballot indicates that a psychological reaction to the present method may be a real deterrent to voting and that the proposal for ballot reform will have widespread support.

"A shorter ballot with only those offices to be voted on which are responsive and responsible to public opinion is essential to intelligent voting. But those citizens who believe the laws need revision or that 'government is corrupt' ought to realize that nonvoting is not a rational method for expressing their discontent.

"Voting is the average person's principal opportunity to share in the political life of his community. That so many people fail to realize the importance of the primary election requires serious study of those reasons which reach down to the roots of educational processes and of the governmental situation itself."

Some Individual Replies

Some of the individual replies to the questionnaire follow:

"Do not care to vote straight party ticket ever."

"Put up decent, honest men whom we can trust, not professional politicians, then we will vote."

"Interested only in state and national politics."

"Because of our rotten situation, cannot reconcile myself to vote."

"Am a Republican, felt no use to vote, as I was sure Democrats would win anyhow."

"We had a baby—I was too excited to vote." (From a father.)

"Got there just too late, unfortunately."

"Confidentially, Missouri politics stink."

"I think the non-secret ballot is a Nazi 'ja' vote."

"Was treated bad by some University City people when we moved here."

"Wanted to vote for candidates on both Republican and Democratic tickets."

"Thought only taxpayers and landowners could vote in the primary."

"Husband away; did not have his ideas to guide me."

Information on Candidates Sought

Some of those answering the cards complimented the league for its interest but others scolded. One, for example, wrote: "Why don't you let men handle such matters? You could take better care of your homes where you belong."

Many asked for more information about the candidates, several suggesting that the information be sent them by mail. "An intelligent and honest history of each and all candidates by a prominent unbiased authority would help create active interest," one wrote.

National Defense and the Cities

Recent news on public service training for the emergency, fire fighting, housing, and other defense matters of interest to local governments.

By **DANIEL W. HOAN**
Division of State and Local Cooperation
Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense

TO MEET the threat of totalitarianism, we in the United States must act for total defense. If every citizen and official does his part, the people of the United States will thus serve notice on all dictators to stay away from these shores. Not only must citizens and officials feel they should perform those duties assigned, but they must use their initiative to perform whatever emergency tasks arise.

In an article in the March issue of the REVIEW, I tried to describe in a general way the functions of the Division of State and Local Coöperation. In few words, it was set up, first, to communicate from one level of government to the other information on defense developments as they occur; second, to promote a better understanding on the part of state and local officials and citizens of the work in hand; and finally, to assist in development of that high degree of coördination and unity that is positively essential if our democracy is to survive.

The Division tries to perform its tasks in a democratic way. We have sought the advice of state and local public officials and of others familiar with the problems confronting these units of government. For example, in coming to a workable agreement on what should be done in dealing with the problems of in-service training of public employees and other emergency personnel matters, the Division called together representatives of the various active national organizations of local and state officials. Their conclusions were published in a report which has been widely circulated.

Similarly, those closely concerned with fire fighting problems shared in framing the "Suggestions for State and Local Fire Defense."

The Division plans to release from time to time news items on the national defense program as it affects local and state agencies, for use, if desired, in the regular publications of both state and local officials, as well as in unofficial but recognized publications such as the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. This is one of the ways in which we shall attempt to meet the ever increasing demand for information from state and local officials.

Public Service Training in the Emergency

A progress report has been issued by the Division's Committee on Public Service Training in the Emergency. This report among other things points out:

1. With the exception of a few states and large cities, public service training programs for both state and local employees are far short of being adequate, even for those performing functions most closely related to defense.
2. Only about one-seventh of said employees are being reached by any in-service training programs.
3. Such programs are most advanced in the case of fire fighting and police service, even if they are inadequate to meet present needs.
4. Public service training under the George-Deen act marks an encouraging beginning, but there is a great deal more to be done.

5. There is a lack of understanding and appreciation on the part of some administrative authorities, as well as professional organizations, of the value, importance, and need of this work.

6. There is need that colleges, universities, and secondary schools give fresh consideration to the training of students for public service occupations.

Findings and Recommendations

1. There is an acute need for in-service training in the fields primarily concerned with civil protection, such as fire, police, public health, and public works.

2. There is urgent need that appropriate federal, state, and local agencies, responsible for analysis, decisions, and activities, should promote such training. The Division of State and Local Coöperation should not hesitate to assume the initiative in sounding the call for such officers to undertake this duty.

3. There must be no hesitancy in calling local, state, or national conferences as needed.

4. Primary responsibility for training municipal officials and employees, whether for defense or not, rests upon the local governmental authorities.

5. Information, advice, and technical assistance in possession of the state or federal government should be made available to local communities. Where the training relates to defense, financial and other assistance should be furnished by the federal government to the state and local governments. There should be coöperation and coördination at the state level between all agencies sponsoring in-service training.

Civilian Defense: Fire Fighting

For the benefit of those who will read, study, or attempt to judge in any way the merits of Bulletin No. 1 of the Fire Series under the civilian defense program, outlining a plan of local fire defense, it will be well to have in mind certain fundamentals which were in the minds of the members of the committee and others who shared in preparation of the report.

First, the federal government makes no claim to having in the service one or more master minds who can issue decrees or write out infallible rules to direct municipal officials in solving their fire fighting or any other local problems, either before, during, or after the present crisis.

Secondly, all those connected with the federal service, whether in the military or civil branches, recognize that fire fighting, like numerous other public services, is a purely local as distinguished from a federal function. It follows that no one in the defense agency, most particularly in the Division of State and Local Coöperation, desired to make the recommendations that would lead to state and local coordination and coöperation until we were urgently requested to do so by national organizations of local officers and fire fighters, not to speak of the necessities of the situation itself.

Third, it was naturally felt that, whatever agencies were set up to secure the required national unity during the crisis, when that crisis was over, every one of the powers, authorities, and duties that were local in nature should automatically revert to the local officers immediately after the passing of the emergency. Thus the framework of the recommended plan is of a civil defense and temporary nature only, set up neither by statutory rule nor by permanent authority.

It is conceded by the officers of all progressive-minded municipalities that all local units of government are duty-bound to bring their fire fighting activities, whether in the direction of fire prevention, equipment, or maintenance of standards, up to a minimum standard, as a basis of building an adequate fire fighting service to meet a crisis; that it is the duty of all local governments to so maintain their departments at all times, and that it is a real economy to do so.

It will be noted that the plan laid down strictly adheres to the policy that in the building of organizations to carry out a defense program, all existing agencies should be utilized to the utmost before any new ones are created. This explains that in recommending the setting up of the local defense fire chief and the state fire coördinator (both of whom should be members of their respective councils of defense), as well as any district fire coördinators, it was insisted that these men be taken from the actual fire-fighting services. The same theory was applied in recommending the adding of the fire alarm superintendent or the water works superintendent to local defense councils.

Local officials have long been clamoring for the release of civil defense instructions. This division has held back, first, so as to avoid needless mistakes, and, secondly, to get these reports out in proper order.

The local officers now have the first chapter on civilian defense. The question is, are these local officials now willing to go to work and put the plan into action? Hitler says, in effect, "It cannot and will not be done in a democracy because you do not have an arbitrary boss." It is up to local officers and citizens to give an answer.

As time goes on other bulletins will be issued describing how to build protection-shelters, procedure in blackouts, and many other parts of civil defense. The question now, however, is how generally and coöperatively will the state and local officials of this country act to perfect what is one of the most important phases of civil defense—the actual fighting of fires in time of national emergency.

Small Industries

Those who attended the regional meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors at St. Louis recently were informed by Mr. Robert L. Mehornay that the machinery for assisting small industries in getting parts of contracts to keep them busy has been placed in the hands of the Federal Reserve Banks, and that in these banks, as rapidly as possible, industrial engineers are to be available who can talk in the language of the small producer. Offices of the Defense Contract Service are now definitely located at each of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks and twenty-four branch banks. Local defense councils are also informed on this service. Business men and officials are therefore urgently requested not to journey to Washington to solve their local problems, but to take up such matters first with the appropriate local offices.

Rent Control and Housing

More and more the problem of excessive rentals in certain defense areas and the question of remedies are attracting public attention.[1] The former Consumer Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission prepared a report outlining the text of a proposed state emergency fair rent act. This provides for establishment of a state emergency rent commission, to be appointed within ten days after passage of the act, and enumerates the powers and duties of a commission to make and enforce its determinations in achieving reasonable rents.

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[1] See also *Rent Control in War and Peace*, by Edith Berger Drellich and Andrée Emery, published by National Municipal League, price fifty cents.

It is agreed that this is but a palliative and that the soundest and most certain remedy is the building of houses.

Defense Housing Coördinator C. F. Palmer announced on April 12 that contracts have now been let for a total of 48,487 units—approximately 29,507 for civilian industrial workers and about 18,980 for married enlisted personnel. These units are located in forty-three different states and territories, comprising 169 projects in 103 localities.

Because of increasing shortages, it is now contemplated that $150,000,000 additional for government-constructed houses may be made available in the near future. The measure to provide these funds has already passed the House of Representatives and was reported favorably by the Senate Buildings and Grounds Committee.

Labor Disputes

Citizens, public officials, labor and employers, must all have a feeling of relief as a result of the President's action in setting up the new National Defense Mediation Board, headed by Mr. C. A. Dykstra, to supplement the work of existing mediation agencies. There is evidence that the public was receiving the impression that strikes were altogether too numerous in spots that appeared vital to the defense program.

Mr. William S. Knudsen recently stated that the next four months will be crucial in the history of the world. Every person who loves democracy will be happy at the thought that both the managers of industry and the employees seem eager to coöperate with the new mediation machinery.

Price Stabilization

Those familiar with price skyrocketing during the World War will surely welcome the establishment of the new Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply. The President has placed at the head of this important division Leon Henderson, of the former Price Stabilization Division.

Purpose of the order setting up the new office is to prevent profiteering and unwarranted price increases; to assure the necessary supply of goods for civilian requirements after military needs have been met, and to see that there is an equitable distribution of the materials and commodities which are available for civilian use.

Community Facilities in Defense Areas

Localities near rapidly expanding military camps and defense industries that are confronted with needs for additional community facilities will be interested to know of the progress made with reference to the proposed fund of $150,000,000, recommended by the President to assist in meeting the cost of streets, sewage systems, schools, housing, recreational facilities, etc., in and about such projects where a defense-connected need exists. The Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the House of Representatives has held hearings and is now considering this general subject.

The Division of State and Local Coöperation, through its field representatives, has been making a survey of needs for such facilities in and about defense areas, and the extent to which localities or states could meet estimated costs.

The Researcher's Digest: May

Living costs and public wages; California finances; Milwaukee lakefront problems; pension funds; sewer rentals; football and national defense; building codes and Schenectady.

ARE public employees really underpaid? Or overpaid? A sidelight on this question from an unusual point of view appears in a recent issue of *Just a Second* of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.** The bureau worked out a table showing the wages of a stenographer in the city employ—at a base rate of $2,220 a year which is the average wage of city employees. In the table money wages for each year are translated into real wages in terms of the yearly index of the cost of living in Detroit. The bureau discovered some rather startling facts. In every year, even in those depression years when the money wages of this typical city employee were drastically cut, the employee's real wages were substantially above the $2,220 of his nominal salary. The table was worked out as an argument for the so-called "St. Paul" plan whereby public salaries are regularly and automatically adjusted to living costs.

California Finance

In spite of the plethora of reports issued from state capitals on all manner of subjects, and in spite of the less complete but still not inconsiderable volume of information that comes from city halls and county courthouses, it is a rare state in which one may readily see the financial picture as a whole and as a true whole. To piece together the fiscal puzzle for one state, California, and to present it in full over a forty-year period, the **California Taxpayers' Association** has gone to endless trouble and research in compiling its *Income and Expenditures of Government in California* (1941). In forty-three pages of text and charts, this revision of a 1936 handbook published by the same organization gives impressively complete data on—to name only some of the sections covered—total income of state and local governments in California, broken down into tax and non-tax income and calculated on a per capita basis as well; flow of funds through the complicated subvention system; state and local tax collections divided as to kind and source; state and local expenditures, broken down into types of governmental units; state and federal grants-in-aid; bonded debt, state and local; assessed valuations and tax rates.

As a climax the handbook describes in some detail every kind of state tax and gives its history. This work should be of inestimable assistance in almost any kind of governmental research in California and a model and an aid in research outside the state as well.

Disposing of a Shore Line

What to do with a Great Lake is Milwaukee's problem, and the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** was equal to the occasion when the **Citizens Lake Front Committee** called on it for assistance. A forty-page mimeographed book of findings and recommendations (*The Lake Front in Milwaukee County*) was produced to assist the associated civic organizations and governmental bodies which are concerned with the best development of Milwaukee County's twenty-seven miles of frontage on Lake Michigan. The study concerns itself with the problems connected with the sixteen miles of privately owned shore line, as well as with the eleven miles of public frontage. Harbors, parks, commerce, business, and highways are involved in the report. To other cities with riparian or coastal interests the Milwaukee Bureau's study may be of considerable interest and aid.

Washington Police Pensions

Another special study which could bear on similar problems in other jurisdictions is *Police Relief and Pension Funds in the State of Washington,* mimeographed report published by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington.** The principal provisions of the Washington law are analyzed, the workings of the plan are laid bare, and findings and conclusions follow. Chief recommendation is that the larger cities should adopt an actuarial pension system in place of the present system which places increasingly growing and unpredictable burdens on municipal exchequers.

Hartford on Sewers

Hartford's Mayor asked the **Governmental Research Institute** for information on the extent to which other municipalities are making a sewer rental or sewer service charge as a means of financing the operation of their sewer systems. Interviews, correspondence, technical articles and reports were, accordingly, the basis of the eleven-page report which the institute recently issued. Without making recommendations, the institute summarizes practice in cities throughout the country, entering into such matters as state enabling acts, legality of sewer rental charges, use of rental revenue, and basis of rental charges.

Twenty-seven Cents and Rochester

"One shudders to think of the neatly gilded bricks that will be handed to local taxpayers all over the country in the blessed name of national defense," remarks the **Rochester Municipal Research Bureau** in its March issue of *Municipal Research.* This apprehensive comment was elicited by the restoration of football to the health program of the Rochester schools, with the national defense excuse, a restoration which the bureau finds financially indefensible. Says the bureau: "Under present conditions, Rochester would not be justified in accepting a life-size, solid gold statue of Haille Selassie if it required an expenditure of more than twenty-seven cents to locate it in some public square."

Fire in a Night Club

A night club fire across the Hudson River leads the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** to suggest that the small communities neighboring the city join hands in formulating building codes which would not only protect themselves but protect also the city of Schenectady, which already has a modern building code. A uniform code for all the communities in the area is the goal which the bureau applauds.

That Readers May Run

A new wrinkle in research bureau reporting is the advice which **New Haven Taxpayers, Inc.,** gives to its subscribers at the head of a mimeographed page on *Reliability of Statistics.* "In a hurry?" asks the bureau, "Then read only underlined words." Of some 800 words in the report, only about 150 are underlined.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Building Codes

Building Regulation and Fire Prevention Stop at the City Line. Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* March 26, 1941. 1 p. mimeo.

Finance

Cost of Government in Canada—Provincial Government 1939. Citizens Research Institute of Canada, Toronto, *Canadian Taxation,* March 26, 1941. 4 pp.

Income and Expenditures of Government in California, 1900 to 1940. California Taxpayers' Association, Los Angeles, *The Tax Digest,* January 1941. 43 pp.

Harbors

The Lake Front in Milwaukee County. Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee, December 1940. 45 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Government

An Outline of the Government of Detroit. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., February 1941. 15 pp. chart. mimeo.

Pensions

Police Relief and Pension Funds in the State of Washington. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Seattle, February 1, 1941. 16 pp. mimeo.

Personnel

About a Salary Policy. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Second,* March 25, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Relief

Relief Rolls Vary with the Size of Grant per Family. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research Inc. of New York State, Albany, *Bulletin,* March 24, 1941. 4 pp.

Sewers

A Brief Report on the Practice of Financing Sewers by Rentals or Service Charges. Hartford (Connecticut) Governmental Research Institute, Inc., March 1941. 11 pp. mimeo.

State Aid

State Aid Discriminates Against Schools Located in Milwaukee County $500,000 Annually. Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee, March 8, 1941. 10 pp. mimeo.

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA

(Continued from Page 263)

Consultant Service report. Four recommendations are concerned with the relations of city and county with regard to certain specific functions—a joint master plan for park and recreation development, a joint vocational education program, consolidation of city and county health departments, and the annexation of some unspecified areas to the city. Of these, only the consolidation of the health departments, urged by the survey, is of major administrative importance.

Functional consolidation obviously offers the line of least resistance along which metropolitan integration can advance in the Atlanta area.

Contributors in Review

AS A member of the staff of the National Municipal League's Consultant Service during its 1937-38 Atlanta survey, ***Doris Darmstadter*** (*Metropolitan Atlanta*) has followed that situation for some time. She has also observed the metropolitan problem in previous associations with the Pennsylvania Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation (Pittsburgh), the St. Louis City and County Metropolitan Development Committee, and the Citizens League of Cleveland. Recently she has been collaborating with her husband, Thomas H. Reed, in governmental research and writing.

FOR the past seventeen years a teacher at Kent State University in Ohio, ***Mona Fletcher*** (*Wanted: Experienced Legislators*) is now assistant professor in the Political Science Department. She is also an officer of the Social Science Section of the Ohio College Association. A lady who believes in combining practical politics with academic work, Miss Fletcher was a delegate to the State Republican Convention in 1940.

A NAME which has appeared on the covers of numerous books and pamphlets on political science is that of ***Harold F. Gosnell*** (*The Negro Vote in Northern Cities*). Voting and politics are no new subject for him. In 1924 he produced *Boss Platt and His New York Machine;* in 1927, *Getting Out the Vote; Why Europe Votes,* 1930; *Negro Politicians,* 1935; *Machine Politics,* 1937; and as co-author with Charles E. Merriam, *Non-Voting,* in 1924, and the *American Party System,* 1929 and 1940. Dr. Gosnell is associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago. He has been associated with the Commission on Recent Social Trends, the National Resources Planning Board, and the Bureau of the Budget.

A WIDE experience in the field of civil service and civic activity has been the portion of ***Harry W. Marsh*** (*The Case for the "Open Back Door"*). He was formerly civic director of the New York City Club, later deputy commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare of New York City, and more recently personnel director of the state of Connecticut. He is at present field secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, which he formerly served as assistant secretary and secretary.

EVER since the *Civil Service Leader* came into being a year and a half ago, ***Morton Yarmon*** (*New York State Extends Merit System*) has been state editor of this New York weekly. He assisted in the handling of public relations for the New York State Commission on Extension of the Civil Service, which recently submitted its report to the New York State legislature. Mr. Yarmon has been a contributor to various magazines, notably *The New Republic.*

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New Adoptions Swell Manager Ranks

Port Huron and New England town meetings approve charter changes

PORT HURON, Michigan, on April 7, voted 3,177 for and 3,074 against the proposed manager charter; the plan went into effect May 5.

Both the town and the village of **Northfield, Vermont,** are considering the manager plan jointly. At the annual village meeting the trustees of the village were authorized by a vote of 120 to 45 to appoint a manager in case the town likewise votes in favor of a manager. It is expected that a special town meeting will take place soon to consider the matter.

The town of **Manchester, Vermont,** voted at its March town meeting to employ a town manager and one is already on duty.

The manager plan was adopted at the town meeting in **Poultney, Vermont**, in March.

At town meetings on March 17, **Island Falls** and **Sherman Mills, Maine,** are reported to have adopted the town manager plan.

After four years experience, the town meeting of **Middlebury, Vermont,** on March 4, endorsed the manager plan, 535 to 158.

At its March town meeting **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** voted to appoint a committee to study the plan.

The Citizens' League of **Wallingford, Connecticut,** is working on a plan to consolidate the town and borough governments under a council-manager charter. A delegation from the league recently visited the town of West Hartford to investigate its manager plan.

On April 15 the town meeting of **Enfield, Connecticut,** voted approval of a draft of a legislative act to place Enfield in the town manager-council classification. The legislature is expected to pass the draft, in which case a local referendum will be held. According to Philip J. Sullivan, publisher of the *Thompsonville Press,* the plan has strong possibilities of success on the referendum.

The city manager-P.R. charter recently prepared for **Dunkirk, New York,** has been submitted to the city council for ratification and submission to the voters of the city. Thus far the council has refused to consider the new charter under the plea that one part is illegal—the matter of tax collection for the town of Dunkirk (within which the city is situated) and the city. The charter commission, legally appointed to draft the new charter under the state home rule law, intends to ask for a court order to force submission of the charter to the voters.

Cheboygan, Michigan, voted against a proposed manager charter, 1,192 to 862.

East Grand Rapids, Michigan, has been placed in the official directory of council-manager cities by the International City Managers' Association. It has had a manager since 1932.

In **Zebulon, North Carolina,** a petition reputedly representing more than 25 per cent of the electorate was presented to the Board of Elections on March 27 by Chairman Moser of the Zebulon Junior Chamber of Commerce, but was declared invalid by Attorney-General McMullan, to whom it was referred by the secretary of the Board of Elections. This ruling was based on ing within two months of any general legislation prohibiting special ballot-election, one being scheduled for Zebulon on May 5, whereas a referendum must be called within forty days after submission of a petition. A new petition must be prepared a month or more after the general election to meet present requirements.

Bryan, Ohio, has voted 819 to 24 in favor of a charter commission and elected a commission of fifteen to prepare a new charter that can become effective January 1, 1942.

Mayor Frank A. Homan of **Fresno, California,** suggests a change there from commission government to the manager plan.

A proposed constitutional amendment in **California,** to establish a state manager who would take over the duties of the present director of finance and administer the routine business of the state, received a committee recommendation on April 14. The amendment is sponsored by Senator Jerrold Seawell of Roseville.

House bill 99 in the **Washington** state legislature, which would have permitted cities under 20,000 population to adopt the manager plan, died in the rules committee.

In **Drummondville, Quebec,** city officials and public organizations are stated to be studying the manager plan.

Council-Manager Cities Make Good Showings in Contests

In three nation-wide intercity contests for 1940—fire, health, and traffic safety—cities under council-manager government made showings out of proportion to their relative numbers.

In the national fire waste contest, with more than three hundred cities competing, one manager city, Salisbury, North Carolina, won first place in its population group (cities under 20,000) and twenty-one cities, or 36 per cent of the fifty-eight receiving honorable mention in all groups, were manager cities.

In the city health conservation contest, with 133 cities participating, two of the ten honor-roll cities have the manager plan; they are Hackensack, New Jersey, and Pasadena, California.

In the national traffic safety contest, with over four hundred cities participating, the manager cities Dallas, Texas, and Kansas City, Missouri, tied for the national grand award and for first place in their population group; Watertown, New York, won first place in the 25,000-50,000 group; Ames, Iowa, won third place in the 10,000-25,000 group; and three other manager cities won honorable mention.

Superior Starts Manager Government

The five-hundredth manager plan city[1] moved into high gear April 15 when the new council of **Superior, Wisconsin,** took office. The city's first manager is soon to be appointed.

The new council of seven, composed entirely of political neophytes, was swept into office at the general election on April 1, receiving 84 per cent of the total 11,754 votes cast, and 75 per cent of the total possible vote in the election. The average voting strength of the seven winning nominees was more than twice that of the three unsuccessful candidates.

Superior approved manager government on April 2, 1940, by a vote of 7,320 to 5,055. At that time a central committee composed of members of the League of Women Voters and labor organizations, businessmen, and other individuals, conducted the campaign. Subsequently the same committee drafted, endorsed, and campaigned for the seven candidates who were finally elected to the council. Those elected include a doctor, a banker, a college professor, and four representatives of labor groups in the community.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1940, page 247, May 1940, page 285.

The primary was held on March 12, 1941, at which time the central committee slate was opposed by seven of the eleven incumbent officeholders, a labor-endorsed slate three members of which were also on the central committee slate, and eight other candidates. About half of those entered in the primary were laboring men, holders of union cards, or labor-endorsed. However, the central committee slate polled 57 per cent of the total 10,249 votes cast, leading all other candidates by a substantial margin. Nominated to oppose them in the final election were four incumbent councilmen, a former councilman, a former mayor, and a present member of the County Board of Supervisors.

Three of the four incumbents and the former councilman withdrew two days after the primary and urged unanimous endorsement of the committee slate.

Both the primary and general elections were marked by a lack of vigorous campaigning. A few newspaper advertisements, radio talks, and the circulation of a pamphlet giving pictures and histories of the central committee nominees, constituted the main indications of a campaign.

The trend of public opinion in Superior has continued steady since the weeks just prior to the adoption of manager government in 1940. Generally, continued high taxes and a property reassessment which fell heavily on the small homeowner brought about a condition leading to present developments. As in the election on the form of government, the nomination and election of the new councilmen can be best interpreted as a "negative" rather than a "positive" vote; the thoroughness with which the sweep was made is indicative of the fact that Superior voters now expect something better.

Max P. Heavenrich, Jr.
Superior City and County
Economy Association

Washington Cities Aided by State Legislation

Over twenty bills sponsored or favored by the Association of Washington Cities were passed at the recent biennial session of the Washington legislature. Necessitated by an accumulation of local administrative problems, this large body of municipal legislation will grant a greater degree of local autonomy, considerably broaden city powers, and enable cities to meet new and increasing responsibilities more satisfactorily.

Major attention during the three preceding sessions had been given to heavy fiscal programs which sought a solution to acute financial difficulties. With these programs—which culminated in the 1939 gas tax and liquor fund allocation laws—out of the way cities were able for the first time in years to devote almost an entire session to improving general municipal statutes. By passage of so many remedial bills, the 1941 session is now recognized as one of the most successful from a municipal standpoint. Among the more important measures adopted were the following:

1. Authorizing cities to appoint non-residents to municipal positions;
2. Authorizing creation of protected reserve funds for the advance planning of public works;
3. Authorizing establishment of sewage systems on a utility basis and the combination of sewage and water systems for administrative purposes;
4. Removing the one-mill limit on tax levies for park purposes;
5. Extending governmental immunity to city fire equipment when used beyond municipal limits and

extending protection of firemen on non-city work;

6. Authorizing governing bodies to make major extensions and betterments of municipal utilities without a separate vote of the people;

7. Authorizing officers of small municipalities to transact business with the city under specified limitations;

8. Authorizing a limited compensation for non-salaried officers in third and fourth class cities;

9. Removing county domination and control of municipal elections in certain cities;

10. Authorizing cities to levy excise taxes on public power districts;

11. Changing the positions of city clerk and attorney in fourth class cities (300 to 1,500) from an elective to an appointive basis;

12. Authorizing cities to unite, in one local improvement district, small non-contiguous improvements without petition on the part of property owners.

In addition, cities were instrumental in causing the defeat of a number of bills deemed detrimental to municipal interests. Among these were bills to extend state control over municipal personnel; to reduce the municipal share in the proceeds of real estate sales for delinquent taxes; and to remove city immunity for torts arising out of the exercise of governmental functions.

Chester Biesen, *Executive Secretary*
Association of Washington Cities

Decentralization in New York City

The third report of the Urban Land Institute on large cities of the United States deals with New York; its findings and recommendations were made public April 19. Recognizing that New York is unique among cities in many respects the report, prepared by Robert H. Armstrong, chairman of the board of the Institute for Economic Research, and Homer Hoyt, principal housing economist for the Federal Housing Administration, takes into account three current trends: (1) the shift away from Manhattan to other boroughs of the city; (2) a tendency away from the New York metropolitan region to other parts of the United States; and (3) international trends affecting the whole country and inevitably exerting a strong influence on New York City as the dominant financial center and port of North America.

Specific proposals designed to reverse or retard some of the adverse current trends and to make for municipal revitalization that will in turn attract new business and industries and create new taxable assets include the following:

(1) Adoption of a master city plan that will provide among other things for the systematic wrecking of structures that fall below the minimum standards of decency and then gradually rebuild, according to a long-range program, certain close-in areas into livable neighborhood units, each with its own school, shopping facilities, parks, and theatre;

(2) Coördinated action to consolidate various duplicating and overlapping governmental bodies in New York City, Westchester County, and Nassau County, possibly through annexation of these areas;

(3) Assessment of real estate on a basis justified by current earnings (but to do this at present at one stroke would so lower total assessed values in New York City, the report states, that the city would be unable to meet its obligations);

(4) Lower municipal taxes by effecting certain economies in local government and thus encourage present industries to remain and attract new ones;

(5) Curb unfair labor practices said to be driving industries out of the city;

(6) Enlist the aid of local and federal governments in condemning low-value land for rebuilding into homes for middle-class families close to centers of employment;

(7) Relief of traffic congestion including restrictions on cruising taxicabs and provision for better parking facilities for freight and passenger automobiles, following an expert study;

(8) Provide a freight tunnel under the harbor to connect Brooklyn and Queens with the south and west.

The third annual report of the City Planning Commission of New York City, made public April 20, stressed the decreased rate of growth and the resultant serious effects on city finances, and stated that the city, under its present limitations, cannot meet the demands for capital improvements. It stated: "Checking deterioration in the older sections and rehabilitating slum areas is not only socially desirable; it has become imperative if the city is to maintain a solvent fiscal position. But rehabilitation of old areas cannot be viewed as separate and distinct from the problems of new sections."

New Hampshire News

Larger Legislature.—The lower chamber of the New Hampshire legislature will be increased from 423 to 443 if the proposed reapportionment plan is passed by the present legislature. Sixty-five towns would be affected, fifty-five of which would have representation reduced. If the measure passes, a constitutional convention will probably be called to reduce the number in the House of Representatives. Former U. S. Senator George H. Moses, as presiding officer of the last constitutional convention, has the power to call such a convention. When approached on the question he replied, "Apparently we will have to take some action to cut the size of the House—to draw up an amendment to the constitution would be cheaper than the cost of rebuilding the State House."

Fiscal Agent.—The New Hampshire legislature recently passed an act providing for a continuation of the fiscal agent for Coos County. This measure is practically the same as the one passed in 1939 which expired April 1, 1941. The fiscal agent of Coos County has all the powers of the county commissioners. He possesses dictatorial powers over the county's finances. No funds may be spent without his approval and his authorization to borrow such sums as he deems necessary to meet the demands on the county. He is appointed by the governor and council and receives a salary of $3,500. The system of fiscal agent is not uncommon in New Hampshire; several towns operate under it. This phenomenon is all the more interesting in a state where the democratic town meeting is a cherished institution. It is also a state without a town or city manager, whom, it is feared, might be more dictatorial than the traditional town officers. Actually the town manager law would permit a manager to exercise much less authority over fiscal matters than a fiscal agent.

Maine-New Hampshire Police.—A two-way radio communication between the Maine state police radio station at Wells, Maine, and the New Hampshire state police headquarters at Concord, has been established. This permits towns and cities in both states to establish better coöperation for police protection.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

Subway Strike Threats Bring Anti-Sabotage Law

Following a public hearing on April 14 Governor Lehman signed the Wicks bill setting up criminal penalties for sabotage in connection with subway, street-railway, or bus lines and for employees leaving unattended any cars or busses given into their care. The bill had passed the legislature almost unanimously, following threats of a subway strike in New York City in case the city, now owner and operator of all the subways, refused to satisfy the Transport Workers Union by a new contract to replace the existing one, inherited from the former private companies and expiring June 30.

Mayor LaGuardia has asserted that New York "does not and cannot recognize the right of any group to strike against the city." The union claimed that the Wicks bill was anti-strike legislation, but Governor Lehman denied this and pointed out that it applies to subway trains and busses the protection that the law has afforded railroad trains for fifty years.

The city holds that it is governed by civil service regulations in its employment practices concerning its subway employees, and has taken steps toward an adjudication of this point.

Public Opinion Registered by Voting Machines

Residents of Summit, New Jersey, were recently given an opportunity to express their opinions on two questions—one of local interest only; the other of national import. On March 31 and April 1, by means of two voting machines set up in the railroad station, commuters and others interested expressed their opinions as to whether there should be a redistribution of pupils to alleviate overcrowded conditions in the central high school and whether the navy should convoy shipments to Great Britain. The "noes" prevailed in both instances by margins of fifty-five and six votes respectively.

Merit System for Indiana and Kansas

Kansas became the twentieth state to adopt the merit system for its employees when the legislature passed a new state-wide civil service act just before adjourning on April 6. Indiana adopted a "state personnel merit system" in the previous month, thus becoming the nineteenth merit system state.[1]

A civil service law on the Kansas statute books has been inoperative for many years. The new law, which becomes effective June 1, covers all state agencies except the Department of Social Welfare, the Board of Health, and two other agencies, which already had established merit systems under the rules of the federal social security act. Exemptions from the classified service, however, include legal positions and state highway patrolmen (except for selection and appointment). Present employees must pass a qualifying examination and be approved by the appointing authority. Service to municipalities may be furnished on a cost basis. The Kansas act sets up a three-member board, appointed by the governor. The director is to be selected, without residence restriction, from the three highest candidates according to a special examination committee appointed by the board.

The legislatures of New Hampshire and Nebraska, according to the April *News Letter* of the Civil Service Assembly, have been considering state-wide merit system proposals; the Arizona, North Dakota, Oregon, and Washington legislative sessions ended without favorable action on pending civil service bills.

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[1] See also "Citizen Groups Coöperate to Pass Indiana Merit Bill," page 297, this issue.

State Reorganization Study for Montana

The legislature of Montana has adopted a state reorganization bill under which "the governor is authorized and directed, with the aid of an advisory committee and consultants, to make a comprehensive study and review of the entire organization structure of the state government, including every agency, for the purpose of developing and recommending a program of improvement and economy, making such changes as will serve to simplify and modernize the organization and procedure of the state and aid in securing the maximum return in public services for each dollar of state revenue."

The Governor's Committee on Reorganization and Economy consists of two senators, two representatives, and two other citizens, serving without compensation; it is to counsel and assist him in directing the study, determine what recommendations shall be put into effect, make a report to the legislature, and aid in publicizing the report and making the recommendations effective. The governor is empowered to employ an experienced organization to make the complete study, upon which a report is to be ready by November 15, 1942.

In view of the prospective survey the legislature killed several bills proposing organization changes or investigations, including civil service proposals recommended by Governor Ford and a study of public school finance. Likewise, action has been held up on a large number of definite recommendations of a joint Senate-House committee which reported various weaknesses in the state government and the need of thorough study.

Federal Merit System Adds 125,000

On April 23 approximately 125,000 more government employees were placed in the federal merit system, when President Roosevelt signed an executive order applying to higher administrative, professional, and technical posts as well as intermediate and lower positions, and, for the first time, to lawyers. The order was made possible by the Ramspeck act, and its application to lawyers represents an acceptance, with certain minor modifications, of a plan recommended by a majority of the Committee on Civil Service Improvement.[1]

Lawyers will be placed in an "unranked register" after passing examinations, thereby having equal opportunity to be appointed to positions. The President is to name a committee of lawyers to assist the Civil Service Commission in working out details of future recruiting of lawyers, to obtain the best talent available.

The Civil Service Commission is also to begin consultations with federal agencies to determine which positions should properly be exempt from civil service requirements because of their policy-determining character.

Including the number just added, Harry B. Mitchell, president of the Civil Service Commission, estimated that there are a million federal employees now under the merit system, nearly 400,000 more than eight years ago. Virtually all federal employees are said to be now under the merit system except those of the Work Projects Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and assistant United States attorneys.

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[1] See this Review, March 1941, page 164.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

YOU may have been mildly surprised that this column, after six months of scanning the civic horizon, no longer confines its remarks to the type of citizen organization that is interested solely in governmental affairs. . . . Our diligent searches through high stacks of printed material prove that organizations of all types are laying increased emphasis on the problems of citizenship and good government, a trend we think will interest you as much as it does us. So we'll continue to give as broad a civic picture as we can find in material from all parts of the country.

Citizenship Day or "I Am an American" Day (see page 198, April issue) will be here on May 18—just about the time this issue of the REVIEW reaches its readers. We hope next month to carry as complete a summary as we can of the various celebrations which are held. . . . Among the best preliminary material we have seen for the use of the new voters in the training period prior to the induction ceremony is the **Dane County (Wisconsin)** *A Guide for Young Voters*, issued by the central committee in charge of the program. . . . An outstanding job also has been done under the direction of the **Extension Division of the University of Illinois.** A complete outline has been prepared setting forth in detail the procedure to be followed by county and local units sponsoring the program. The division has also issued *Your Business as a Voter*, an excellent manual for the instruction of new voters who are to be inducted.

Essay contests are certainly not a new idea, but **Civitan International** has been active in their sponsorship for a good many years, and specifically in the civic field. The organization's annual contest, which is entered by thousands of high school students each year, carries three prizes of $100 each to be applied by the winners to the cost of going to college. The general topic on which students write is "Good Citizenship."

Frequently a community is in need of so many improvements and reforms that a citizen organization anxious to sponsor a specific project has difficulty in making a choice. And too often it chooses one which has very little popular support, with the result that it has the added task of educating the public to the value of whatever it is proposing. . . . To avoid just this situation, the **Junior Chamber of Commerce of the Tonawandas (New York)** conducted a comprehensive survey of public opinion by a door-to-door canvass before embarking on a civic betterment campaign. Consequently the organization is now prepared to launch several community projects with confidence that it is sponsoring what the public wants.

At the present time almost every citizen organization is turning its attention to some aspect of the national defense program and particularly its effect on the community. For those who have the responsibility for arranging discussion meetings (of almost any size) on defense subjects, the **American Association for Adult Education** has an excellent pamphlet entitled *Discussing Your Defense.*[1] It contains a list of suggested readings, instructions for the group leader, and other pertinent material.

The April issue of the **Maryland League of Women Voters** *Newsletter* announces that the **Montgomery League** in response to public demand is opening headquarters two mornings a week in the Public Library. Here is evidence of a citizen organization which has made a definite place for itself in the community.

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[1] This may be obtained for 10 cents from the association, 60 East 42nd Street, New York City.

As we look over the publications of the state **Leagues of Women Voters** we are impressed with the number of meetings and conferences they carry on in centers throughout the states. Apparently the women have the time—or make it—to attend frequent sessions which provide an excellent opportunity for them to discuss and exchange views with fellow-members on questions of state- or nation-wide interest.

The twelfth annual **Institute for Education by Radio**, which is sponsored by Ohio State University, was held at Columbus May 4-7. The purpose of the institute is to provide an opportunity for joint discussion by broadcasters, educators, and civic leaders of the problems of educational broadcasting. A wide variety of subjects was covered including broadcasting by women's organizations, by national organizations, public relations broadcasting by schools, and others.

Although election time is still more than six months away, New York City is full of political rumors and predictions. Not to be out of the stream, the **Citizens Union** has already formally notified Mayor LaGuardia that it intends to support him for nomination and election in November.

R.M.W.

Citizen Groups Cooperate To Pass Indiana Merit Bill

From the eighty-second session of the General Assembly of Indiana emerges one measure which is of great significance to the state. It has been familiarly known as "the institutions merit bill," and became a law without the Governor's signature. He could not bring himself to approve the method of appointment of the board provided in the measure, although he agreed with its general objectives.

About twenty-five hundred positions are thrown open to competitive examination by the act. Twenty-five hundred more positions in the state service already operate under the Indiana merit plan which also covers the personnel of the county departments of public welfare.

The measure was sponsored by the **Indiana Merit System Association**, a group of thirteen state-wide organizations banded together for the purpose of promoting the extension of the merit system. These organizations are: Junior Chamber of Commerce, Federation of Women's Clubs, Indiana District of Kiwanis International, League of Women Voters, Congress of Parents and Teachers, Indiana Academy of Social Sciences, Indiana Society for Mental Hygiene, Federation of Social Workers Clubs, American Association of University Women, Indiana State Conference on Social Work, Indiana Council on Crime and Delinquency, Civil Service Reform League, and Indiana Business and Professional Women. In addition the State Chamber of Commerce was very helpful and the Indiana Farm Bureau, the C. I. O., and the A. F. of L. sent representatives to several of the meetings.

Representatives of these organizations met together for three months prior to the opening of the legislature to discuss merit legislation and ways to focus effectively the mounting desire in the state to do away with political patronage in the appointment of state employees.

Mr. William J. Stout, of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, was made chairman; Mrs. Walter S. Greenough, vice-chairman; and Miss Mary Sinclair, secretary-treasurer. Eventually Miss Sinclair, the legislative secretary of the Indiana League of Women Voters, spent the major part of her time in piloting the merit bill through the legislature.

A great deal of thought and research went into the drafting of the measure. The model state civil service law, prepared by the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League, proved to be helpful. Experts in the field of public administration in the state gave tirelessly of their time. Not all recommendations were accepted by the Republican leaders who endorsed the act as fulfillment of the party's platform pledge to adopt the merit system. It was further amended by the General Assembly.

In large measure, however, the act as passed is sound and progressive. Given a good board and competent director, it should provide an up-to-date personnel administration for the departments and divisions affected.

Departments Involved

Included in the act is the personnel of the twenty state benevolent, correctional, and health institutions, excepting the chief administrative officer of each, and the Indiana Library and Historical Department.

One of the interesting problems was how to incorporate the new system with the merit system already in operation in the state at a minimum of expense and dislocation. The latter was known as the Indiana merit plan, and covered the personnel of the state and county Departments of Public Welfare and the Unemployment Compensation Division, including the Indiana Employment Service. These employees had been selected by examination, and had demonstrated fitness for their jobs. It seemed both unnecessary and unwise to disturb their status. So the act clearly states that those employees in any department or division who have been appointed under a merit system satisfactorily complying with the provisions of the act, may, upon approval of the board and the director, retain their positions without examination. Other sections of the act provide that federal regulations in regard to personnel shall prevail in those departments and divisions where federal aid is granted.

Provisions of Act

Briefly, the act provides for a state personnel board, and a state personnel director, and prescribes the methods of setting up a merit system for the selection and retention of personnel in the departments and divisions affected. The personnel board has four members.

The terms of the board members, after initial appointments, are for four years, one to be appointed each year. They shall be citizens of the state who are in sympathy with and have knowledge of the scientific application of merit principles to public appointment, and shall not be political party committee members or be candidates for or hold public office. Their compensation is three hundred dollars a year and necessary expenses. The board is designed to be policy-forming and three affirmative votes are required for the adoption or approval of any official action. The board appoints the director.

The personnel director is the chief administrative officer under the provisions of the act. He shall be "a person thoroughly familiar with the principles of and trained in the methods and techniques of public personnel administration on the merit basis," with at least two years successful experience in either a public or private organization. He himself shall be in the classified service and only subject to removal by the board for cause. The salary is to be not less than five thousand nor more than six thousand dollars.

Within one year after the act goes

into effect (May 1, 1941) the director must submit to the personnel board a classification plan for the positions affected. Twenty-five thousand dollars is provided for inaugurating the system and making the investigations upon which the classification plan is based. This sum should make it possible to employ an outside expert agency to make a careful and detailed study. The compensation plan is to be adopted in the same manner. After positions are assigned to their proper places, the director proceeds to hold competitive tests, and establish lists of those eligible for appointments, listing them in the order of their accrued grades. Thereafter all appointments must be made for these or similar lists.

Protection for Employees

Interests of employees are well safeguarded in the act. Employees are protected from dismissal for religious, racial, political, and social reasons, and are given the right to appeal to the state personnel board if they feel that they have been unfairly treated. They are protected from political interference, and may not solicit contributions nor be forced to contribute to political parties. They are given opportunity to advance in the service by in-service training programs and promotion tests.

A positive recruitment program to attract men and women of ability and character should, in the first place, bring in persons of high calibre. These provisions to give employees security as long as they do their jobs well, demotion or dismissal if they do them poorly, and advancement according to ability, should result in efficient service and high morale.

Katharine Croan Greenough
Indiana League of Women Voters

P.C.P.A. Carries On Thirty-five-Year Tradition

The Philadelphia Committee on Public Affairs, referred to locally as the P. C. P. A., occupies a unique place in the nation's third largest city. With a membership limited to fifty outstanding business and professional men, representing many different walks of life, it manages—sometimes, at least—to influence the course of public policy in a community of over two million people. At present, it is a voluntary association "of men interested in the improvement of civic conditions and the welfare of the city and county of Philadelphia and of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania," although originally active membership on the board or staff of some civic organization was a prerequisite to membership.

In one form or another, the committee has functioned for more than a third of a century. An attempt made in 1905 to sell the publicly owned Philadelphia Gas Works for a sum far below its real worth greatly aroused public opinion, and showed the need for an enlightened citizens' organization. The City Club—forerunner of the P. C. P. A.—was started by three men, Clarence L. Harper, Albert E. Turner, and Cyrus D. Foss, as a small luncheon group composed of men interested in public affairs. It grew gradually in size, its quarters expanding from a few rooms to a large club house which proved to be a major cause of its downfall in 1929.

The City Club had functioned through a number of committees, one of which was the Civic Affairs Committee; after the club ceased to exist, this committee[1] continued to meet weekly at lunch time. This was the beginning of the present P. C. P. A. The membership roll now includes many names long associated with the history of the city. Few of the original members have died; rarely do they resign unless they move away. Although few of the members have taken an active part in partisan politics, the roll includes many who now hold or have held important public office, not to mention the countless activities and memberships of its members in civic bodies.

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[1] Members of this committee at that time were: Henry Tatnall Brown, Albert Smith Faught, Joseph H. Hagedorn, Clarence L. Harper, Bernard J. Newman, Samuel B. Scott, Isaac C. Sutton, T. Henry Walnut, with Daniel R. Goodwin as acting chairman.

Among the former officeholders may be mentioned three members of the state Public Service Commission, two members of the state House of Representatives, two members of the Philadelphia Registration Commission, a chairman of the State Workmen's Compensation Board, and a director of the Bureau of Workmen's Compensation in the Department of Labor and Industry, a former city superintendent of schools, and many more.

Members in Public Office

Among those who are now serving in public office may be cited a member of the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission, a judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third Judicial District, the president of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education, the city treasurer and assistant city treasurer of Philadelphia, and the solicitor general of the United States.

The luncheon meetings last for one and a half hours, adjourning promptly at 2 P.M. The first meeting of each month is devoted to business; speakers —but no reporters—are present at all others. Since the members can be trusted to exercise discretion in repeating what they learn, state and city officials are only too glad to discuss their problems frankly with the group, and even to ask for suggestions.

The group functions with a delightful degree of informality There is no charter and no by-laws. The first and only rule of the committee is that there shall be no formal rules at all.

The fifty members are divided into twenty-five committees of two, and each of these committees is responsible for the programs of two meetings a year. Neither the speaker nor the subject of a meeting is announced in advance. The chairman presides at all meetings; the secretary records decisions made and includes mention thereof in the weekly letter to members.

Discussion is free, frank, and often heated. Decisions are never forced; the group acts only with substantial unanimity. While this practice sometimes slows up action, it does not prevent it, but it does prevent the development of cleavages among the members of the group. Members are expected to attend regularly, and most of them do.

The expenses of the committee are very light. There are no dues, but to meet necessary expenses for postage and mimeographing, members are assessed once or twice a year, never more than five dollars at a time. Since 1935 the committee has been the recipient, by court decree, of the income from a civic endowment fund formerly belonging to the City Club. This modest income is kept in a separate civic fund, and is used to finance civic work in keeping with the general purposes set forth in the trust agreement. This makes possible weekly reports on the action of the City Council, and during legislative sessions, a weekly review of state legislation, by an able staff member of the Bureau of Municipal Research. This review is mimeographed and furnished to members of the committee and to other interested persons.

The organization functions through a series of standing and special committees. Standing committees are maintained on civic affairs, municipal finance and taxation, membership, recommendations (for appointment to public office), and publicity, but many special committees are appointed by the chairman to study important subjects and report back to the body.

The Committee on Civic Affairs has of late been especially active. During the past year carefully prepared statements have been approved and given publicity on water and sewage loans totalling $60,000,000, on low-rent housing, and on a legislative program for the 1941 session of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.

For several years the P. C. P. A. has coöperated during legislative sessions in staging a weekly Friday conference on legislative problems. A special committee in the fall of 1940 prepared, in coöperation with the representatives of seven other civic organizations in the city, a report on candidates for public office, comparable to those long issued by the Citizens Union in New York. The Committee on Recommendations keeps watch of vacancies in the judiciary and elsewhere, and from time to time submits its suggestions to the whole committee; these, when approved by the committee, are transmitted to the proper appointing authorities for their consideration.

It is difficult to appraise fairly and accurately the influence and significance of the P. C. P. A. Its long-time influence in the community is probably far greater than many of the members realize; on the other hand, the temptation to members to take themselves too seriously is frequently checked by current failures. Certain it is that the group represents a type of sincere and disinterested public service which is indispensable to the progress of any enlightened community seeking to make democracy work more effectively.

W. Brooke Graves
Temple University

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

North Dakota Provides for County Reorganization

Manager plan prescribed in two of three optional charters

BY ONE optional law providing for disorganization of counties and three others providing optional forms of county government, the legislature of North Dakota has attempted to provide governmental structures to meet the needs of the entire state ranging from the areas most sparsely populated to those most highly urbanized. These laws are in conformity with the constitutional amendment ratified by the voters last June.[1]

The county disorganization law is very similar to that enacted by the legislature in 1939. It applies only to counties of less than 4,000 population (of which there are five). Twenty per cent of the voters may petition for a referendum on the subject which will then be placed on the ballot in the following state-wide election unless such election should occur within ninety days of the filing of the petition. The state examiner is required to make an audit of the petitioning county and file a report in the county auditor's office. If the proposition receives a 55 per cent favorable vote, the governor proclaims the county to be disorganized as of the following January first. Also he designates the county to which the disorganized county shall become attached, unless the boards of commissioners of the disorganized county and of an adjoining county already have come to an agreement on this point.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, November 1939, page 769; August 1940, page 559; and October 1940, page 694.

The unorganized county loses all judicial, record, and taxing functions, but it does not lose its identity as a legislative district. None of its obligations, however, is transferred to the organized county, but are paid out of its taxes and assets. All offices in unorganized counties are abolished and their functions transferred to comparable offices in the annexing county. The organized county becomes the trustee for the unorganized, levying its taxes, administering its debts, and supplying whatever public services are considered still necessary.

The optional "consolidated office form" of county government provides a solution less drastic than disorganization but still permits county offices to be reduced to a minimum. The initiative petition must be signed by at least 40 per cent of the voters and then is placed on the ballot in the next regular primary or general election. If adopted by a 55 per cent vote, it becomes effective the following January first. It provides that the auditor shall be the chief administrative officer of the county and shall assume the duties of the county judge, register of deeds, and clerk of district court. It provides also that the Board of Commissioners shall appoint the auditor, attorney, sheriff, treasurer, superintendent of schools, coroner, four justices of peace, and four constables. The board may designate the sheriff, attorney, and superintendent of schools of an adjoining county to serve on a part-time basis allowing them additional compensation for this purpose. The offices of public administrator and surveyor are abolished.

Two Manager Charters

The "short form of county managership" provides somewhat more governmental machinery while the "county manager form" is the most elaborate plan offered to counties. Either plan may be initiated by petitions bearing signatures of 35 per cent of the voters or by a majority vote of the full Board of County Commissioners. The proposal is then placed on the ballot in the following primary or general election where it must receive a 55 per cent affirmative vote. If adopted the board is obligated to appoint a full-time manager to be the administrative head of the county. He need not be a resident of the county, and incumbents in elective office including board members are ineligible. The manager is given full power to appoint and remove his subordinates, and any interference by board members is deemed a misdemeanor. The appointment of the county attorney, however, requires the endorsement of the board.

Duties of Managers

Although the manager is removable at the pleasure of the board, he is entitled to written charges and a hearing. He has the usual managerial duties of attending meetings of the board, executing its resolutions and orders, making monthly reports, preparing the budget, etc. He assumes most of the functions of the county auditor, but provision is made also for an annual independent audit.

All employees are placed on salary, and all fees are turned into the county treasury.

The superintendent of schools and county judge continue to be elected biennially. The offices of clerk of district court and justices of peace are abolished, and their functions transferred to the county judge.

In the "short form of county managership" the manager may assume the duties of or appoint the tax collector, treasurer, and purchasing agent. He assumes the duties of the register of deeds, coroner, public administrator, and surveyor. The office of sheriff is abolished, and the manager may either appoint police officers or contract for the services of the sheriff of an adjoining county. Constables are abolished and their functions given to such police or sheriff.

In the "county manager form" there are created the departments of finance, public works, and public welfare, and the Board of Commissioners and manager are given the option of creating further departments as needs arise. The manager can designate himself as head of a department or appoint one individual to administer two departments if the board gives its approval. The director of finance assumes the duties of or appoints the tax collector, treasurer, and purchasing agent. He assumes the duties of the register of deeds and in part the duties of the auditor. The director of public works has charge of roads and bridges, public buildings, equipment, and supplies. The office of surveyor is abolished and its functions transferred to the department of public works. The director of public welfare administers the usual welfare functions. The sheriff remains elective and assumes the duties of the abolished coroner and constables. The office of public administrator is abolished, and the functions transferred to persons appointed by the county judge.

After a county has operated at least four years under the "short form of county managership" or the "county manager form," 25 per cent of the voters may petition at least ninety days before a primary election to return to the former plan of county government, and the change will be made if the proposal receives a 55 per cent affirmative vote in the primary election.

Manager Plan Recommended by Survey for Maryland County

The Brookings Institution's survey of Montgomery County, Maryland, under the direction of Dr. Lewis Meriam, was made public March 15. Among its recommendations the survey included: (1) substitution of a county council for the present five commissioners and divorcement of the council from all administrative duties; (2) engagement of a county manager for supervision of administration; (3) inauguration of a merit system to include all county departments; (4) establishment of nonpartisan elections with nomination by petition; and (5) creation of a county controller to do all accounting and to preaudit all expenditures.

The survey also recommended that the county should be brought within the limited home rule provisions of the state constitution. This would avoid the necessity of appealing to the legislature for needed charter changes.

The Brookings staff criticized the administration of some offices because of their purely political basis, lack of professional personnel standards, and inadequacies revealed in the system of records and in reporting methods. Criticism was directed also to the fact that 85.7 per cent of the bonds issued in the last five years were for refunding purposes.

Montgomery County's government shows unmistakably the patching effects of Maryland's system of local legislation whereby county government is controlled by the county delegation to the biennial state legislative sessions. There has been no systematic overhauling or comprehensive reorganization of the county government within modern times.

Its tax and administrative pattern is much confused by the existence of twelve incorporated towns, eleven village tax areas, seven special tax areas, and three regional districts, each of which is likewise regulated and controlled by special local legislation.

In submitting the report, Dr. Meriam explained that many of the recommendations might be too radical to permit their being put into effect at once or even in the immediate future but that the report was intended as a comprehensive survey of the county's affairs and as an outline of a model county government toward which county residents might work.

Howard M. Kline

University of Maryland

Oregon Manager Amendment Fails

A House joint resolution to amend the constitution of Oregon to provide for county manager government has failed of adoption. The county committees of both houses recommended the resolution for passage. It was accepted by the House of Representatives on February 11, but later failed of passage in the Senate.

Indiana Legislation Affecting Counties

The eighty-second regular session of the Indiana General Assembly adjourned March 10, bringing to a close one of the most hectic sessions in Indiana legislative history. One of the most interesting of the new county laws provides for the addition of $400 to the salaries of county auditors in all counties with a population under 75,000, excluding only six urban counties which come under a previous re-classification. The county auditor is playing an increasingly important rôle in county affairs throughout the state, and in many counties he is approaching the stature of a county executive. The auditor by virtue of being clerk of the Commissioner's Court often becomes the administrative agent of the board, and in many instances performs valuable coördinating functions.

The Assembly made it mandatory that the county board appropriate poor relief funds in the same manner as other township funds and that such funds be included in the annual budget. Formerly funds often became depleted long before the close of the fiscal year, and frequently, when the county auditor allowed claims after the township money was gone, the advisory board would refuse to allow a township appropriation to reimburse the county. In the future it will be unlawful for the auditor to allow poor relief orders in excess of the amount appropriated except in case of emergencies. The provision that the State Board of Accounts shall adopt standard forms should aid in alleviating the frequent chaotic conditions of township poor relief administration.

A bill providing for the abolition of townships having less than $500,000 valuation failed to become a law largely because of the rush to get certain state bills through in the latter days of the session. Approximately one-tenth of the state's 1,016 townships would have been included in this classification. Some rural townships in southern Indiana are able to support schools and other governmental services, for example, only because of large state subsidies.

Since there is much submarginal land and state and federal forest areas in the southern sections, a law was passed giving the county commissioners authority to redefine township boundaries on petition of 35 per cent of the resident freeholders where the federal or state government has taken over parts of the township for public use.

Under a new liquor control act, county boards are given final authority to issue retail liquor permits and tavern licenses. Formerly the State Alcoholic Commission had final authority. There was a movement for local option but this was the only step taken in that direction.

A new method of distributing the state-collected gas tax increases the total county allotment. The flat sum of $12,200,000 is to be distributed to counties on the basis of total vehicular miles within each county. Cities and towns also were granted increases. The amount accruing to the state for the construction and maintenance of state highways is correspondingly reduced. There was no stipulation increasing state control or imposing limitations on counties as conditions to receipt of the increases in shared taxes.

Local Laws

A law applying only to Marion County (Indianapolis) abolishes the archaic fee system, provides that all fees collected shall go into the county general fund, and increases the maximum salaries that can be paid elective officials.

A second local law authorizes Allen (Fort Wayne) and Vanderburgh (Evansville) Counties to create, operate, and maintain purchasing agencies after the Board of Commissioners, with the advice and assistance of the auditor, has prescribed the field of activity of the agency; provided, however, that all purchases of supplies and equipment shall be made only after due notice.

The Republican legislature passed a law over the Democratic governor's veto which creates bipartisan county voter registration boards in Marion and six other of the largest counties in the state. These boards are to consist of two members appointed by the circuit court judge upon recommendation of the Republican and Democratic county chairmen. This removes from the county clerk sole authority over registrations and the collection of fees attached thereto.

Gail M. Morris
Indiana University

Civil Service Commission of San Diego County Reports

The Civil Service Commission of San Diego County, California, in a report issued recently, demonstrates by its accomplishments what can be done in applying the merit system to county government. In the past year it has studied 90 per cent of the county departments in order to classify positions on the basis of functions and of minimum qualifications of incumbents. Through reclassification many unnecessary classes were abolished while others were defined with greater precision. Compensation rates were adjusted following a survey of comparable positions in private employment.

Sixty examinations were conducted of which eleven were for higher positions. In eight examinations the commission utilized the technical assistance of the State Personnel Board. Motion pictures were used with success to test the observation and memory of candidates for positions in the offices of sheriff and coroner. The commission continued to permit written examinations to be administered anywhere in the United States.

The commission conducted both noon and evening training classes for county employees, and 315 atttended the thirteen courses covering machine calculation, botany, shorthand, public relations, police methods, and office training. Classes were used also to train rating officers who are required to rate employees every six months under the Probst system. Ratings were used as the basis of both promotions and dismissals, but the employee always was given the right to appeal his rating. Of the 122 individuals who were separated from the service, three retired, thirteen died, and twenty were dismissed for unsatisfactory service. Only one dismissal was overruled by the commission.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Property Tax Collections "Normal" in 1940

Annual survey shows drop in tax delinquency at end of 1940

THE year 1940 saw a further trend toward normalcy in the collection of general property taxes. Median current year-end delinquency for 150 cities of over 50,000 population dropped .55 from 1939 to 8.70 per cent of the levy, as compared with 10.15 per cent in 1930, while the median collection of total current and delinquent taxes for 100 cities was just over the levy at 100.7 per cent.

The median current delinquency for 1940 approximated the best records for the 1920's, according to the annual tax delinquency survey of Dr. Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research for Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.[1] Four cities of northern California, San Jose, Fresno, San Francisco, and Berkeley, again led the list of municipalities closing their 1940 fiscal years with not more than 5 per cent of the year's levy uncollected, the ratios standing respectively at 0.6, 1.0, 1.2, and 1.4 per cent. Other cities among the first ten, each with a year-end delinquency under 2 per cent, were Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama; Oakland and Sacramento, California; Peoria, Illinois; and Jackson, Mississippi.

Total current and delinquent tax collections in 100 cities for the 1940 fiscal year ranged from a low of 82.0 per cent to a high of 118.6 per cent, with the median standing at 100.7 per cent. The median total collection ratio for 1939 had been 100.8. Whereas in 1939, however, 71 of the cities had collected within 5 per cent of the levy, in 1940 total collections came within this range in 84 of the cities. This contrasted with the situation in 1937, when some cities collected over 140 per cent of the levy, and 34 of the 100 cities collected in excess of 105 per cent of their levies.

Bronxville Publishes Preliminary Budget

For the first time citizens of the village of Bronxville, located in Westchester County, New York, could attend the annual budget hearing armed with something besides good intentions. Under a new policy, printed copies of the preliminary budget which was considered at the hearing were prepared and distributed to every household in the village by the Board of Village Trustees.

In a message on the cover of the distributed pamphlet the village trustees state: "This is the complete budget that will be discussed at public hearing. . . . It is hoped that the new policy of publishing the complete budget prior to the hearing will increase the interest of property owners of Bronxville in village affairs."

New Records for Kentucky Counties

The Kentucky Department of Revenue recently prescribed a modern system of records for counties and advised that it would aid such counties as wished immediately to make an installation.

The announced policy will be to initiate the new system only as the state officials can supply service to assure each local government's getting properly under way. After initial assistance, the department contemplates sending its experts periodically to each county undertaking to keep the complete records, so that local officials may avoid procedural errors that might embarrass them and damn the record-keeping plan.

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[1] *Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930-40.* Frederick L. Bird. Municipal Service Department, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., New York City.

The new accounts will give counties control over their budgets on the basis of accruing expenses when funds are encumbered—not when disbursements are made. Through local reports, the Department of Revenue will be able also to maintain a periodic check of budget operations on a more satisfactory basis than has been possible under the cash records heretofore common.

James W. Martin, *Director*

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

States Grant Tax Concessions to Defense Contractors

The example set by the federal government, in granting special tax concessions to defense contractors by allowing accelerated depreciation rates on special defense facilities built or acquired, has been followed by sixteen states, according to a recent announcement of the Federation of Tax Administrators.

A speeding up of defense production by off-setting risks involved in constructing facilities which may be useless in peace times is the purpose of such allowances. The special rates will reduce corporate income taxes paid by defense contractors since depreciation allowance is included among deductions from total income in determining the amount of taxable net income.

Under federal regulations, defense contractors may secure a certificate—from the War or Navy Department, the Treasury, and the National Defense Advisory Commission—to the effect that the facilities he proposes to build or acquire are necessary for emergency defense purposes. With such certificate the contractor may amortize the cost of the facilities at the rate of 20 per cent yearly.

States which have indicated that the same privilege will be extended under their income tax to contractors holding defense certificates include Arkansas, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New York, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

South Dakota has indicated it will grant the privilege when a specific case arises for consideration. Three other states—Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Vermont—are among those which use the net income tax and, therefore, may be listed among the states where special allowances may be obtained.

Legislative action may be necessary to make the concession in some states, including California, Maryland, and Minnesota. The Utah Tax Commission has recommended that the legislature consider amendments to the state income tax law to provide for the allowance.

Kentucky Rules on Tax Exemptions for School Boards

In two recent cases—*Board of Education of Kenton County* v. *J. Dan Talbott* and *Board of Education of Kenton County* v. *Commonwealth of Kentucky ex rel. Martin*—the Kentucky Court of Appeals has made applications of the state constitution which appear to be of long-range significance. Although a number of issues were raised in the litigation, only two seem to have large constitutional meaning.

The state gasoline tax act does not provide for the exemption of county, municipal, or school district purchases; but the Kenton County Board of Education contended that a statutory provision was not important, since the constitution clearly supplied the basis for exemption. The school district, therefore, imported certain motor fuel for operating school busses and declined to pay the tax. The commissioner of finance, on certification of the liability by the Department of Revenue, withheld from the state appropriation for the district the amount necessary to satisfy the fuel tax liability. The school district brought equity proceedings to require payment by the commissioner of finance; but, owing to constitutional technicalities, the commissioner of revenue deemed it necessary, also, to file suit directly against the district board. The two cases were consolidated for purposes of Court of Appeals consideration.

Schools Must Pay Tax

The first issue of major significance arises from a provision in the exemption section of the constitution—quoted in the opinion as follows: " . . . public property used for public purposes, . . . institutions of purely public charity and institutions of education not used or employed for gain by any person or corporation and the income of which is devoted solely to the cause of education." Counsel for the commonwealth had contended that earlier decisions erroneously applied the last part of this provision to excise and license taxes and insisted, on the ground that the provision referred to property taxes alone, the ruling should be repudiated. It was pointed out, however, that municipal corporations were subject to the gasoline tax and that school districts being quasi-municipal corporations fall into the same category. The latter viewpoint was sustained by the court.

Section 184 of the constitution provides that "any sum which may be produced by taxation or otherwise for purposes of common school education shall be appropriated to the common school and to no other purpose." The school district argued that in view of this provision no funds in its possession could properly be employed in payment of motor fuel taxes. The court took the position, however, that the school board was authorized by law to meet the normal expenses of educational service within the district. One type of service legally regarded as essential in Kentucky is provision for the transportation of pupils to and from school. Some school districts meet this problem by entering into a contract with a private transporter who, as a matter of course, must bear gasoline taxes. Other districts provide busses directly at public expense. The court adopted the view that in any case the total cost of providing the transportation service included both that for busses and that for road service. The method of providing the latter in Kentucky is through imposition of a gasoline tax which, for this purpose, is a means whereby part of the expense of road service is collected from all those who engage in transportation. Thus the statutory requirement that school districts pay gasoline tax when fuel is purchased directly by the school district does not violate the provisions of section 184.

Statute Provision

A third issue which may have long-range significance in respect of statutory construction is whether or not the statute, in order to apply to school districts and other municipal corporations, must expressly so provide. The court holds that this is not necessary.

Mr. Justice Thomas wrote a vigorous dissenting opinion in which he takes issue with the majority on all three points considered here. Some of both opinions leave a good deal to be desired from the point of view of completeness, but only one illustration need be cited. Judge Thomas suggests, " . . . machinery does exist for exempting the United States government and here it may be observed that there is no such exemption stated in the statute. It is not necessary, for a statute imposing such an excise tax and containing no specific provision for exemption could not be enforced as to a sale to the United States government." The justice appears to have overlooked section 4281g-10 of the Kentucky statutes which apparently attempts to exempt fuel sold to the United States government. More seriously still, he seems to overlook the language of Mr. Justice Frankfurter in *Graves et al.* v. *New York ex rel. O'Keefe,* 306 U. S. 466, at page 490: "Failure to exempt public functionaries from the universal duties of citizenship to pay the costs of government was hypothetically transmuted into hostile action of one government against the other. A succession of decisions thereby withdrew from the taxing power of the states and the nation a very considerable range of wealth without regard to the actual workings of our federalism (citing, among other decisions, that relied on by Judge Thomas, *The Panhandle Oil Company* v. *Mississippi,* 277 U. S. 281, 222). . . . These decisions have encountered increasing dissent. . . . In this court dissents have gradually become majority opinions, and even before the present decision the rationale of the doctrine had been undermined."

James W. Martin

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Proportional Representation
Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Proposals in Three States

Further News from Australia Changes in the P. R. League

THOMAS H. MAHONY, chairman of the Citizens Committee for Proportional Representation in Boston, has had introduced once more in the Massachusetts legislature, with increased support, his bill to extend P. R. to Boston. The bill gives Boston the same right to adopt P. R. for its city council, by petition and popular vote, which is now enjoyed by all other Massachusetts cities.

A public hearing was held on April 7, at which the Boston Chamber of Commerce, the Boston Central Labor Union, the State and Boston Leagues of Women Voters, and the Associated Women's Clubs, with a membership of about 80,000, were all put on record in favor of the bill. Speakers for it also included Henry Shattuck, temporary president of Harvard and a member of the Boston City Council; Clement A. Norton, a member of the Boston School Committee, former member of the Council, and prospective candidate for mayor; Mrs. Andrew J. Peters, wife of former Mayor Peters; and Mr. Mahony, who made the opening address. No residents of Boston appeared in opposition, but Lewis Jerome Johnson, professor emeritus of engineering at Harvard, and his son Chandler W. Johnson, both proponents of P.R., opposed the bill on the ground that Boston should not be permitted to adopt P.R. without the city manager plan.

On the same day a hearing was held

on a bill introduced in the Senate by Miss Edna Spencer of Cambridge (private citizens can have bills introduced in the Massachusetts legislature) to repeal Chapter 54A of the General Laws, the statute making P.R. available for cities and towns which the Mahony bill seeks to amend. This bill was supported by E. Mark Sullivan, a former corporation counsel of Boston. It was opposed by all those appearing for the Mahony bill and also by Chandler Johnson.

Miss Spencer also has a bill to repeal "Plan E," the combination of P. R. and the city manager plan now optional for all cities except Boston and recently adopted by Cambridge. The repeal was strongly opposed at a hearing on March 24 by Frederick D. Griggs of the Springfield Taxpayers' Association, representing the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations, Miss Amelia W. Fisher of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, Chandler W. Johnson and Herman C. Loeffler of the Cambridge Committee for Plan E, and others.

New Jersey Proposals

On March 11 Senator Crawford Jamiesen of Mercer County re-introduced his two P. R. bills in the New Jersey legislature. One would set up a standard set of P.R. rules in the election law for adoption by reference; the other would make P. R. the standard method of electing the council in municipalities adopting the manager plan. There is special interest in these bills in Newark, where the strong Citizens Union under the leadership of Edward Fenias has been advocating the P. R.–city manager combination for local adoption.

There is much discussion also of using P. R. for the election of a state constitutional convention, which has become a practical possibility because of the strong advocacy of a convention by Governor Edison. The *Asbury Park Evening Press* said editorially on February 14:

> It will be inevitable that as the campaign for a constitutional convention grows politicians will formulate plans for packing the delegates so as to be sure of framing a new constitution of their own design. For that reason the average citizen must be alert to his interests and firm in the demand that delegates be chosen by proportional representation or a similar method of assuring representation for all groups.

Former Assemblyman Theron McCampbell of Holmdel, Monmouth County, has been urging P. R. repeatedly for all representative elections in a column in the same newspaper. Trenton newspapers are supporting P. R. also.

Dunkirk May Vote on P. R.

Dunkirk, on Lake Erie, with a population of 17,713 according to the 1940 census, may be the next city in New York State to follow New York City and Yonkers in the adoption of P. R. A regularly constituted charter commission has drafted a new charter based on the city manager plan with a council elected by P. R. and has asked the council to submit it at a special election. The council has declined, contending that part of the proposed charter relating to tax collection is illegal, but may be compelled by court order.

Delay in South Australia

Because of the illness of one of the members, the scant majority which carried on second reading Mr. E. J. Craigie's bill in the South Australia House of Assembly, to prescribe P. R. for future elections of both houses of the provincial legislature,[1] was no longer available for final passage. The bill was therefore allowed to lapse at the end of the session. Mr. Craigie hopes to re-introduce it at the first favorable opportunity.

P. R. League Offers to Enroll N. M. League Members

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League, Inc., have approved a proposal to invite all regular members of the National Municipal League to become members of the P. R. League without additional payment of dues.

At the time when the P. R. League merged its staff and work with those of the National Municipal League in 1932, the official membership of the P. R. League was frozen as of that date, but with permission for the trustees to admit others at their discretion. There has been no attempt to expand the P. R. membership, since P. R. activities have been carried forward as an integral part of the National Municipal League's work and P. R. League activity as such has been largely confined to an official membership meeting at the time of the National Municipal League's Conference on Government once a year.

As time has gone on, however, many new figures have appeared in the ranks of active proportionalists and the official membership of the P. R. League has become less and less representative of the forces actually working for P. R.

The trustees of the P. R. League have therefore decided to issue a cordial invitation to all members of the National Municipal League in good standing to become enrolled as members of the P. R. League also, with the right to vote in case any question of P. R. League policy should arise for the members to decide. Though special contributions for the P. R. work are always most welcome and helpful, no additional dues will be required. Membership once established will be continued indefinitely, in the absence of further instructions, so long as the member continues to be a member in good standing of the National Municipal League.

Those wishing to be enrolled as P. R. League members should notify Elsie S. Parker (who is assistant secretary and, by recent action of the trustees, treasurer of the P. R. League) at the National Municipal League office, 299 Broadway, New York.

Changes in the P. R. Council

A vacancy in the Advisory Council of the P. R. League, a group of fifty-three prominent citizens elected from time to time by the trustees to act as advisers and sponsors of the P. R. movement in this country, has been filled by the election and gratifying acceptance of William Jay Schieffelin.

Dr. Schieffelin, chairman of the Citizens Union of the City of New York, has been in the forefront of P. R. activities in New York since before the first recommendation of P. R. for that city by an official charter commission in 1922, including the successful defense of P. R. against a Tammany attack at the polls last fall. His acceptance fills one of the places on the council left vacant by the deaths of Glenn Frank, former president of the University of Wisconsin, and Joseph M. Dixon, former Governor of Montana.

We regret to report that a new vacancy has just been created by the death on April 23, at the age of 80, of Charles Edward Russell of Washington, D. C., author, newspaper editor and publisher, civic crusader, and humanitarian. Mr. Russell was a rightwing Socialist and was twice the party's candidate for governor of New York and once each for United States senator and for mayor of New York City, but declined the presidential nomination in 1916. During the World War he broke with the party and served in diplomatic and industrial posts under President Wilson. He was one of the early advocates of proportional representation and has been a member of the P. R. League's council continuously since 1919.

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[1] See January 1941 REVIEW, page 58.

P. R. League Officers

The present roster of the officers and Advisory Council members of the P. R. League is as follows:

President: A. R. Hatton, Evanston, Illinois
Vice Presidents:
  Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia
  John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.
  Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington, D. C.
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Executive Secretary: George H. Hallett, Jr., New York City
Field Secretary: Walter J. Millard, Cincinnati, Ohio
Treasurer and Assistant Secretary: Elsie S. Parker, New York City
Honorary Vice Presidents:
  John H. Humphreys, London, Secretary of the P. R. Society of Great Britain
  The Right Honorable Lord Parmoor, K.C.V.O., England
  Ronald Hooper, St. James, Manitoba, Canada

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Harold S. Buttenheim, New York City
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*Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia
Charles H. Woodward, Philadelphia

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

State-Local Fiscal Relations in Illinois. Edited by Simeon E. Leland. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. xxi, 453 pp. $2.

This volume is a symposium by nine persons, edited by Professor Leland, who contributed an interesting introductory chapter on "Some Observations on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relationships." It is really a case study of the financial problems of the state of Illinois, until recently controlled by an agricultural economy but now struggling to meet the needs of rapidly expanding industrialism. The project was largely financed by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, while much of the raw material was furnished by the Illinois Tax Commission.

The study opens with a discussion of local government organization and state supervision in Illinois. The second part sets forth at some length the various types of state financial assistance to local education, highways, welfare, and relief. The problems of state financial control as they relate to local budgets, accounting, auditing, reporting, revenue assessment and collection, and indebtedness are outlined in the third part. The general findings are set forth in the last part, in which Mr. Jacoby ably presents the highlights of the study. The principal conclusion reached is the urgent need for "an expansion of both financial responsibility and administrative effort on the part of the state government."

The study shows abundant evidences of extensive research into the various local governments of the state, and is fully supported by tabular matter and documented references. It furnishes a good example of what may be done in other states as a means of reaching some conclusions respecting state-local fiscal relations. State and local officials, as well as others, who are looking for some rational approach to the problems and financing of local governments would do well to peruse this study with care.

A. E. Buck

Institute of Public Administration

Democracy and Proportional Representation. By F. A. Hermens. Chicago, University of Chicago Press (Public Policy Pamphlet No. 31), 1940. v, 39 pp. 25 cents.

Proportional Representation — The Key to Democracy. By George H. Hallett, Jr. New York City, National Municipal League (second and revised edition), 1940. xiv, 177 pp. 25 cents.

Professor Hermens has become the leading pamphleteer against proportional representation in the United States. His latest attack is based primarily upon his thesis that "the majority system, instead of providing for tyranny by a majority, operates as a mechanism of integration, which benefits majority and minority alike. On the other hand, P. R. is an instrument of disintegration. Instead of merely reflecting existing political divisions it intensifies those which exist. . . ." In his zeal to support this argument, Mr. Hermens would evidently have us reappraise Tammany Hall, for example, as "a mechanism of integration." To the reviewer, this seems more political mythology than political theory. Tammany Hall and its prototypes are instruments of integration only in the sense of Hitler's *Gleitscheltung.* The majority system has its virtues, but "integration" is one of the most dubious benefits which it brought as an electoral system in cities such as Cincinnati and New York.

To bolster the second step of his thesis—that proportional representation is an instrument of disintegration—Mr. Hermens makes a wide excursion into recent European experience. His argument that the rise of Hitler and Mussolini was the result of the operations of proportional representation is one of the least convincing explanations this reviewer has seen of the roots of modern dictatorship.

But even this is overshadowed when Mr. Hermens comes to a discussion of P. R. in American cities. For example, he implies (page 36) that had it not been for proportional representation Fusion would have captured the Council in the New York City election of 1937. This implication is made in the face of the fact that Tammany's allies elected 80 per cent of the state assemblymen and 87 per cent of the city's delegates to the state constitutional convention, as well as every county office within the city except the office of district attorney in Manhattan. Again (page 37), Mr. Hermens uses some strange arithmetic to arrive at a fantastic figure for the cost of the first proportional representation election in New York City. Mr. Hermens also attempts to show that P. R. results in a decline in votes. He cites the 1939 New York City election as well as Cleveland and Toledo to make his point. This claim is made in the face of the plain fact that in 1937 the vote for councilmen exceeded the largest vote ever cast for aldermen by more than 100,000, and that in Cleveland the P. R. votes rose to a higher level than the votes under the majority system.

Mr. Hallett's second and revised edition is in the same careful and scholarly tradition as the first edition. It is true that Mr. Hallett does not quite prove that proportional representation is *the* key to democracy, but he makes out a carefully reasoned claim for its being one of the most important keys. His style is lucid, his facts carefully assembled, his tone of presentation moderate and convincing. His volume ranks as the most thorough, up-to-date exposition of proportional representation principles and practices in the United States.

WALLACE S. SAYRE
Civil Service Commissioner
New York City

Police Systems in the United States. By Bruce Smith. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1940. xx, 384 pp. $4.

This volume is addressed both to the thoughtful student of public administration and to those many citizens who are looking for intelligent information in matters pertaining to police practices. It contains a complete analysis and appraisal of all angles of American police systems. In it the author traces the origin and development of the various types of police agencies, exposes their strong and weak points, explains their interrelations and their rôle in modern society. The author's intimate contact with police problems over the last twenty years and his familiarity with the devices used to solve them make the book an authoritative reference on current practice.

Taxation and Fiscal Policy. By Mabel Newcomer. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1940. ix, 89 pp. $1.25.

The five essays comprising this little volume are, according to its author, "designed for readers with no specialized training in government finance." Dr. Newcomer has definitely succeeded in presenting her material in a manner calculated to interest and inform the layman. A short bibliographical note mentions a few authoritative references for those interested in pursuing the subject further.

Presidential Leadership. By Pendleton Herring. New York City, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1940. xiv, 173 pp. $1.50.

The office of president of the United States and his rôle as leader of the nation have been more and more emphasized in the light of recent world events. Dr. Pendleton presents here a discussion of the presidential rôle and the relations of president and Congress, and seeks to answer the question as to whether our system of separation of powers, as between the president and Congress, is compatible with the need for authority. Appendices cover a listing of the war powers of the president and name the presidential cabinets from Abraham Lincoln to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Additional Books and Reports

Housing

A Citizen's Guide to Public Housing. By Catherine Bauer. Poughkeepsie, New York, Vassar College, 1940. 90 pp. 60 cents.

Housing for Defense. A Review of the Rôle of Housing in Relation to America's Defense and a Program for Action. The Factual Findings by Miles L. Colean; The Program by The Housing Committee. New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1940. xx, 198 pp. $1.50.

Housing—the Continuing Problem. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1940. 60 pp. 10 cents.

Real Property Survey and Low Income Housing Survey, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Philadelphia Housing Authority, 1940. 151 pp.

Vladeck Houses—A Lesson in Neighborhood History. New York City Housing Authority, 1940. 16 pp.

Municipal Insurance

Municipal Insurance Practices in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1940. 22 pp. mimeo.

The Purchase of Fire Insurance. Report to the Board of Directors of The City and County Economy Association. By Max P. Heavenrich, Jr. Superior, Wisconsin, City and County Economy Association, 1940. 16 pp. mimeo.

Personnel

Coördinated In-Service Training in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1940. 19 pp. mimeo.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, and neighborhood improvement, including the principal papers delivered at the National Conference on Planning, held at San Francisco, California, July 8-11, 1940, and the nineteenth national Conference on State Parks, held in Illinois and Indiana, May 12-16, 1940. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1940. x, 278 pp. $3.

Public Administration

Public Administration Organizations. A Directory of Unofficial Organizations in the Field of Public Administration in the United States and Canada. Chicago, Public Administration Clearing House, 1941. xi, 187 pp. $1.50.

State Government

Claims Against the State. Adjustment and Allowance of Claims Against the State of Kansas; Claims Practices in Other States; and Application of Possible Procedures to the Kansas Situation. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1940. x, 31 pp. mimeo.

Political and Administrative Reform in the 1940 Legislature. By Charles S. Hyneman. University, Bureau of Government Research, Louisiana State University, 1940. 54 pp. 25 cents (10 cents for each additional copy).

Public Administration and State Government in Utah. By G. Homer Durham. Logan, Utah State Agricultural College, 1940. 40 pp. mimeo.

State Publications in Nebraska. Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1940. 33 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Cost of Government in Indiana. Indianapolis, Indiana Taxpayers Association, 1940. 121 pp. mimeo.

Fiscal Policies of the State of Texas with Suggested Changes. By George C. Hester. San Antonio, Texas State Manufacturers Association, 1941. 42 pp.

Michigan Retail Sales and Use Taxes. By Robert S. Ford and E. Fenton Shepard. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1941. viii, 154 pp. 75 cents.

Tax-Exempt Securities. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 12 pp. 25 cents.

The Place of Illinois in a Rational Scheme of Tax Reform. By Paul Haensel. Evanston, Chandler's Bookstore, 1941. 35 pp. 75 cents.

Traffic Control

Roadside Control. By Robert R. Bowie. Baltimore, Research Division, Maryland Legislative Council, 1940. viii, 65 pp. mimeo.

These Roads Called Streets. The Problem of Town and City Street Construction and Maintenance in North Carolina; How It Affects the Taxpayers and Motorists, and What Can Be Done About It. Raleigh, North Carolina League of Municipalities, 1940. 11 pp. mimeo. 10 cents.

Transportation in 1950. Today and Tomorrow in Highway History. By Chester H. Gray. Washington, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1940. 34 pp.

Voting

California Voters' Handbook. San Francisco, California League of Women Voters, 1940. x, 118 pp. 37 cents.

Voting in the United States. Qualifications and Disqualifications, Absentee Voting, Voting Rights of Persons in Military Service. Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1940. 29 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

Miscellaneous

Civil and Commercial Aviation. A Guide to Federal Legislation and Administrative Agencies. By Dorothy Campbell Culver. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1940. iii, 78 pp. 75 cents.

EDITORIAL

(Continued from Page 252)

able sixteen-page pamphlet sets forth the whole story in a form which can be understood and digested in a comparatively few mintes. It has already attracted the attention of finance officials in half a dozen states who have praised the basic idea and the clarity of the report.

"Boss" Hague and his ilk would never understand this angle, but the hope is expressed definitely in the pamphlet that "the new policy . . . will increase the interest of property owners in Bronxville in village affairs."

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The League's Business

Conference on American Self-Government Reports

The Conference on American Self-Government, through its chairman, C. A. Dykstra, has recently issued a "Progress Report," copies of which are available through the League's office.

League Personalities

Henry L. Shattuck, the League's vice-president, recently paid a visit to the League's office. Other recent visitors have included Mrs. Mark Feder, head of the research division of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee; C. G. Hoag, honorary secretary of the Proportional Representation League; Paul Volcker, manager of Teaneck, New Jersey; Marshall Shulman of the Counsel for Democracy, Walter Cavanaugh, of Delafield and Delafield, New York City, and Mrs. Walter Lake, of the Women's Civic League of Nyack, New York.

The League's former president, Hon. Murray Seasongood, recently has been appointed to the Advisory Committee on Rules of Criminal Procedure of the United States Supreme Court. He is also chairman of the Ohio committee cooperating with the American Bar Association's Special Committee on Improving the Administration of Justice. In line with his activities in the legal world, Mr. Seasongood recently addressed the Cincinnati Conference on Law and Lawyers in the Modern world. His address, titled "Should the Merit System Be Used in Making Appointments of Lawyers for Public Service?", appears in the *Cincinnati Law Review,* Volume XV, No. 2 (1941).

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Miss Roher's article in the April number on "Education of a Citizen" was one of the most interesting I have read in the REVIEW for some time.

After five years' experience as a public official, I am completely convinced that the need for citizen understanding of local government transcends any of its purely technical aspects.

We in Montclair have been experimenting with many devices for arousing the interest of citizens and giving them facts as to their own collective problems. Personally, I have never been convinced that the annual report in the form generally used is an effective instrument. Miss Roher's research in Palo Alto seems broadly to confirm this impression. Why should this be so? One, of course, can only guess, but I am inclined to believe that no matter how attractively gotten up, it attempts to cover too much territory.

In these fast moving days the average person's mind is overwhelmed; consciousness is dulled; capacity to receive is limited; subconscious influences on the mind are rife. Our experience would indicate that a letter or very brief pamphlet in a sealed envelope and, if possible, personally addressed (modern mailing

(Continued on Page 365)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

"I Am an American"

IN PRIMITIVE days on this and other continents it was an important day when the young men reached maturity and were ushered into full-fledged tribal membership.

On Sunday, May 18, three-quarters of a million people gathered in New York City's Central Park to celebrate the modern version of such an occasion. Other thousands participated in exercises in hundreds of other cities in what was called "I Am an American Day."

There was one important difference between the tribal ceremony and many of those which were held in the United States last month. That difference was in the preliminary preparation.

It was not without good sound reason that early communities followed the custom of painstakingly schooling their youth in tribal customs and traditions, of making them prove their fitness, and of making them aware of the responsibilities as well as the privileges which would be theirs. They knew from bitter experience that a nation which lacked intelligent participation by its members was unlikely to survive.

Two years ago, in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, the forerunner of this year's celebrations was held. There were bands, a parade, and oratory. But the celebration was preceded, over a period of some weeks, by meetings, discussions, and study by groups of young people turning twenty-one. By these means they developed an understanding of their local governments. They learned about the relation of local government to county, state, and national governments. But above all they developed a basic understanding of their privileges and responsibilities as citizens, an awareness of their individual importance in a self-governing system, and an understanding that local governments are the roots of that system.

The thoughtful professor who planned and helped arrange this first ceremony was fully conscious that he might be starting something which would become national in scope, and he realized also that many would be tempted to eliminate the preliminary "tribal training" period, which involves work and effort, and let what was intended to be merely the culminating ceremony stand alone.

Probably with the hope of helping to preserve the meaningful purpose of this observance, he named the affair "Citizenship Day." But when the idea promptly challenged national attention and a joint resolution was on its way through Congress calling upon the President to set aside a day as "Citizenship Day," someone decided to put "oomph" into the proposition by changing the name to "I Am an American Day."

There is no wish in this discussion to belittle the value of the many addresses made by thoughtful, patriotic men and women on this year's "I Am an American Day." They were important and they unquestionably stirred many people from the matter-of-fact indifference which probably is our greatest weakness.

But we might well consider whether such celebrations are enough. We aren't living in that kind of a world any more. The totalitarian nations have inoculated their youth with a virus which intends death to our way of life. Bands, speeches, and momentary thrills of patriotism will no more stand against that virus than did the Maginot line. We need not regiment our youth and amputate their powers of independent thought; but must we not supply all possible opportunity to gain information and inspiration which will lead to a complete, positive understanding of what it means to be privileged to say, "I am an American!"?

This opportunity is provided in the pattern set and thoroughly tested in Manitowoc County. It lays great stress on the importance of the preliminary preparation and training and proves that, with adequate planning, organization, and effort, a continuous program of civic education can be conducted successfully.

We All Have to Pay Some Time

FEW families, when planning to move into a community, do a very scientific job of testing it as a good place in which to live or of comparing prospective income with prospective expenses and the ability to purchase necessities and to enjoy conveniences.

Such inquiry as they make usually is confined to the adequacy of the schools and the amount of taxes or rents. While these are sound tests, as far as they go, they don't necessarily provide assurance that the schools and other services will continue to be adequate or that taxes and rents will remain bearable.

Size and nature of public debt is a clearer index of a community's ability to maintain its equipment and services without going beyond the ability of the taxpayer to foot the bill. Some high-debt cities like Jersey City also pay high taxes, which is at least realistic; others, like Philadelphia, have been proud of their ability to keep property taxes low, even at the expense of rundown equipment and payless paydays for public employees. But, with the income from its gas works pledged to cover borrowing and with a tax on payrolls, Philadelphia is learning at last that there is always a day of reckoning and that it's somewhat painful.

Few cities are as fortunate as Kalamazoo, Michigan, which, as the result of long and careful planning, owes no money except for schools; Kalamazoo, indeed, is still the proud possessor of the distinction of being the only debt-free, pay-as-you-go city in the United States over 50,000 population, if it is fair to consider school debt separately as being beyond the control of the regular city administration.

In the comparison of the debts of cities over 30,000 population which is

(Continued on Page 346)

National Defense and Community Service

"On the home front we now have the challenge and the opportunity to strengthen our American way of life."

By **CHARLES P. TAFT**

Assistant Coordinator of Health, Welfare and Related Defense Activities

Construction Started on New Naval Station

Local Plants Get Army Contracts

Six Troop Trains Daily — 20,000 Men on Post in 6 Weeks

Nearby Defense Orders Reach New High

HEADLINES like these have made the front pages of local newspapers — east, west, north, and south—during recent months. Everywhere they have caused local citizens to point with pride. And well they might, for they mean that the American people have taken a prompt, firm hold on the military and industrial problems of national defense.

The newspapers carrying these banner heads have often contained other items relative to defense; but these, at least until recently, have occupied modest corners of inside pages and want-ad columns:

Boys from Camp Throng Main Street; Tie Up Saturday Night Traffic

Wanted: Sleeping Accommodations by three young men employed at airplane plant; willing to share room

Ten Stranded Families Housed at City Mission

School and Hospital Authorities Warn Limits of Capacity Exceeded

For Sale: Used auto trailers. Beat the rent racket

These bits, hidden in back pages during the past winter, were forewarnings of problems to come in American defense communities — problems that could be, and were, predicted but that somehow had to be seen to be believed.

Recreation, health, welfare, education, housing — these needs and others like them have been accepted as components of the national defense program ever since it got under way last June. Their national importance and local impact have been widely recognized. The federal government, as well as the states and their local communities, have accepted the fact that these home-front problems of defense can be met only by sharing responsibility and pooling resources.

But it is one thing to accept the fact that community service is an essential sector in national defense—and quite another thing to foresee where the pressures are going to come in your own home town. Running head on into the major crises created by thousands of soldiers in town to spend their leave and with no place to go, or by thousands of new industrial workers scrambling for a place to live, local communities are saying: "So *this* is what happens on the home front in national defense."

Yes, this — and much more — is what happens. These — and many more—are the problems that the American people are now called upon to face. The home-front program through which they are tackling these problems calls for, and has a place mapped out for, the coöperation of every level of government, of every interested private agency, and of every citizen who recognizes his personal stake in this great effort. And that takes in just about all of us — 130,000,000 strong.

Coordinator's Office Set Up

Any effort of that magnitude calls for a clear-cut framework of operation. To build and to maintain such a framework, the Office of Federal Coördinator for Health, Welfare, Recreation, and Related Activities was set up and integrated with the Federal Security Agency. Since the latter already had continuing responsibilities in the broad fields of social security, public health, and education, it is well equipped to take on this additional emergency task.

But the federal coördinator's office cannot do the job alone—and has no intention of trying. This policy is dictated not by expediency but by fundamental obligations. The federal share in this undertaking looks toward two objectives: first, to clear the tracks for united, effective nationwide action; second, to stand behind and strengthen the state and local governments and the national and local voluntary organizations that are on the front line of home defense.

To tie together all federal agencies and facilities touching any part of this program, the Coördinator has asked the agency heads to serve as a Federal Advisory Council. Counting both members of the Federal Security Agency and others, these number something over twenty and represent a revealing cross-section of the federal contribution to the community life of the nation—from public health to park service, from Office of Education to the Federal Works Agency. The only gap in this existing framework for national coördination was in the area of recreation. For that alone a new federal unit has been set up—a small, intensive planning and field staff in the Coördinator's office.

As a channel for its field operations, the coördinator's office has utilized the regional set-up of the Social Security Board. The board's twelve regional directors, acting as regional coördinators, promote coöperation among field representatives of federal agencies, between the federal government and the states, and between the public and private agencies concerned.

These last are an important part of the recreation picture—important because the services voluntary agencies are prepared to give are needed, and equally because voluntary action is one of the essentials of democratic self-service. Together these two—public action through government and private action through voluntary groups—make up the pattern of American life. We must utilize both as fully, as effectively, as we know how if we are to accomplish the job before us.

One important step in this direction was taken recently when six national religious and welfare organizations came together to form an over-all planning body in the field of leisure-time and morale activities. Incorporated as the United Service Organizations for National Defense, its members are the YMCA, the YWCA, the National Catholic Community Service, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, and the National Travelers Aid Association. The United Service Organizations will operate within the general framework set up by the Federal Coördinator, a major part of its job being to help fill the local gaps in leisure-time activities and other services for men in the armed forces and for men and women in defense industry.

These gaps are very real—and very empty. The army and navy provide ample and adequate recreation on their posts; but when a soldier has leave, he "goes to town." And too often the towns are swamped.

In communities where this situation is most acute, the federal government will help to set up service club facilities. The buildings to house these centers will be provided out of federal funds anticipated under the pending community facilities bill. Some will be operated by the local communities, and about three hundred will be leased to and operated by the USO. In taking on responsibility for staffing and running these clubs, the USO has assumed a heavy obligation, and one in which it will need the full support of the American people—in money, in interest, and in service. Men and women volunteers, serving under the USO and other organizations in every community, will be called on to do the thousand and one things entailed in providing worthwhile, wholesome surroundings for our defense forces, both civil and military.

That is the over-all plan for recreation. We believe it is a good one—as simple, direct, and clear cut as can be devised in an enterprise involving so many activities; comprehensible and flexible to meet complex and diversified problems.

Plan in Action

But no plan, however good, can be judged by its paper appearance. The test comes when the plan and the people meet. And the place where that happens is on Main Street—in the towns and cities of America. Since no two of these towns and cities are precisely identical, the program, as it is actually getting down to work throughout the country, varies in line with local situations.

Some cities, with reasonably adequate community resources and leadership, are equipped to handle their own emergency problems. If so, that is the way the job will be done. Coördination will consist simply of keying such local projects into the national picture.

For example, a city of 88,000, near which several large army posts are located, early recognized that it had an obligation to the soldier on leave. The main need was a place in the center of town where soldiers could make their headquarters. A soldiers' service center was set up, under an experienced director and a full-time hostess. Serving the soldiers at a rate which tops 3,000 each week-end it provides: a canteen, showers, toilets, and lockers; a free check room; rooms for reading, writing, resting, playing games, and meeting friends; a library and a lounge with radio and newspapers, including ninety hometown papers.

Special services offered by the center include: general information and daily bulletin of activities for soldiers; stamps, cards, free notary service on pay days; housing service, listing rooms or houses at reasonable rents for families and friends of soldiers; church contact service, to inform boys of all denominations of services, and to coöperate with churches in arranging dinners, entertainments, dances, etc.; dancing—regular weekly Saturday night dance, smaller dances (often as many as three a night), and dance instruction; booking games for camp basketball teams in twelve in-town gyms (wind-up tournament scheduled); "talent" service for entertainment at ten regiment recreation centers.

Small Cities Overwhelmed

What that one city has done, many cities can and are already doing; still others are in the process of rounding up their community resources. But in some places the community alone cannot master the situation. It may need only suggestions and guidance. It may need some supplementation—from the Federal Coördinator's Office or from the United Service Organizations working within the coördinated plan. It may be completely submerged. The new problems dumped in its lap by defense activity may be of a size and kind which it has never before even dreamed of—much less expected to encounter.

This is particularly true of the small country towns which are suddenly finding themselves the free-time Mecca for the enormous new army camps now located in what were once backwoods areas and wide open spaces of the south and west. One such community consists of a local "metropolis"—called for purposes of anonymity "Exton"—and two neighboring villages. Normally the population totals about 30,000. Nearby, with no other towns within reach, are four major army camps into which troops are pouring—close to 90,000 by June, about one-tenth of them Negroes. With the troops come also civilians attracted mainly by soldiers' pay-checks. The newcomers, counting both civilians and military, in this community outnumber the "old-timers" by three to four times.

Practically every community service and facility early reached emergency status in Exton and its neighbors. Housing is a major issue. That is not our responsibility, but belongs to the Federal Defense Housing Coordinator. Nevertheless, what he does determines largely what we may try to do in the Coördinator's Office. In 1940, according to a United States census estimate, there were some two hundred rental properties in the entire district—or just about one per cent of its total dwellings. Rents have skyrocketed. Local families of lower income levels have been crowded out. Some civilian workers are traveling up to a hundred miles a day getting to and from their jobs; others are living in boxcars. Several housing projects are scheduled, but progress is hampered by the fact that available land is low and requires drainage before building can be started. Other major pressures are on water supply, sewage disposal, sanitation, food and milk inspection; malaria control, and hospital and school facilities. Those we can help on, through the United States Public Health Service and the Office of Education. Police service, highways and traffic control are problems for the state and its local subdivisions. While progress has been made on all these fronts, the "before and after" contrast is particularly striking in the leisure-time picture.

Up to recent months, recreation as an organized community concern in Exton was pretty much of a desert, punctuated by a few small oases. There was no public recreation whatsoever—no YMCA or YWCA. Several religious and welfare organizations had small centers which more or less supplemented church activities and social clubs. The Chamber of Commerce had set up a military affairs committee soon after plans for the new camps were completed. That was the sum total of the town's leisure-time resources. In spite of their best efforts, the townspeople could not keep pace with new demands. Not only were resources lacking; experience and leadership in this field were equally minus quantities. Tax limitations and the low level of most earnings and incomes made both public and private money-raising difficult.

Saturday night in Exton became a hazardous experience for everyone concerned. Men on leave crowded the sidewalks, the one movie was swamped, cars tangled the business street from end to end, the railroad station offered the only free rest rooms, its benches were the only available place to sit and rest—especially for Negro soldiers, the young girls from surrounding towns who had come in to take jobs as waitresses and so on had chances for "dates" which many of them were reluctant—and some were too willing—to accept, questionable taverns and a "Palais de Dance" added further complications.

Community Program Mapped

The churches and clubs individually did what they could; but these scattered efforts could hardly add up to more than a drop in the bucket. It was not until March of this year, when a field representative from the Federal Coördinator's Office paid his first visit to Exton, that a concerted effort was made to bring order out of this chaos. He recommended that service-club quarters, operated under the federal program, be set up as soon as possible. Meantime, however, something had to be done at once. With the federal field representative's coöperation, a community program was outlined, and is rapidly being put into operation. Two citizens' committees were formed, representing the Negro and the white population and serving these groups of soldiers. Recreation centers for both white and Negro soldiers were organized. The city provides rent, heat, and light; the NYA gave furniture; the WPA furnishes janitor service, hostesses, and a recreation leader from its state staff; and the city's business men have underwritten a $500 monthly contribution for running expenses.

Another particularly urgent need is also being met: the town had no decent place for Negro soldiers to eat. A restaurant operator, to whom the federal representative put the problem, lost no time in renting space, installing equipment, and opening for business.

Exton's city park, including an auditorium and swimming pool, has also been tied into the community program. Other local provisions for soldiers' in-town leisure include Saturday night dances given by a citizens' committee, church entertainments and special activities such as a soldiers' chorus, and free week-end dramatic performances given by a little theater group.

This is by no means a perfect solution. Exton has had to do plenty of patchwork and pinch-hitting. But it does show how far one small community can go on its own power when it becomes almost overnight a center of military concentration. Experience here and in similar communities throughout the country dramatizes the nation-wide need for local community planning to meet leisure-time needs. And it indicates, more clearly than any amount of paper planning, how and where a national program can help to tie together and strengthen the local efforts of interested citizens and groups, without impairing local initiative or weakening local responsibility.

Recreation, of course, represents only one sector of the over-all plan—only one factor in the complex of problems that defense has brought to our home towns, big and little. But what has been done on this sector is important, not merely because it fills what might otherwise have been either a serious gap or a no man's land of conflicting activities; it is significant because it embodies in one enterprise practically all the principles and procedures which lie behind our total effort. It entails the closest coöperation among all levels of government, among many private groups, and between government and private agencies. It calls for the service of both professional and volunteer workers. It brings national perspective and national resources to bear upon community needs and the well-being of individuals.

The question of community responsibility *versus* national responsibility has been hotly argued in this country for a long time now—never more hotly perhaps than in the past ten years. Indeed, these debates seem on the whole to have radiated more heat than light—possibly because the question itself contains more friction than fact. Why not community responsibility *plus* national responsibility? Certainly this is a more realistic and a vastly more profitable point of view. No one today questions that this country must present a united front to the world. No one questions that we must utilize all our resources in maintaining that which we would defend. On the home front, we now have the challenge and the opportunity to strengthen our American unity and way of life, and of proving once again that democracy can preserve its own.

North Carolina's Local Government Commission

Achievements include reduction in interest rates, prevention of unwise contraction of debt, preparation of sound refinancing plans.

By **JAMES W. FESLER**
University of North Carolina

STATE centralization has progressed further in North Carolina than in any other state in the Union. The state government has assumed responsibility for maintenance of an eight months' school, construction and maintenance of all public roads except city streets, and custody of all able-bodied, male convicts sentenced for terms of thirty days or more.

This highly significant shifting of local functions to state operation occurred in 1931-33 as, in part, a recognition of the need for relieving local tax units of burdens that they could not carry under depression conditions.

Drastic measures for state control of local finance were also instituted. No halfway measures could have met the extraordinary problems of widespread defaults on local government debts. As early as 1928 the State Tax Commission had seen that "the inevitable drift" of several counties was "in the direction of insolvency."[1]

Even at that time the composite debt of all units in Carteret County amounted to 38 per cent of the assessed value of its property, and by 1929 it had risen to 42½ per cent.[2] Another unusual situation was that of Buncombe County, where the 1931 combined debt was $482 per capita,[3] and the overlapping debt of its largest city, Asheville, amounted to $845 per capita![4]

These were exceptional cases. But if we accept the rule that combined debt of local units in a county should not exceed 12 per cent of the value of taxable property (a rule followed by the New York law regulating savings banks' investments), then in forty-three of North Carolina's one hundred counties the local government debts were excessive.

Excessive total debt was not the only problem. Many a term bond was to come due during the depression. In some cases the sinking fund that was theoretically to pay these bonds was non-existent; in other cases the sinking funds had been put into real estate, personal loans, and other unreliable investments; in still others, where the sinking funds were in the form of cash on deposit in local banks, the collapse of the banks in the early years of the depression tied these funds up so that they were unavailable.

Even those local governments

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[1] North Carolina Tax Commission, *Report*, 1928, p. 26.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 603; and same author, *Report*, 1930, p. 235.

[3] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Financial Statistics of State and Local Governments: 1931—North Carolina* (1934).

[4] Frank A. Neff, *Trends in Municipal Finance Since 1900* (1938), p. 164.

that had used serial bonds were embarrassed by the depression, for often several serial bond issues were not properly coördinated to provide an equal load for the years to follow. Unfortunately, some of the heaviest obligations fell due in the depression years. In 1930 the State Tax Commission estimated that during the eleven-year period to follow sixty cents out of the state and local tax dollar would have to go for debt service obligations.[5]

The problem of heavy debt service obligations was complicated by other familiar features of the depression. The ordinary operations of the local units had to continue; in fact, there was an insistent demand for new and increased services, particularly as to relief of the unemployed. At the same time property values fell, revenues based on former property tax rates drastically decreased, and a substantial resistance developed to local governments' attempts to increase the tax rate and to enforce the collection of taxes due.

This combination of circumstances resulted in chaos in local government finance in North Carolina. A wave of defaults set in that reached its peak by mid-1933 when sixty-two of North Carolina's one hundred counties and 152 of her 260 cities and towns were in default on their debt payments.

The state government could not be expected to ignore this situation. Quite apart from its paternalistic concern for local units, its own credit was likely to suffer as a result of local government defaults. Earlier experiments with mild restrictions on local financial operations had failed to remedy local situations.

A constitutional limitation on the county tax rate for general expenses had only led to multiplication of funds raised for "special purposes," excessive use of tax-anticipation notes, and unwise resort to long-term borrowing.

Earlier Commissions

A County Government Advisory Commission established in 1927 had been restricted to purely advisory powers (except that contracts for audits by public accountants required the commission's approval). It served, in its own words, simply as "a clearing house of information for county officers."

In 1929 the State Sinking Fund Commission, composed of the governor, state treasurer, and auditor, had been authorized to approve every bond and note issue (except short-term tax anticipation notes) of counties, cities, towns, and special districts, and had also been authorized to market such bonds and notes. But two years of experience with this arrangement made it clear that such a commission lacked the time and knowledge essential to intelligent appraisal and selling of proposed bond issues of local units.

In 1931 the Local Government Commission was created to absorb the local government functions of the County Advisory Commission (which was abolished) and of the

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[5] North Carolina Tax Commission, *Report,* 1930, p. 242. The statement assumed that the total tax bill would remain stabilized at the 1930 level.

State Sinking Fund Commission.[6] The Local Government Commission is "a separate and distinct division of the Department of the State Treasurer." The commission has nine members, of whom four are *ex officio* and five are part-time members appointed by the Governor. The Governor's appointees hold office at his pleasure. Two of these appointees must have had experience in local government—one as member of a county board of commissioners, and the other as chief executive officer or member of the governing body of a city or town.

Commission's Setup

The four *ex officio* members are elective state officials: the state auditor, state treasurer, secretary of state, and commissioner of revenue. These four constitute the executive committee of the commission, and as such are vested with all the powers of the commission proper, except when the commission itself is in session. As the commission is required to meet only once in every quarter, the executive committee is a very powerful body.

The state treasurer is chairman and treasurer of the commission, and director of local government. He appoints the staff of the commission and, subject to appropriations and concurrence of the state's director of personnel, fixes their compensation. In turn the staff members are by law responsible to him.

The unusually strong position accorded the state treasurer is largely to be explained by special circumstances revolving about Charles M. Johnson. The 1931 statute provided for a director of local government without other official connections. Mr. Johnson, who had had experience with local government finance as executive secretary of the County Government Advisory Commission, became the first director. Shortly thereafter he was appointed state treasurer. In order to keep the Local Government Commission from losing his services as director, the law was amended to provide that the state treasurer should be *ex officio* director of local government.

Criticism on the ground that this arrangement "imposes too much work and responsibility on one man"[7] appears to be unsound in view of the fact that the duties of the state treasurer are not particularly burdensome, and that most of the commission work not involving policy considerations can be delegated to subordinates. On the other hand, it should be made clear that the present organization of the commission should not be blindly followed by other states. Indeed, it is conceivable that North Carolina would change the *ex officio* directorship arrangement if another person should be elected state treasurer.

In practice, an assistant director of local government is the active day-to-day head of the commission's staff, and also serves as secretary of the commission. W. E. Easterling, an able man trained in public accountancy, has held this post since establishment of the commission. Prior to that he had been assistant executive secretary of the County Government Advisory Commission.

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[6] North Carolina Public Laws, 1931, ch. 60. In the succeeding pages specific statutory citations will not be given. All relevant statutes are conveniently available in *Local Government Law Applicable to North Carolina Counties, Cities and Towns, 1939,* a pamphlet published by the Local Government Commission.

[7] B. U. Ratchford, "The Work of the North Carolina Local Government Commission," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1936, p. 323

The powers of the Local Government Commission are not so extensive as its name might suggest. All local governments, it is true, fall under its jurisdiction, be they counties, cities, towns, incorporated villages, school districts, or any other type of district or political subdivision. But the commission's powers relate exclusively to the *financial affairs* of local governments, and are of principal importance in connection with their debts.

Powers Not Used

A sound understanding of the commission's work requires that the statute's listing of powers should not be read as if it described what the commission actually does. With this, as with most governmental agencies, there are some powers that are fully used, some that are used cautiously, and still others that are dead letters in practice. The Local Government Commission has vast powers over local debt administration, but if it had used these powers fully, antagonized local officials, ignored public opinion, and, in general, neglected to temper the wind to the shorn lamb, the commission would not be in existence today.

In practice the most important powers of the commission have concerned the approval of bonds and tax-anticipation notes, the marketing of bonds and notes, and the negotiating of refinancing plans. All bonds and tax-anticipation notes proposed for issuance by local governments must be submitted to the commission for its approval. In deciding whether or not it will approve the issue, the commission must consider the necessity or expediency of the issue, the reasonableness of its amount, the adequacy of sinking funds, the burdensomeness of the tax rate that would be necessitated by the new issue, the status of the unit with regard to defaults, its compliance with budgetary control laws, and its tax collection record during the preceding fiscal year. If the commission believes that the proposed bond or note issue does not qualify under the statutory tests, it notifies the local unit, which may then demand a public hearing. If, after such a hearing, the commission still disapproves of the issue, it enters an order to that effect.

According to the statute, the local unit may take the question to the people in an election, but if it does not do so, or if a majority of those voting in the election do not favor the issue, the bonds or notes cannot be issued. It is notable that the commission's disapproval of bond issues has only once been overruled by popular vote in the local unit.

Even if the commission approves the issue, the state constitution requires that the question be submitted to the people of the unit for approval if the borrowing is for purposes that are not classified by the courts as "necessary expenses." And if the issue would make the total borrowings during the fiscal year exceed two-thirds of the amount by which the outstanding indebtedness of the local unit was reduced during the preceding fiscal year, it must be submitted to the people even if it is for a "necessary expense." The only exceptions to this requirement of popular approval relate to funding or refunding existing debt, issuing tax-anticipation notes not exceeding 50 per cent of the taxes due during the fiscal year, supplying a casual deficit, suppressing riots or insurrections, and repelling invasions.[8]

The practical operation of this procedure has emphasized early discouragement of applications for approval of unsound bond and note issues rather than formal disapprovals of such applications by the commission. In reality a representative of a local government unit which desires to issue bonds or notes has a conference with a member of the Local Government Commission's staff. Practically all unsound proposals are killed at that stage.

Similarly, applications for a new issue of tax-anticipation notes might well be discouraged at the start if they are proposed by a town that has recently been embarrassed by its burden of such notes. The commission relies heavily on the recommendations of its assistant director so local units are naturally inclined to meet such objections as he may have to a proposed issue.

The assistant director thus occupies a key position in the process of approval of proposed bond and note issues. The executive committee, rather than the commission proper, takes most of the formal actions on approval of new issues. Although the fact that members of the executive committee are elective state officials might be expected to give a political flavor to this approval work, it appears that this has not been the case. For one thing, these state officials would scarcely be punished at the polls for their collective decisions as part of the Local Government Commission. For another, they protect themselves against political attacks by heavy reliance on the judgment of their assistant director.

Appraisal of Work

There are no fixed standards for appraising the commission's work of approving bonds and notes. Statistics show a net reduction of the bonded indebtedness of local government of $56,000,000 between 1932 and 1940.[9] This is almost 15½ per cent of the 1932 debt. The pressure of depression demands for new and increased local services, the tempting offers of the federal government to partially subsidize locally sponsored construction projects, and the search for means of raising revenue other than by further taxes on property might well have led to a net increase of indebtedness had it not been for the commission's control over contraction of new debt by local governments. But there is no scientific way to discover whether or not this control was actually the determining factor in turning the trend in the other direction. Nor can we say whether or not the commission should have adopted a stronger policy that would have effected a still greater reduction in net indebtedness.

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[8] North Carolina State Constitution, art. V, sec. 4, and art. VII, sec. 7.

[9] North Carolina Local Government Commission, *Report,* 1940. The writer had access to a typescript of the report, which at the time of his investigation had not been printed.

The phase of commission activity that has called forth the most unqualified praise arises out of the statutory provision that "all bonds and notes of a unit . . . shall be sold by the commission." This centralization of the task of marketing local government issues has greatly widened the market for local bonds and notes, secured substantially lower bids on the interest rates, and improved the technical handling of such sales. The assistant director of local government states justifiably: "The central marketing work in itself justifies the Local Government Commission's existence."

In practice one of the most important powers of the commission has been in connection with refinancing existing debts of local units. After any local unit has defaulted for a period of six months the director of local government can initiate investigations and conferences with local officials and creditors, and prepare a plan for refinancing or readjusting the debts involved. Once the commission has officially approved a plan that has been prepared or endorsed by its director, the governing body of the local unit is obligated to adopt it and to pass the necessary ordinances for carrying it into effect. Local governments that do operate under such plans may be required to submit their budgets to the director of local government for his approval.

The commission's policies on refinancing have undergone some alteration with the passage of time. Many of the early refinancing plans called for term bonds with sinking funds, rather than for serial bonds. This willingness to adopt a type of bond already responsible for some of the local units' difficulties can be explained by two considerations. In many cases it seemed to be almost impossible to persuade the holders of term bonds to exchange them for serial bonds. In the second place, the commission did not know how long the depression crisis would continue, and it feared that if term bonds of local units were converted into serial bonds the almost immediate obligation to meet principal as well as interest payments might drive many local units into default again within a few years.

All of the refinancing bonds, whether of a term or serial type, have carried the call feature that makes them redeemable prior to maturity. This has enabled the local units to call in many of their term bonds and convert them into serial bonds. It has also permitted them, with the commission's advice, to call in both term and serial bonds and put through refunding plans to take advantage of lower interest rates.

The commission has not used its powers over refinancing to force bondholders to accept a reduction of principal. The emphasis has been on the reduction of interest rates and the rearrangement of debt maturities so as to bring the annual debt service charges, particularly during the depression years, into reasonable relation to the units' ability to meet such charges. Of course, a few local governments, without formal refinancing plans, have been able to go into the market and buy in their own bonds below par—in some cases at rates as low as forty cents on the dollar.

Some Powers Not Used

The principal work of the Local Government Commission has revolved around the three functions already discussed. Several of the commission's other powers, as already stated, have been left practically unused. This is true, for example, of its power to appoint an administrator of finance for a local government and also of its power to prescribe uniform accounting systems for all local governments.

The statute authorizes the commission to take over administration of the financial affairs of any local government unit that defaults on the principal or interest payments due on any indebtedness. In case of such default the director of local government may appoint an administrator of finance for the local unit, and direct him to "take full charge of the collection of taxes . . . and the charge and custody of all funds . . . and the safeguarding thereof, and of the disbursement of moneys for all purposes." The administrator of finance has discretion to supervise and control or to remove any "officer having connection with the collection and disbursement of funds of the unit." All expenses of the commission and the administrator are to be charged to the local unit.

In addition to the permissive authority to appoint an administrator, the director of local government is charged with the mandatory duty of appointing such an administrator of finance, by and with the consent of the resident judge of the district in which the local unit is located, if, after one year has passed since the unit defaulted, the holders of 51 per cent of the indebtedness of the unit so petition.

In no instance has the commission appointed an administrator of finance. The commission's neglect of this power fits in with the basic philosophy motivating all of its work. This philosophy stresses the view that the commission exists to advise, help, and counsel local governments, to provide such central services as those for the refunding and marketing of bonds, and to discourage unwarranted increase of local government debts. These essential services would be undermined if the commission boldly went into defaulting units of government, took the handling of financial affairs out of the hands of local officials, and sent in an agent of the state to collect taxes from an enraged citizenry. The technique of persuasion, rather than that of coercion, is the only method that will work in the long run, thinks the commission.

Somewhat different considerations explain the failure of the commission to use its power to prescribe uniform accounting systems for local governments. The commission feels that uniform systems of accounting would be highly desirable, and that their installation remains a very real objective. But so far funds available for financing the commission's activities have not been sufficient to enable much progress along these lines.

The Local Government Commission has not fully used its power to force local units to dispose of the ineligible properties and securities in which part of their sinking funds are invested. In 1932 ineligible investments constituted 38 per cent of local government sinking fund assets, whereas by 1936 only 24 per cent and by 1941 only 15 per cent[10] of such assets were thus invested. Anyone familiar with the depression market for real estate and mortgages can appreciate that any attempt to force rapid liquidation of such investments held by local governments would have resulted in serious losses. Such losses, the commission thought, could be substantially reduced by a cautious policy of holding such assets until the market improved.

Broadly speaking, the commission has given satisfaction. Through its refinancing plans it has succeeded in reducing the number of local governments in default on their debt obligations. Nine counties and twenty-five towns are still in default, but for seven of these counties and six of the towns, refinancing plans are in process of negotiation.

Comparing the present number of defaulting units with the number of such units in 1933, the commission has been about 85 per cent effective in removing the stigma of default from the local governments of the state. This rough measure of effectiveness should be qualified by the observation that most of the towns still in default are of small size, and that if the negotiations now in progress for some of these units are consummated the percentage of effectiveness will be increased.

There is practically unanimous agreement that the commission has performed an invaluable service to local governments in effecting remarkable reductions in interest rates. Some of this reduction has been accomplished through skillful refinancing work, and some of it through the superior marketing facilities of the commission. Of course, the generally favorable market for local bonds during the depression accounts for part of the reduction, but the commission has shrewdly taken advantage of market conditions.

The prevention of unwise contraction of debt may be expected to assume greater relative importance as the emergency work of refinancing draws to completion. As we have seen, there is practically no yardstick available for evaluating the commission's activities in approving and disapproving applications for new bond and note issues. About all that can safely be said is that there is no general criticism of the commission's use of this power.

The commission has done much to rehabilitate local government credit in North Carolina, and in the future it should be able to prevent a recurrence of the chaotic conditions that characterized local finance in the early years of the depression. The general approval of the way in which the commission has used its powers assures the continuance of state control of local government debt in North Carolina.

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[10] 1932 and 1936 figures computed from data in North Carolina Local Government Commission, *Report,* 1936, p. 12. The 1941 figure is a current estimate by W. E. Easterling, assistant director of local government.

Cleveland—Potential City of a Million

Mayor Blythin now organizing committee of private citizens to consider problems of 108 taxing units in city's metropolitan area.

By **CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN**
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CLEVELAND was surprised and disappointed by the 1940 census returns. Its new population figure is 878,336—a decrease of 22,093 or 2.5 per cent since 1930, whereas a slight increase had been expected. Ten years ago, when Cleveland showed an increase of 13 per cent, it was taken for granted that the million mark would be exceeded by 1940, but that expectation had been modified somewhat before the bad news arrived.

Both the county and the metropolitan district of which Cleveland is a part showed slight population gains. Cuyahoga County's 1940 population of 1,217,250 represents a gain of 1.3 per cent, and the Cleveland metropolitan district, with boundaries as defined by the Census Bureau, can point to a gain of 1.7 per cent and a total population of 1,214,943.

Of interest in connection with population changes since 1930 is the fact that some of the larger suburbs immediately bordering upon Cleveland also suffered population losses. The second ring of municipalities has been the chief beneficiary of the population movement away from the center, three of these municipalities registering gains since 1930 of 167.4 per cent, 46.3 per cent, and 40.1 per cent respectively.

The taxpayers of Cuyahoga County are at present supporting 108 local taxing units: one county, fourteen cities, forty villages, six townships, thirty-two school districts, and fifteen library districts. For purposes of policing the 465 square miles within the county the taxpayers are supporting sixty-one police departments of various types, with annual expenditures ranging from about $50 to $4,000,000 (Cleveland), and per capita costs ranging as high as $30.25 ($4.79 in Cleveland). Similar unsatisfactory conditions exist as regards such matters as fire protection, planning, public works, and court systems. For the people of the area it means both government that is too expensive and services that are unsatisfactorily performed.

As early as 1913 Newton D. Baker contended that coördination of governmental activities in the Cleveland area should be sought. In 1917, in 1919, and in 1931 constitutional amendments were proposed in the state legislature which would have permitted counties of certain minimum populations to organize as municipal corporations and to provide unified services for the entire county, but all failed of legislative approval.

An encouraging development was

the adoption in 1933, by initiative and referendum, of a county home rule amendment to the state constitution.[1] One of its provisions authorizes municipalities and townships, with the consent of the county, to transfer any or all of their functions to the county, but municipalities and townships have not stampeded to avail themselves of this privilege.

County Home Rule

Another major provision authorizes counties to adopt home rule charters. Such charters may leave county and municipal functions undisturbed, or they may transfer municipal functions to the county. In the latter case, however, four separate majorities are required for the adoption of a proposed charter. A majority vote is required in: (1) the county as a whole, (2) the largest municipality in the county, (3) the total county area outside the largest municipality, (4) each of a majority of the total number of municipalities and townships in the county.

In accordance with the provisions of this amendment, the voters of Cuyahoga County in 1934 elected a commission to draft a charter for the county. While the commission tended to favor a transfer of municipal functions to the county it was believed that all four required majorities could not be obtained, so only a reorganization of the existing county government was sought. The resulting document placed all county administrative activities in six departments, and also provided for a county director or manager. In place of the board of county commissioners there was to be a county council of nine members, elected by proportional representation.

When the proposed charter was submitted to the electorate in 1935 it was approved by a majority vote in the county as a whole and by a majority vote in Cleveland. The third and fourth majorities were not obtained, but presumably they were not needed for a charter transferring no municipal functions to the county. In a surprising decision, however, the Ohio Supreme Court held that the county charter did provide for a transfer of municipal functions and that therefore it had not been adopted.[2]

This judicial decision was disheartening to the advocates of governmental coördination since it seemed to imply that any county home rule charter that might be proposed must receive all four majorities for adoption. Few believe that possible of achievement in the Cleveland area. A charter definitely assigning municipal functions to the county has been prepared by the Citizens League, primarily because of the educational value of such a project rather than with the expectation of submitting it to the electorate.

Apparently there is little possibility of securing the necessary approval for centering more activities in the county government. What hope, then, may there be of achieving governmental coördination in the Cleveland area by annexation? Apparently very little. There has been only one annexation to Cleveland since the 1930 census. Talk of annexation immediately gives rise to claims on the part of public officials of Cleveland's suburbs that they provide better services and lower tax rates than Cleveland. Whatever the merit of such arguments, annexation does not appear probable in the immediate future.

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[1] Ohio Constitution, art. X.

[2] *The State, ex rel. Howland* v. *Krause et al., Board of Elections of Cuyahoga County,* 130 Ohio St. 455.

Regional Association Organized

Realizing all this, a group of interested citizens in 1937 organized the Regional Association of Cleveland. This agency seeks to represent all elements of the Cleveland region, and is hopeful of achieving through unofficial coöperation some of the results hitherto sought through official action. Its major interest to date has been physical planning, feeling that such planning is essential for the solution of the various other regional problems.

Zoning has received considerable attention from the Cleveland Regional Association. All of the zoning maps and ordinances in the county have been collected, analyzed, and a report thereon sent to all municipal and county officials concerned. As a result, some of the existing ordinances have been revised and a few new ones have been drafted. A similar study and correlation of subdivision regulations is now under way.

A survey of land use in the county also has been made. Never before had there been a survey of all publicly owned land in the county. A card file of all publicly owned land and a map showing its location and ownership are now available. With the aid of WPA all tax delinquent property in the county has been mapped.

In the field of active collaboration the association has called conferences and organized coöperative committees. Two conferences of municipal and county officials concerned with planning have been held. The major purpose was to encourage thinking of planning problems as joint problems of the group. All have been supplied with a manual on local planning procedure, based upon Ohio statutes and prepared by the Regional Association. A public works committee of local planners and engineers has been organized for the purpose of developing a coördinated public works program for the region. Likewise, a smoke abatement committee has been created. Thus far only Cleveland has adopted the model smoke control ordinance drafted by the committee, and no money has been appropriated for its enforcement.

Two Regional Authorities

There are two regional authorities functioning in the Cleveland region, providing examples of what might be expected of regional government on a more extensive scale. The first of these is the Cleveland Metropolitan Park District, based upon a state law of 1916 authorizing park districts independent of existing political boundaries. It operates a system of recreation areas, arranged roughly in a semi-circle around the central built-up section of the region, and comprising more than 11,000 acres. The district is governed by a board of three members appointed by the judge of the local Probate Court. With the consent of the municipalities concerned, it may take over the administration of municipal parks.

It has its own separate tax levy, and it may go to the voters for an additional tax levy. Its popularity is demonstrated by an annual attendance at its various park areas of over 8,000,000, and by the fact that its special tax levy is the one tax levy which never has encountered difficulty in securing the necessary approval of the voters.

The second regional authority is the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority. It has been created by state law for the purpose of carrying on slum clearance and low-cost housing activities, and its authority extends over the entire county area with the exception of one municipality. Ohio state law, seeking to make the Housing Authority neither a municipal nor a county agency, provides that at least two subdivisions within the county must be included, and that the maximum subdivisions included shall be one less than the total number within the county. The governing body of this authority is a board of five unpaid citizens serving five-year overlapping terms. Two members are appointed by the Mayor of Cleveland, one is appointed by the Board of County Commissioners, one by the judge of the Probate Court, and one by the judges of the Common Pleas Court.

This second example of regional government also is considered highly successful. When projects now under construction are completed the Housing Authority will be operating 5,500 dwelling units for low income families and will have investments totaling $31,000,000. The question as to the level of administration is answered by the complete absence of suspicion in connection with the spending of the huge sums involved, and by the ability of the authority to negotiate loans from banks and private investors at very low rates.

It is encouraging to find some evidences of coördination in the activities of the various local governments of the Cleveland region. Such coordination plays a prominent part in making available an adequate supply of water to the population of the entire area. The Cleveland water plant serves a large majority of the municipalities, a considerable portion of the rural area of Cuyahoga County, and a few municipalities in a neighboring county. In 1940 the plant delivered 57,564,934,000 gallons of water for distribution, and served a population of 1,208,979. About one-fourth of the revenue-producing water is sold outside the corporate limits of Cleveland. In the case of four of the larger suburbs Cleveland sells the water to the municipalities, which in turn resell it to their inhabitants. For the remainder, Cleveland sells directly to the consumer. Only two other water plants are operating in Cuyahoga County.

Other Coordinated Activity

Nineteen municipalities are served in whole or in part by the Cleveland sewage treatment and disposal plants. Only three other municipalities in the county operate sewage disposal plants, and these also serve more than one municipality. In fact, two of these plants treat part of Cleveland's sewage, and the Cleveland system in turn treats a part of theirs. In addition, small plants are operated by some of the county sewer districts. The bulk of the sewage of the entire region, however, is handled by the Cleveland plants. At present an attempt is being made to secure the adoption of uniform rates for this service based upon water consumption.

Police departments of the region have been drawn into a closer relationship in recent years. The Cleveland department is willing to send radio messages for any police department equipped to receive such messages. Fifty-three departments are being served in this manner at a charge of twenty-five cents per message. In addition, the services of Cleveland's detective bureau and crime laboratory are available to all the suburbs at no cost, and members of the suburban departments may attend the Cleveland Police Academy. The latest development is the organizing of a metropolitan police safety committee to sponsor the uniform enforcement of traffic regulations throughout the larger suburbs and in Cleveland.

Cleveland's fire department has an unwritten understanding with each neighboring professional fire department to the effect that either will help the other in case of need and without charge. It will aid other areas if they are willing to pay for such service. At present an agreement to standardize hose couplings, hydrant connections, and the like is being sought as a means of making coöperative action more effective.

Examples of coördinated activity are offered by Cleveland's city hospital and by its various welfare and correctional institutions. These institutions accept cases from neighboring municipalities, from Cuyahoga County and neighboring counties, and from the state and federal governments on the basis of per diem rates determined by contract. Because of such arrangements some of these institutions are wholly self-supporting.

Some attempts are being made to break down artificial political boundaries in respect to parks. Three of Cleveland's parks are located in whole or in part in neighboring municipalities. Maintenance work is done by Cleveland, while the neighboring municipalities participate in the policing of the areas. In another instance land owned by Cleveland within the boundaries of a neighboring municipality has been leased to that municipality for park purposes. The Joint Park Planning Committee, made up of representatives of the Metropolitan Park District already discussed, the city of Cleveland, and private citizens, is seeking a closer tie between the metropolitan and the Cleveland park systems. A report discussing in general terms what ought to be done has been made, but concrete results have been few.

Citizen Committee

Recognizing that such coöperative ventures as are being carried on at present are far from adequate, Mayor Edward Blythin of Cleveland is now organizing a committee of private citizens to consider the problem as a whole. Three citizens are being appointed from each of fourteen municipalities near the center of the built-up area, and the committee will be asked to make suggestions for a common attack on the problems concerning all.

It is felt that hitherto the consideration of these problems has been left too much to public officials, who may be personally interested in having present arrangements continue unchanged. Perhaps private citizens will recognize more readily that the central city is more important to the suburbs than are the suburbs to the central city; that when the central city spends millions on arterial streets leading to the suburbs it increases its own financial burden but reduces property values by making it easier for people to get out to the suburbs. Perhaps also they may see the fairness of assuming a part of the burden of a public auditorium and a municipal stadium, which are financial white elephants, but which make grand opera and other attractions available to the entire region. Similar reasoning applies to the cost of fights waged by the central city for lower public utility rates, which, if granted, extend also to neighboring jurisdictions.

If this committee assumes active leadership in a campaign to educate the people to think in terms of regionalism, much will have been accomplished. Such thinking is particularly important at this time, since Cleveland is now considering municipal ownership and operation of a mass transportation system, either through purchase of the existing system or by creation of a competing system. As such a system would serve various neighboring municipalities, its problems should be of concern to all.

Public education in regionalism might also lead to an improved county government. Cuyahoga County, as is true of all Ohio counties, operates under the typical headless, unintegrated county governmental structure. Since 1933 the state legislature has been authorized by constitutional provision to prepare alternative forms of governmental organization from which those counties dissatisfied with their present organization might choose, but this has not been done. In fact, a bill to this effect introduced in the present session of the state legislature apparently will not even be assigned to a committee for consideration. Even though the bill does not require counties to change their governmental structure at all, strong opposition has developed. The suburbs fear it as a first step leading to annexation, the county political organizations are opposed because the alternative forms of organization tend to favor appointive department heads, and Ohio's rural legislators feel that they must oppose anything in which the larger population centers might be interested.

Present Situation

There are bright spots in the governmental picture as we find it in the Cleveland metropolitan region, but the situation as a whole is far from satisfactory. The two regional authorities we now have are being remarkably successful in attacking housing and rural parks, but a separate unit of government for each major function hardly seems to offer a satisfactory solution. There are no indications of existing governmental

(Continued on Page 364)

The Bonded Debt of 304 Cities as at January 1, 1941

Downward trend in municipal debt has increased with gathering force since 1935 — in contrast to increase in federal debt over same period.

By **ROSINA MOHAUPT**
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FOR every man, woman, and child living in cities of over 30,000 population there is outstanding $175 of municipal debt. This average debt is based on an estimated total gross bonded debt of $8,927,000,000 for the 343 American cities over 30,000 population, representing 50,931,338 or 39 per cent of the entire population of the country.

The downward trend in per capita debt first noticed in 1935 has continued with gathering force since that time. The per capita decrease in gross debt of $3.78 and in net debt (excluding utilities)[1] of $3.05 for the 235 American cities over 30,000 population reporting in 1940 and 1941 is the largest drop since the first annual tabulation in 1923.

While cities of all sizes showed decreases in both gross and net per capita debt during the past year, the largest drop was reported by cities over 500,000, where a decrease of $5.13 per capita in gross debt and $4.18 per capita in net debt (less utilities) occurred. Cities over 300,000 have been reporting the greatest per capita decreases in debt for each of the past five years.

Continued decrease in the debt of the larger American cities is in sharp contrast with the marked increase in federal debt and is a major phenomenon in governmental financing. Debt limitations based on assessed values have prohibited some municipalities from issuing additional bonds because of shrinkages in realty values. The gradual shifting of responsibilities from the local to the federal sphere, and new concepts of social welfare, are partially responsible for this trend.

The decrease in the rate of growth of the larger cities apparently has far-reaching political consequences. The gradual drop in school population has eliminated, to a considerable extent, the need for extensive school building programs. The determination of the particular factors involved would require a study of each individual city, but the continued trend is so pronounced as to suggest the operation of common underlying forces.

While debt has been consistently on the down grade for the past five or six years except for cities under 100,000, the increases reported during the first five years of the past decade have not yet been offset, inasmuch as the total gross debt is still 7.8 per cent and the net debt (excluding utilities), 5.1 per cent higher than in

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[1] Net debt less utilities is obtained by deducting sinking funds and *all* public utility debt, whether self-supporting or not, from the gross bonded debt. It is the most significant figure in studying the debt structure of cities since it represents the burden carried by the general property taxpayer.

1930. In analyzing the change in debt figures between 1930 and 1941, cities were divided into two main groups—those which grew and those which decreased in population as reported by the 1930 and the 1940 United States Census figures.

The cities which decreased in population during this period follow two distinct patterns. Those between 100,000 and 500,000 population show a pronounced tendency toward a greater increase in net debt (excluding utilities) than cities which have grown in population. Closer scrutiny of these cities shows that the major part of the increase was for purely governmental purposes rather than for public utility enterprises.

On the other hand, smaller cities (under 50,000 population) with decreasing populations in the past ten years have reduced their debt considerably more than growing cities of the same size.

Growing cities as a group have devoted a major portion of their increases in debt to new or enlarged public utility facilities. This is indicated by the fact that the rate of increase in both gross and net debt is greater than that of net debt excluding utilities.

The size and character of New York City is so different from that of other large cities (group I[2]) that changes in its outstanding debt more than counteract changes in all the other cities in the group combined. For this reason the debt of New York City is deducted from the totals and the figures for remaining cities in group I are shown separately. A large increase in the public utility (subway) debt of New York City accounts for the $14.40 increase in gross debt.

Substantial decreases in per capita debt show up in all five population groups. While 20 per cent of the cities did increase their outstanding debt, the great majority of cities reported decreases in both gross and net debt.

Methods of Tabulation

The figures reported in this tabulation represent municipal debt exclusively except as indicated in the footnotes. In some cases functions which are commonly administered by the city are under an ad hoc authority such as the school district. Wherever this is the case, such debt is added to

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[2] For the upper and lower limits of the five population groups, see the general tabulation.

TABLE I
TOTAL GROSS AND NET BONDED DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1940-41
235 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES (IN MILLION DOLLARS)

Population Group[a]	*No. of Cities*	*Gross Bonded Debt* *1941*	*1940*	*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities* *1941*	*1940*
I	13	$5,549.1	$5,236.4	$2,412.0	$2,450.4
I[b]	12	2,512.9	2,586.0	1,459.8	1,519.4
II	15	872.2	890.3	589.3	603.9
III	58	1,127.3	1,160.2	741.3	761.5
IV	73	541.0	547.1	386.2	398.5
V	76	249.5	259.7	185.5	192.1
Total	235	8,339.1	8,093.8	4,314.3	4,406.4
Total[b]	234	5,303.0	5,443.4	3,362.1	3,475.4

[a] For the upper and lower limits of each population group, see general tabulation.
[b] Excluding New York City.

TABLE II

PER CAPITA GROSS AND NET DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1940-41
235 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[a]	*1940 Population (000 omitted)*	*Gross Bonded Debt*		*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities*	
		1941[d]	*1940*[d]	*1941*[d]	*1940*[d]
I	21,705	$255.66	$241.26	$111.64	$112.90
I[b]	14,250	176.35	181.48	102.45	106.63
II	5,593[c]	155.95	159.19	105.38	107.99
III	9,224	122.22	125.78	80.37	82.56
IV	5,053	107.08	108.29	76.43	78.87
V	3,072	81.23	84.55	60.38	62.52
Total	44,645	186.79	181.29	96.64	98.70
Total[b]	37,190	142.59	146.37	90.40	93.45

TABLE III

CHANGE IN PER CAPITA DEBT—TWO-YEAR COMPARISON

Population Group[a]	*Gross Bonded Debt*				*Net Debt Less Utilities*			
	1940-41		*1939-40*		*1940-41*		*1939-40*	
	Increase	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*
I	$14.40		$5.10			$1.26	$ .53	
I[b]		$5.13		$3.39		4.18		$3.17
II[c]		3.24	1.11			2.61	.99	
III		3.56	1.01			2.19		1.85
IV		1.21		1.15		2.44		2.35
V		3.32		1.84		2.14		.72
Total	5.50		2.56			2.06		.38
Total[b]		3.78		1.01		3.05		2.00

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF CITIES REPORTING DEBT CHANGES—1940-41

Population Group[a]	*Gross Bonded Debt*				*Net Debt Less Utilities*			
	Growing Cities[e]		*Declining Cities*[f]		*Growing Cities*[e]		*Declining Cities*[f]	
	Increase	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*Decrease*
I	2	7		4	2	7	1	3
II[c]	2	9	1	3	3	8	1	3
III	10	30	2	16	8	32	3	15
IV	12	38	6	17	11	39	5	18
V	7	44	1	24	6	45	4	21
Total	33	128	10	64	30	131	14	60

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[a] For the upper and lower limits of each population group, see general tabulation.
[b] Excluding New York City.
[c] Excluding Washington, D. C., which has no debt.
[d] Computed on the basis of the 1940 U. S. Census.
[e] Cities which have increased in population between 1930 and 1940.
[f] Cities which have decreased in population between 1930 and 1940.

TABLE V

RANGE OF PER CAPITA NET DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1941
THREE HIGHEST AND THREE LOWEST IN EACH GROUP

Population Group[a]	*Three Highest Cities*	*Per Capita Net Debt Less Utilities*	*Three Lowest Cities*	*Per Capita Net Debt Less Utilities*
I	Buffalo, N. Y.	$153.79	Milwaukee, Wis.	$47.00
	Philadelphia, Pa.	146.21	Los Angeles, Calif.	64.75
	Detroit, Mich.	145.05	San Francisco, Calif.	70.04
II	Newark, N. J.	178.43	Atlanta, Ga.	31.62
	Jersey City, N. J.	170.01	Oakland, Calif.	56.60
	Rochester, N. Y.	154.88	Portland, Ore.	59.40
III	Miami, Fla.	209.88	Fort Wayne, Ind.	20.28
	Camden, N. J.	203.26	Spokane, Wash.	21.06
	Yonkers, N. Y.	197.31	Tacoma, Wash.	24.69
IV	Atlantic City, N. J.	361.27	Saginaw, Mich.	8.21
	St. Petersburg, Fla.	352.71	Lansing, Mich.	8.56
	Asheville, N. C.	346.03	Holyoke, Mass.	13.66
V	West Palm Beach, Fla.	361.15	Fargo, N. D.	2.76
	White Plains, N. Y.	267.18	Arlington, Mass.	9.86
	Perth Amboy, N. J.	223.29	Danville, Ill.	12.50

TABLE VI

TOTAL GROSS AND NET BONDED DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1930-1940-1941
168 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES (IN MILLION DOLLARS)

Population Group[a]	*No. of Cities*	*Gross Bonded Debt*			*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities*		
		1941	*1940*	1930	*1941*	*1940*	*1930*
I[b]	11	$1,921.0	$1,972.6	$1,689.5	$1,177.4	$1,221.9	$1,114.5
II[c]	13	756.4	775.2	722.5	533.3	545.0	452.2
III	50	996.7	1,031.5	948.7	669.3	686.7	658.6
IV	48	353.9	360.1	346.5	254.0	264.1	261.7
V	46	139.4	146.6	157.4	104.3	110.5	119.1
Total[b]	168	4,167.3	4,285.9	3,864.6	2,738.3	2,828.2	2,606.1

TABLE VII

PER CAPITA GROSS AND NET BONDED DEBT LESS UTILITIES—1930-40-41
168 COMPARABLE AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[a]	*No. of Cities*	*Gross Bonded Debt*			*Net Bonded Debt Less Utilities*		
		1941[d]	*1940*[d]	*1930*[g]	*1941*[d]	*1940*[d]	*1930*[g]
I[b]	11	$155.94	$160.13	$141.41	$ 95.58	$ 99.19	$93.29
II[c]	13	156.28	160.16	154.25	110.19	112.61	96.55
III	50	122.81	127.09	122.03	82.46	84.61	84.71
IV	48	102.99	104.78	104.39	73.91	76.86	78.98
V	46	72.88	76.68	83.00	54.54	57.76	62.78
Total[b]	168	136.09	139.96	130.50	89.42	92.35	88.00

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[a] For the upper and lower limits of each population group, see general tabulation.
[b] Excluding New York City.
[c] Excluding Washington, D. C., which has no debt.
[d] Computed on basis of 1940 U. S. Census.
[g] Computed on basis of 1930 U. S. Census.

the debt reported by the municipality. In a few cases, where there is a combined city-county plan of government in effect, the city debt reflects the county debt burden. Footnotes for these cities explain the situation. No attempt is made to include the overlapping debt in cities not under the city-county plan. Although the combined city-county municipalities may appear at some disadvantage, this is somewhat counteracted by the fact that such cities are in a better position to control the expenditures and activities of the county. Many counties have a tendency to become liberal with funds that have come largely from the taxpayers of the one or two large municipalities within their borders, and have incurred obligations which have added greatly to the citizens' tax bill.

Special assessment debt, except where specified by footnote, is not included in the total or per capita debt figures. The amount of such debt and the percentage which is a general obligation of the city is shown in the last two columns of the tabulation.

In the first sixteen annual tabulations made by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, the net debt excluding self-supporting utilities was reported. Because of varying concepts of the definition of the term "self-supporting," however, it seemed expedient to compute net debt excluding *all* utilities whether self-supporting or not. This change was initiated in the 1939 tabulation and has been in effect since then. In making comparisons with figures of previous years all necessary adjustments have been made.

TABLE VIII
Percentage Increase or Decrease in Debt over Ten-Year Period

		Cities Increasing in Population			*Cities Decreasing in Population*			*All Cities Reporting in 1930, 1940, & 1941*		
Population Group[a]	*Years Compared*	*No. of Cities*	*Gross Debt %*	*Net Debt excl. Util. %*	*No. of Cities*	*Gross Debt %*	*Net Debt excl. Util. %*	*No. of Cities*	*Gross Debt %*	*Net Debt excl. Util. %*
I[b]	1930-41	8	+16.3	+ 5.4	3	+ 4.1	+ 6.6	11	+13.7	+ 5.6
	1930-40	8	+19.5	+10.0	3	+ 6.6	+ 7.8	11	+16.8	+ 9.6
II	1930-41	9	— 3.2	+ 3.8	4	+18.8	+45.1	13	+ 4.7	+17.9
	1930-40	9	— 1.4	+ 4.2	4	+22.8	+51.9	13	+ 7.3	+20.5
III	1930-41	34	+ 6.7	— 1.2	16	+ .7	+ 8.0	50	+ 5.1	+ 1.6
	1930-40	34	+ 9.5	+ 1.0	16	+ 6.7	+11.8	50	+ 8.7	+ 4.3
IV	1930-41	30	+11.1	— 3.3	18	— 9.6	— 2.5	48	+ 2.1	— 2.9
	1930-40	30	+13.6	+ 1.6	18	— 8.8	+ 0.03	48	+ 3.9	+ .9
V	1930-41	26	— 8.5	— 3.9	20	—15.2	—21.3	46	—11.5	—12.4
	1930-40	26	— 3.6	+ 2.0	20	—10.9	—16.9	46	— 6.8	— 7.2
Total[b]	1930-41	107	+ 9.5	+ 2.5	61	+ 3.7	+11.5	168	+ 7.8	+ 5.1
	1930-40	107	+12.0	+ 5.9	61	+ 7.2	+15.1	168	+10.9	+ 8.5

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[a] For the upper and lower limits of each population group, see general tabulation.
[b] Excluding New York City.

This change in method of reporting has made necessary a definition of the term "utility." For the purposes of this tabulation a utility has now been defined as a commercial enterprise operated by a unit of government, entirely outside the scope of the purely governmental functions, serving the city as a whole rather than any small group and earning a portion or all of its overhead, operating and debt charges from revenues based on a rate structure. Water, light and power, gas, street railway, rapid transit, port and harbor facilities, docks and sewage disposal plants are covered by this definition.

Numerous self-supporting activities of municipalities are sometimes classified as utilities. Among these are included such facilities as golf courses, swimming pools, stadiums, convention halls, airports, etc., which for the purposes of this tabulation have been considered as public service enterprises and have been included with general city debt.

While three hundred and four cities furnished debt figures for this study, the summary tables are based on only the American cities reporting in all of the years being compared. Two hundred and thirty-five cities reported in both 1940 and 1941, and one hundred and sixty-eight in 1930, 1940, and 1941.

The Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research wishes to acknowledge the coöperation of public officials, research bureaus, chambers of commerce, and other civic agencies which have made possible these tabulations throughout the past nineteen years.

EDITORIAL

(Continued from Page 320)

published in this issue of the National Municipal Review it is especially interesting to note that cities between 100,000 and 500,000 which are shrinking show a greater tendency toward increase of debt than do comparable cities which are growing. This, in general, must be taken to indicate an unwillingness to face the facts and to pare operating costs down to diminishing tax income. In other words, these shrinking cities apparently are borrowing for running expenses.

Miss Mohaupt's study shows a general downward trend in the debt of cities but there is a question as to how real the relief is when we consider the taxpayer himself instead of the city in which he lives. Increasing federal debt and the growing tendency to shift formerly local responsibilities to federal or regional authorities will indicate, in many cases, a mere transfer of debt rather than a genuine improvement. For example, another study[1] shows that "the most striking debt change was the expansion of special district gross debt by 57 per cent."

If those in whose hands rests the financial planning of their cities will look back at the hectic period through which municipal finance went after the last war, they will make haste now to put their houses in order by facing responsibility rather than by shifting it. We don't know just what it will be like, but another post-war period is coming.

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[1] *State and Local Government Debt: 1940.* Prepared under the supervision of C. E. Rightor, Chief Statistician for State and Local Government. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, April 1941. See also discussion of this study on page 382 of this issue.

BONDED DEBT OF 304 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1941

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.
From Data Furnished by Members of the Governmental Research Association, City Officials, and Chambers of Commerce

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
	Group I														
	Population 500,000 and over		$	$	$	$					$	$	$	$	
1(1)†	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	823,176,022	353,690,473	1,859,246,091	3,036,112,586	520,228,981	—	—	57	2,515,883,605	952,206,783	127.73	194,504,750	100
2(2)	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	267,984,624	35,749,000	2,620,000	306,353,624	16,756,627	43	57	N	289,596,997	286,976,997	84.48	15,996,201	—
3(3)	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	329,362,701	74,510,000	188,106,899*	591,979,600	176,205,790	53	16	31	415,773,810	282,386,911	146.21	N	0
4(4)	Detroit, Mich.[4]	1,623,452	173,186,976	65,781,682	121,609,739	360,578,397	23,595,048	15	N	85	336,983,349	235,488,318	145.05	665,500	100
5(5)	Los Angeles, Cal.[5]	1,504,277	47,292,869	50,110,267	227,241,827	324,644,963	960,714	N	N	100	323,684,249	97,403,136	64.75	6,030,614	0
6(6)	Cleveland, Ohio[6]	878,336	90,567,280	8,193,875	23,690,000	122,451,155	8,267,061	60	N	40	114,184,094	93,768,264	106.76	1,667,756	100
7(8)	Baltimore, Md.	859,100	103,930,156	20,001,712	52,990,212	176,922,080	30,652,017	78	4	18	146,270,063	98,897,979	115.12	—	—
8(7)	St. Louis, Mo.[7]	816,048	64,823,000	1,892,000	5,520,000	72,235,000	3,371,074	77	10	13	68,863,926	63,794,926	78.18	N	0
9(9)	Boston, Mass.[8]	770,816	67,138,900	7,463,000	107,072,000	181,673,900	23,450,444	20	12	68	158,223,456	67,083,318	87.03	—	—
10(10)	Pittsburgh, Pa.	671,659	59,186,000	20,896,719	4,125,700	84,208,419	7,071,228	67	28	5	77,137,191	73,399,651	109.28	N	0
11(14)	Washington, D. C.	663,091	No Bonded Debt												
12(11)	San Francisco, Cal.[9]	634,536	32,853,400	11,590,000	100,088,000	144,531,400	N	N	N	N	144,531,400	44,443,400	70.04	830,000	0
13(12)	Milwaukee, Wis.[10]	587,472	34,867,951	4,126,500	2,618,000	41,612,451	11,383,625	95	5	N	30,228,826	27,614,826	47.00	N	0
14(13)	Buffalo, N. Y.[11]	575,901	78,643,733	11,390,500	15,720,775	105,755,008	5,805,897	25	N	75	99,949,111	88,565,382	153.79	100,275	100
	Group II														
	Poulation 300,000 to 500,000														
15(16)	New Orleans, La.[12]	494,537	65,334,000	6,972,000	7,807,000	80,113,000	300,023	N	100	N	79,812,977	72,005,977	145.60	3,128,020	0

*=Estimated.
N=None.
—=Figures not available.

†Cities are arranged according to 1940 census figures. Numbers in parentheses show order in which cities were listed in previous tabulations in accordance with 1930 census figures. Where there is no number in parentheses, the city had a population of less than 30,000 in the 1930 decennial census.

[1] **New York City.** General debt includes $178,420,000 assessment and $16,084,750 special assessment bonds. Of the utility debt $951,441,988 is self-supporting.

[2] **Chicago.** General debt includes $89,525,700 park district and $93,720,924 santitary district debt (city's pro-rata share). County debt of $31,776,410 and forest preserve debt of $13,124,750 not included (81.55% of total debt of these units).

[3] **Philadelphia.** Self-supporting utility debt estimated at $65,000,000.

[4] **Detroit.** Housing Commission bond anticipation notes of $9,600,000 and Street Railway equipment trust notes of $1,040,000 not included.

[5] **Los Angeles.** General debt includes $15,209,144 flood control and utility includes $125,739,327 metropolitan water district debt (city's pro-rata share). Harbor debt ($15,652,000) is only 35% self-supporting.

[6] **Cleveland.** Utility debt includes $2,682,000 light debt serviced by taxation because of inability of city to pay former street lighting bills. Special assessment debt of $1,667,756 and sinking fund overdraft of $4,189,773 included in general debt and sinking fund.

[7] **St. Louis.** Although only city debt is tabulated for most cities, the St. Louis debt includes all local overlapping debt inasmuch as certain functions, elsewhere performed by the county or special districts, are performed by the city. Relief bonds of $2,875,000 are actually serviced by municipal bridge tolls but are also general obligations of the city.

[8] **Boston.** Utility debt includes city's pro-rata share of Boston Metropolitan District debt ($30,472,300) which is a general obligation of the district but is serviced from revenues.

[9] **San Francisco.** Does not include $26,775,000 city's share of Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District debt. General city debt includes $2,280,000, airport bonds not self-supporting; $15,392,000 of water debt is not self-supporting.

[10] **Milwaukee.** General city debt includes $8,369,619 city's share of relief bonds issued by county and $11,926,332 city's share of Metropolitan Sewage District debt.

[11] **Buffalo.** Does not include $3,225,000 tax anticipation notes.

[12] **New Orleans.** General debt includes $21,175,000 Orleans Levee District debt. Utility debt includes $3,500,000 Public Belt Railroad Bridge bonds. Port bonds of approximately $35,000,000 not included.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
16(15)	Minneapolis, Minn.[18]	492,370	48,844,030	14,208,424	12,093,000	75,145,454	2,510,178	54	29	17	72,635,276	60,979,355	123.85	3,684,444	100
17(17)	Cincinnati, Ohio[14]	455,610	42,031,516	10,950,500	33,502,039	86,484,055	25,541,104	35	10	55	60,942,951	41,568,220	91.24	1,663,675	100
18(18)	Newark, N. J.[15]	429,760	76,307,752	17,148,200	20,164,000	113,619,952	19,935,357	51	33	16	93,684,595	76,683,007	178.43	—	—
19(19)	Kansas City, Mo.[16]	399,178	32,609,000	19,878,000	14,221,000	66,708,000	6,419,966	N	100	N	60,288,034	46,067,748	115.41	—	0
20(21)	Indianapolis, Ind.[17]	386,972	18,610,227	7,941,000	7,717,000	34,268,227	1,107,233	79	13	8	33,160,994	25,532,661	65.98	1,249,234	—
21(26)	Houston, Tex.[18]	384,514	29,354,250	10,067,250	1,110,000	40,531,500	6,078,987	69	23	8	34,452,513	33,850,190	88.03	N	0
22(20)	Seattle, Wash.	368,302	15,250,000	7,045,000	52,968,000	75,263,000	257,559	N	48	52	75,005,441	22,171,925	60.20	17,273,833	0
23(22)	Rochester, N. Y.[19]	324,975	42,248,000	12,797,500	5,106,000	60,151,500	6,507,785	55	17	28	53,643,715	50,331,986	154.88	3,838,000	100
24(29)	Denver, Colo.[20]	322,412	16,013,160	5,816,000	24,753,600	46,582,760	1,343,441	16	N	84	45,239,319	21,611,140	67.03	3,239,600	14
25(24)	Louisville, Ky.[21]	319,077	30,967,400	10,966,400	1,000,000	42,933,800	9,019,730	—	—	9	33,914,070	33,722,255	105.69	N	0
26(28)	Columbus, Ohio[22]	306,087	24,303,266	6,030,082	4,113,000	34,446,348	5,839,026	41	35	24	28,607,322	25,897,867	84.61	2,727,166	100
27(25)	Portland, Ore.[23]	305,394	17,311,072	4,463,910	13,747,000	35,521,982	5,769,024	62	N	38	29,752,958	18,140,595	59.40	2,344,608	100
28(32)	Atlanta, Ga.	302,288	6,932,500	3,695,500	1,700,000	12,328,000	1,186,395	66	24	10	11,141,605	9,559,214	31.62	552,000	100
29(30)	Oakland, Calif.[24]	302,163	8,451,160	8,652,000	31,716,653	48,819,813	N	N	N	N	48,819,813	17,103,160	56.60	264,027	100
30(23)	Jersey City, N. J.[25]	301,173	43,642,500	11,130,000	13,314,255	68,086,755	7,444,085	27	21	52	60,642,670	51,203,743	170.01	N	0
	Group III **Population 100,000 to 300,000**														
31(33)	Dallas, Tex.	294,734	19,312,500	7,095,750	10,547,000	36,955,250	2,938,557	52	12	36	34,016,693	24,534,537	83.24	N	0
32(36)	Memphis, Tenn.	292,942	15,548,000	5,260,000	25,298,000	46,106,000	2,710,036	54	19	27	43,395,964	18,834,901	64.30	304,000	100
33(31)	St. Paul, Minn.[26]	287,736	19,546,000	9,277,000	6,466,000	35,289,000	6,703,368	—	—	24	28,585,632	23,757,121	82.57	6,000,000	—
34(27)	Toledo, Ohio[27]	282,349	25,363,473	13,091,285	4,382,000	42,836,758	2,569,914	57	43	N	40,266,844	35,884,844	127.09	710,372	100
35(34)	Birmingham, Ala.[28]	267,583	12,742,000	9,559,000	4,000,000	26,301,000	3,743,769	100	N	N	22,557,231	18,557,231	69.35	—	100
36(38)	San Antonio, Tex.[29]	253,854	14,227,000	6,288,000	5,851,000	26,366,000	782,019	49	25	26	25,583,981	19,935,249	78.53	N	0
37(37)	Providence, R. I.[30]	253,504	32,493,000	15,572,000	18,000,000	66,065,000	17,020,829	44	20	36	49,044,171	37,182,112	146.67	N	0
38(35)	Akron, Ohio	244,791	24,187,518	4,773,995	8,635,000	37,596,513	2,833,774	18	12	70	34,762,739	28,104,327	114.81	1,146,300	100
39(39)	Omaha, Neb.	223,844	7,289,650	8,076,250	3,808,000	19,173,900	6,155,162	16	39	45	13,018,738	11,983,738	53.54	3,997,850	0
40(41)	Dayton, Ohio	210,718	8,476,370	4,979,159	3,025,000	16,480,529	1,990,442	83	N	17	14,490,087	11,806,804	56.03	606,543	—

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[13] **Minneapolis.** General debt includes $266,000 market bonds and utility debt includes $6,451,000 sewage disposal bonds partially self-supporting.

[14] **Cincinnati.** General city debt includes $510,500 non-self-supporting airport bonds. Rental of Cincinnati Southern Railway is sufficient to provide debt service on additional $14,000,000 debt.

[15] **Newark.** General debt includes refunded subway, airport, port and dock bonds which are financed by taxation.

[16] **Kansas City.** General debt includes $750,000 Missouri River Bridge bonds in litigation which may be taken over by the state. Utility debt of $9,000,000 is general city obligation but is serviced from revenues.

[17] **Indianapolis.** General debt includes city's share of five poor relief districts within the city.

[18] **Houston.** General debt includes $715,000 convention hall bonds payable from revenues and $2,056,000 water bonds, payable from taxation.

[19] **Rochester.** General debt includes $2,900,000 tax revenue and $3,838,000 special assessment debt.

[20] **Denver.** General debt includes $8,168,160 Moffat Tunnel District debt (city's share) financed through taxation.

[21] **Louisville.** School sinking fund included in city. Utility debt is not an obligation of the city.

[22] **Columbus.** General debt includes $2,727,166 special assessment bonds with sinking fund shortage of $1,158,877.

[23] **Portland.** General debt includes city's share of Port of Portland debt.

[24] **Oakland.** General debt includes $6,642,547 tax-supported harbor bonds. Utility debt is city's share of East Bay Municipal Utility District debt.

[25] **Jersey City.** Debt as of February 28, 1941.

[26] **St. Paul, et al.** City sinking fund includes school.

[27] **Toledo.** Library debt of $1,050,000 included in debt of school district which is independent of the city.

[28] **Birmingham.** Debt as of February 1, 1941.

[29] **San Antonio.** Debt as of March 1, 1941.

[30] **Providence.** General debt includes $1,190,000 harbor debt.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
41(40)	Syracuse, N. Y.[31]	205,967	23,370,425	4,820,431	4,762,625	32,953,481	N	N	N	N	32,953,481	28,190,856	136.87	144,000	100
42(43)	Oklahoma City, Okla.	204,424	7,291,500	4,729,023	3,758,000	15,778,523	5,524,116	32	24	44	10,254,407	9,925,207	48.55	1,656,393	0
43(53)	San Diego, Calif.[32]	203,341	2,442,281	3,234,500	11,952,184	17,628,965	N	N	N	N	17,628,965	5,676,781	27.92	2,041,709	0
44(42)	Worcester, Mass.	193,694	10,136,000	N	2,098,700	12,234,700	N	N	N	N	12,234,700	10,136,000	52.33	1,270,000	100
45(44)	Richmond, Va.[33]	193,042	24,515,264	6,939,895	7,663,941	39,119,100	14,108,276	59	18	23	25,010,824	20,588,463	106.65	N	0
46	Honolulu, Hawaii[34]	179,358	14,655,059	—	6,579,947	21,235,006	4,655,465	—	—	37	16,579,541	11,738,330	45.45	356,303	100
47(48)	Fort Worth, Tex.	177,662	12,783,000	6,221,500	7,187,000	26,191,500	1,402,447	36	64	N	24,789,053	17,602,053	99.08	N	0
48(63)	Jacksonville, Fla.[35]	173,065	8,271,000	3,526,000	4,740,000	16,537,000	1,586,529	54	37	9	14,950,471	10,360,596	59.87	707,000	100
49(78)	Miami, Fla.[36]	172,172	30,438,997	5,697,000	1,323,000	37,458,997	N	N	—	N	37,458,997	36,135,997	209.88	—	—
50(45)	Youngstown, Ohio[37]	167,720	9,465,555	1,531,000	590,500	11,587,055	1,222,943	—	23	—	10,364,112	9,773,612	58.27	187,000	100
51(51)	Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	8,738,000	3,544,000	17,936,000	30,218,000	1,302,936	—	—	—	28,915,064	10,979,064	65.59	—	—
52(47)	Hartford, Conn.[38]	166,267	18,389,000	4,887,000	2,025,000	25,301,000	3,315,675	59	30	11	21,985,325	20,308,690	122.15	N	0
53(46)	Grand Rapids, Mich.	164.292	5,025,200	1,309,846	4,955,000	11,290,046	1,915,000	21	N	79	9,375,046	5,931,046	36.10	1,068,000	100
54(57)	Long Beach, Calif.[39]	164,271	5,269,274	6,641,137	27,619,856	39,530,267	N	N	N	N	39,530,267	11,910,411	72.50	—	0
55(49)	New Haven, Conn.	160,605	12,581,000	284,000	N	12,865,000	734,563	90	10	N	12,130,437	12,130,437	75.53	N	0
56(56)	Des Moines, Iowa	159,819	5,694,493	6,525,500	4,019,000	16,238,993	383,228	N	N	100	15,855,765	12,219,993	76.46	—	—
57(50)	Flint, Mich.	151,543	5,295,729	4,256,000	1,649,100	11,200,829	2,795,015	28	33	39	8,405,814	7,837,504	51.72	678,000	100
58(59)	Salt Lake City, Utah[32]	149,934	2,731,000	3,761,000	4,127,000	10,619,000	659,093	77	23	N	9,959,907	5,832,907	38.90	197,400	0
59(52)	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	7,969,000	1,613,000	5,655,000	15,237,000	N	N	N	N	15,237,000	9,582,000	64.07	N	0
60(54)	Bridgeport, Conn.	147,121	10,677,000	2,636,000	N	13,313,000	N	N	N	N	13,313,000	13,313,000	90.49	N	0
61(62)	Norfolk, Va.[28]	144,332	17,053,031	6,800,000	14,317,669	38,170,700	13,146,870	—	—	45	25,023,830	16,624,154	115.18	N	0
62(61)	Yonkers, N. Y.	142,598	20,901,650	7,228,950	5,132,250	33,262,850	N	N	N	N	33,262,850	28,130,600	197.31	1,373,600	100
63(58)	Tulsa, Okla.[40]	142,157	7,154,024	4,301,200	2,629,000	14,084,224	4,125,734	—	36	—	9,958,490	7,329,490	51.56	—	0
64(55)	Scranton, Pa.	140,404	2,479,000	6,359,000	N	8,838,000	206,790	25	75	N	8,631,210	8,631,210	61.47	459,326	0
65(60)	Paterson, N. J.	139,656	9,608,028	5,189,000	13,226,000	28,023,028	981,386	92	8	N	27,041,642	13,815,642	98.93	—	—
66(64)	Albany, N. Y.	130,577	15,369,375	4,489,600	12,992,000	32,850,975	1,643,588	99	N	1	31,207,387	18,231,923	139.63	215,000	100
67(67)	Chattanooga, Tenn.[41]	128,163	12,930,600	2,050,500	13,200,000	28,181,100	1,793,520	—	—	13	26,387,580	13,427,966	104.77	1,253,600	100
68(65)	Trenton, N. J.	124,697	10,806,760	7,282,963	1,124,800	19,214,523	1,492,169	30	43	27	17,722,354	17,003,308	136.36	12,000	100
69(70)	Spokane, Wash.	122,001	2,153,000	480,000	388,000	3,021,000	115,145	52	3	45	2,905,855	2,569,789	21.06	1,607,452	0
70(66)	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	3,623,771	2,952,000	3,595,000	10,170,771	2,324,957	2	N	98	7,845,814	6,520,167	53.68	189,689	0

[31] **Syracuse.** General debt includes $75,000 municipal stadium bonds which are self-supporting.

[32] **San Diego, et al.** Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[33] **Richmond.** Debt as of January 31, 1941.

[34] **Honolulu.** All school debt (except for buildings and repairs which is included in general debt) is issued by the territory of Hawaii. Debt shown is combined city-county figure; per capita computed on basis of county population of 258,256.

[35] **Jacksonville.** School debt is not issued by the city, but by the school district. Utility debt includes $1,325,000 dock bonds not self-supporting.

[36] **Miami.** Debt as of June 30, 1940. School debt is city's share of net debt of four independent school districts.

[37] **Youngstown.** Division between utility and general city sinking fund not available.

[38] **Hartford.** Debt as of January 5, 1941.

[39] **Long Beach.** General debt includes city's share of county flood control debt, $2,070,484. Public utility debt includes city's share of metropolitan water debt, $17,673,231.

[40] **Tulsa.** Debt as of January 31, 1941. Utility debt not self-supporting; utility sinking fund not separated from general.

[41] **Chattanooga.** Debt as of September 30, 1940.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
71(72)	Fort Wayne, Ind.	118,410	439,900	1,962,000	1,596,000	3,997,900	N	N	N	N	3,997,900	2,401,900	20.28	3,000,000	0
72(68)	Camden, N. J.	117,536	21,507,260	3,650,000	1,024,075	26,181,335	1,365,740	65	28	7	24,815,595	23,890,738	203.26	N	0
73(69)	Erie, Pa.	116,955	4,716,000	4,576,874	1,215,000	10,507,874	145,120	100	N	N	10,362,754	9,147,754	78.22	523,291	0
74(71)	Fall River, Mass.	115,428	3,886,500	691,000	275,000	4,852,500	276,000	100	N	N	4,576,500	4,301,500	37.27	N	0
75(77)	Wichita, Kans.[42]	114,966	5,831,420	2,924,000	1,333,750	10,089,170	N	N	N	N	10,089,170	8,755,420	76.16	1,890,670	100
76(80)	Wilmington, Del.[43]	112,504	4,217,500	706,000	6,712,800	11,636,300	1,520,307	—	—	—	10,115,993	3,403,193	30.25	—	—
77(92)	Gary, Ind.[44]	111,719	4,813,297	3,140,000	N	7,953,297	14.220	91	9	N	7,939,077	7,939,077	71.06	—	—
78(81)	Knoxville, Tenn.	111,580	18,815,235	1,787,000	4,552,238	25,154,473	2,274,348	74	N	26	22,880,125	18,909,092	169.47	—	100
79(74)	Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	Not Reporting												
80(76)	Reading, Pa.	110,568	3,128,000	6,435,500	2,217,000	11,780,500	336,643	45	4	51	11,443,857	9,396,974	84.99	345,000	0
81(75)	New Bedford, Mass.[45]	110,341	5,804,000	849,000	930,000	7,583,000	951,330	100	N	N	6,631,670	5,701,670	51.67	N	0
82(73)	Elizabeth, N. J.	109,912	6,175,095	4,899,600	3,958,000	15,032,695	754,566	—	—	—	14,278,129	10,320,129	93.89	N	0
83(79)	Tacoma, Wash.	109,408	1,769,000	990,000	7,503,995	10,262,995	57,800	100	N	N	10,205,195	2,701,200	24.69	694,356	0
84(83)	Canton, Ohio	108,401	3,933,624	4,306,000	629,000	8,868,624	1,929,803	50	50	N	6,938,821	6,309,821	58.21	218,371	100
85(91)	Tampa, Fla.	108,391	Not Reporting												
86(96)	Sacramento, Calif.	105,958	3,930,470	5,547,000	3,430,500	12,907,970	N	N	N	N	12,907,970	9,477,470	89.45	349,018	0
87(82)	Peoria, Ill.	105,087	2,302,500	645,000	N	2,947,500	36,613	100	N	N	2,910,887	2,910,887	27.70	615,041	27
88(85)	Somerville, Mass.[32]	102,177	3,561,871	1,271,000	210,000	5,042,871	N	N	N	N	5,042,871	4,832,871	47.30	N	0
89(93)	Lowell, Mass.	101,389	4,596,219	304,000	363,000	5,263,219	N	N	N	N	5,263,219	4,900,219	48.33	N	0
90(84)	South Bend, Ind.[46]	101,268	2,536,390	1,807,000	575,000	4,918,390	379,406	33	N	67	4,538,984	4,219,795	41.67	2,000,000*	100
91(90)	Duluth, Minn.	101,065	4,211,666	2,182,000	2,414,500	8,808,166	N	N	N	N	8,808,166	6,393,666	63.26	150,000	0
92(103)	Charlotte, N. C.	100,899	4,441,533	1,288,000	3,004,000	8,733,533	576,708	29	15	56	8,156,825	5,476,814	54.28	1,402,967	100
93(89)	Utica, N. Y.	100,518	9,186,224	1,357,437	N	10,543,661	72,414	—	—	—	10,471,247	10,471,247	104.17	—	—
	Group IV														
	Population 50,000 to 100,000														
94(94)	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	9,527,000	1,039,000	5,988,000	16,554,000	N	N	N	N	16,554,000	10,566,000	106.39	N	0
95(115)	Shreveport, La.	98,167	Not Reporting												
96(87)	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	4,308,700	1,391,000	307,500	6,007,200	N	N	N	N	6,007,200	5,699,700	58.09	—	0
97(88)	Evansville, Ind.	97,062	1,544,200	1,624,500	1,487,000	4,655,700	259,141	63	N	37	4,396,559	3,005,196	30.96	157,273	100
98(97)	Allentown, Pa.	96,904	4,774,700	3,651,500	710,000	9,136,200	920,034	43	57	N	8,216,166	7,506,166	77.46	247,000	0
99(86)	El Paso, Tex.	96,810	3,098,000	1,816,802	1,557,000	6,471,802	265,022	60	19	21	6,206,780	4,705,006	48.60	—	—
100(102)	Savannah, Ga.	95,996	3,934,500	475,580	125,000	4,535,080	285,000	100	N	N	4,250,080	4,125,080	42.97	N	0
101(106)	Little Rock, Ark.	88,039	2,659,500	1,903,500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
102(178)	Austin, Tex.	87,930	3,310,000	1,861,000	1,299,000	6,470,000	52,290	—	—	—	6,417,710	5,118,710	58.21	N	0

[42] **Wichita.** General debt includes city's share of county debt for welfare.
[43] **Wilmington.** Debt as of June 30, 1940. Utility debt is not self-supporting.
[44] **Gary.** General debt includes $2,652,000 bonds of independent sanitary district.
[45] **New Bedford.** Utility debt includes $68,000 wharf bonds not self-supporting.
[46] **South Bend.** General debt includes city's share ($661,940) of township relief debt and $394,450 park district debt.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
103(95)	Schenectady, N. Y.[26]	87,549	9,488,500	941,000	254,000	10,683,500	93,789	—	—	4	10,589,711	10,339,836	118.10	454,000	100
104(99)	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	86,236	2,729,000	750,000	N	3,479,000	61,222	54	46	N	3,417,778	3,417,778	39.63	N	0
105(104)	Berkeley, Calif.	85,547	782,167	1,348,000	8,775,000	10,905,167	N	N	N	N	10,905,167	2,130,167	24.90	20,001	100
106(100)	Rockford, Ill.	84,637	561,250	2,406,000	20,000	2,987,250	937,700	9	91	N	2,049,550	2,029,550	23.98	650,000	0
107(101)	Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	2,350,000	304,500	442,000	3,096,500	N	N	N	N	3,096,500	2,654,500	31.48	—	—
108(109)	Harrisburg, Pa.	83,893	Not Reporting												
109(108)	Saginaw, Mich.[32]	82,794	426,000	254,000	1,874,000	2,554,000	N	N	N	N	2,554,000	680,000	8.21	262,400	65
110(147)	Glendale, Calif.[47]	82,582	1,167,000	3,508,000	250,000	4,925,000	N	N	N	N	4,925,000	4,675,000	56.61	92,200	0
111(110)	Sioux City, Iowa	82,364	3,120,000	1,025,000	450,000	4,595,000	107,289	100	N	N	4,487,711	4,037,711	49.02	59,000	0
112(117)	Lincoln, Neb.[48]	81,984	902,000	3,448,000	1,741,000	6,091,000	700,852	5	N	95	5,390,148	4,314,364	52.62	75,155	100
113(116)	Pasadena, Calif.[49]	81,864	2,840,444	2,672,600	5,893,356	11,406,400	137,917	N	N	100	11,268,483	5,513,044	67.34	2,153,203	0
114(103)	Altoona, Pa.	80,214	2,241,000	3,141,000	520,000	5,902,000	692,705	93	7	N	5,209,295	4,689,295	58.46	765,500	0
115(120)	Winston Salem, N. C.	79,815	8,417,060	3,490,882	2,473,058	14,381,000	323,089	79	N	21	14,057,911	11,652,910	146.00	192,000	100
116(98)	Bayonne, N. J.	79,198	Not Reporting												
117(118)	Huntington, W. Va.[50]	78,836	1,253,000	454,500	N	1,707,500	497,552	100	N	N	1,209,948	1,209,948	15.35	N	0
118(111)	Lansing, Mich.	78,753	674,000	N	773,000	1,447,000	692,000	N	N	100	755,000	674,000	8.56	N	0
119(129)	Mobile, Ala.[51]	78,720	8,351,000	—	5,244,000	13,595,000	199,524	100	N	N	13,395,476	8,151,476	103.55	N	0
120(114)	Binghamton, N. Y.	78,309	2,902,000	2,734,700	25,000	5,661,700	N	N	N	N	5,661,700	5,636,700	71.98	N	0
121(136)	Montgomery, Ala.	78,084	Not Reporting												
122(119)	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[52]	78,029	8,237,805	6,694,710	1,476,330	16,408,845	233,941	N	N	100	16,174,904	14,932,515	191.37	N	0
123(113)	Manchester, N. H.	77,685	3,179,945	352,305	89,250	3,621,500	N	N	N	N	3,621,500	3,532,250	45.47	—	—
124(123)	Quincy, Mass.	75,810	3,150,000	543,500	200,000	3,893,500	N	N	N	N	3,893,500	3,693,500	48.72	N	0
125(112)	Pawtucket, R. I.	75,797	10,595,000	3,391,000	2,747,000	16,733,000	2,687,852	50	33	17	14,045,148	11,761,149	155.17	—	—
126(107)	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,711	4,216,000	2,631,000	N	6,847,000	199,161	88	12	N	6,647,839	6,647,839	87.81	—	—
127(121)	East St. Louis, Ill.	75,609	Not Reporting												
128(124)	Springfield, Ill.	75,503	Not Reporting												
129(125)	Portland, Me.[53]	73,643	4,674.850	417,000	6,046,900	11,138,750	431.911	—	—	37	10,706,839	4,821,368	65.47	N	0
130(148)	Charleston, S. C.[54]	71,275	4,404,000	937,000	6,215,000	11,556,000	2,789,139	1	7	92	8,766,861	5,110,215	71.70	192,000	94
131(128)	Springfield, Ohio	70,662	Not Reporting												
132(122)	Troy, N. Y.	70,304	5,720,940	635.625	566,025	6,922,590	N	N	N	N	6,922,590	6,356,565	90.42	—	—
133(140)	Hammond, Ind.	70,184	3,169,070	1,522,500	1,047,000	5,738,570	174,405	53	9	38	5,564,165	4,583,237	65.30	4,397,206	0
134(137)	Newton, Mass.	69,873	3.572,000	1,613,000	606,000	5,791,000	N	N	N	N	5,791,000	5,185,000	74.21	N	0
135(127)	Roanoke, Va.[26]	69,287	3,950,000	2,551,000	4,800,000	11,301,000	1,180,177	—	—	9	10,120,823	5,429,870	78.37	N	0

[47] **Glendale.** Does not include city's share of Metropolitan Water District debt (6,033,194) nor flood control district debt ($697,586).

[48] **Lincoln.** General debt includes $73,000 sanitary district debt.

[49] **Pasadena.** Does not include city's share of overlapping debt; $8,257,069 metropolitan water district and $937,931 flood control.

[50] **Huntington.** Flood control debt of $1,010,000 not included.

[51] **Mobile.** Special assessment debt of $3,421,567 on February 29, 1940, refunded into general city obligation. School debt is included in general city debt.

[52] **Niagara Falls.** School debt includes $1,300,000 debt of school district specifically excluded by constitution from city debt when computing debt limit.

[53] **Portland, Me.** General debt includes Portland's share of bridge district and pier district debt. Utility debt is city's share of Portland Water District debt.

[54] **Charleston, S. C.** Utility debt includes $4,300,000 non-self-supporting port debt.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
136(126)	Lakewood, Ohio	69,160	1,795,855	1,892,500	1,850,500	5,538,855	453,906	83	9	8	5,084,949	3,271,613	47.30	10,120	100
137(131)	East Orange, N. J.	68,945	6,016,500	3,357,445	548,000	9,921,945	931,727	15	63	22	8,990,218	8,643,536	125.37	13,186	100
138(130)	New Britain, Conn.[55]	68,685	1,472,000	2,171,000	1,671,000	5,314,000	322,920	83	N	17	4,991,080	3,374,300	49.13	N	0
139(163)	San Jose, Calif.[56]	68,457	812,600	1,048,000	N	1,860,600	N	N	N	N	1,860,600	1,860,600	27.18	56,374	—
140(152)	Charleston, W. Va.	67,914	Not Reporting												
141(141)	Topeka, Kans.	67,833	638,312	1,589,000	535,000	2,762,312	535,000	N	N	100	2,227,312	2,227,312	32.84	413,514	100
142(160)	Madison, Wis.[57]	67,447	2,566,800	2,185,750	213,000	4,965,550	N	N	N	N	4,965,550	4,752,550	70.46	137,300	36
143(150)	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	67,362	5,646,000	3,574,050	2,717,000	11,937,050	2,167,042	14	N	86	9,770,008	8,920,227	132.42	N	0
144(132)	Racine, Wis.	67,195	2,222,000	885,000	948,000	4,055,000	94,000	100	N	N	3,961,000	3,013,000	44.84	30,882	0
145(133)	Johnstown, Pa.	66,668	3,012,101	4,234,000	N	7,246,101	1,495,797	62	38	N	5,750,304	5,750,304	86.25	N	0
146(139)	Pontiac, Mich.[105]	66,626	3,200,250	2,033,575	1,438,000	6,671,825	272,031	100	N	N	6,399,794	4,961,794	74.47	1,257,000	100
147(151)	Davenport, Iowa	66,039	1,982,717	1,488,000	N	3,470,717	156,704	100	N	N	3,314,013	3,314,013	50.18	198,241	0
148(142)	Oak Park, Ill.	66,015	714,000	1,649,000	1,135,000	3,498,000	290,000	N	100	N	3,208,000	2,073,000	31.40	194,349	0
149(153)	Augusta, Ga.[32]	65,919	2,157,000	953,000	629,000	3,739,000	605,624	—	N	—	3,133,376	2,504,376	37.99	N	0
150(198)	Phoenix, Ariz.[32]	65,414	3,833,000	3,006,000	4,832,000	11,671,000	782,681	3	97	N	10,888,319	6,056,319	92.58	632,056	0
151(144)	Evanston, Ill.	65,389	657,000	2,580,000	59,000	3,296,000	240,545	N	90	10	3,055,455	2,021,138	30.91	801,878	0
152(134)	Cicero, Ill.	64,712	Not Reporting												
153(135)	Atlantic City, N. J.[106]	64,094	23,155,000	—	2,108,000	25,263,000	N	N	N	N	25,263,000	23,155,000	361.27	—	—
154(188)	Dearborn, Mich.[58]	63,584	10,862,000	5,579,838	1,994,000	18,435,838	6,149,077	84	2	14	12,286,761	11,172,987	175.72	118,750	100
155(155)	Medford, Mass.	63,083	2,937,500	765,000	418,000	4,120,500	5,000	100	N	N	4,115,500	3,697,500	58.61	N	0
156(146)	Terre Haute, Ind.[59]	62,693	889,500	490,000	N	1,379,500	67,385	24	76	N	1,312,115	1,312,115	20.93	—	—
157(185)	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	Not Reporting												
158(143)	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	2,525,634	50,000	607,300	3,182,934	N	N	N	N	3,182,934	2,575,634	41.31	—	—
159(169)	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	62,120	Not Reporting												
160(197)	Jackson, Miss.	62,107	4,369,290	967,500	594,750	5,931,540	270,000	100	N	N	5,661,540	5,066,790	81.58	295,070	100
161(138)	Covington, Ky.	62,018	1,455,000	1,429,000	2,153,500	5,037,500	N	N	N	N	5,037,500	2,884,000	46.50	—	—
162(145)	Passaic, N. J.	61,394	6,650,500	1,721,000	7,256,000	15,627,500	1,305,148	71	N	29	14,322,352	7,442,409	121.22	N	0
163(154)	Lancaster, Pa.[60]	61,345	1,375,000	3,118,000	2,550,000	7,043,000	797,241	3	97	N	6,245,759	3,695,759	60.25	N	0
164(164)	Springfield, Mo.	61,238	1,245,135	1,389,500	N	2,634,635	295,100	65	35	N	2,339,535	2,339,535	38.20	—	—
165(149)	Wheeling, W. Va.[32]	61,099	1,840,100	1,680,500	1,200,000	4,720,600	52,474	N	100	N	4,668,126	3,468,126	56.76	N	0
166(180)	Galveston, Tex.[61]	60,862	4,092,500	1,854,000	6,719,500	12,666,000	741,113	81	14	5	11,924,887	5,243,352	86.15	N	0
167(234)	St. Petersburg, Fla.	60,812	19,434,500	2,450,250	3,297,000	25,181,750	461,911	58	36	6	24,719,839	21,449,086	352.71	N	0
168(182)	Fresno, Calif.	60,685	719,000	3,000,000	2,165,000	5,884,000	449,020	3	32	65	5,434,980	3,562,132	58.70	—	—
169(184)	Durham, N. C.	60,195	4,050,473	1,205,391	3,265,000	8,520,864	316,636	100	N	N	8,204,228	4,939,228	82.05	1,174,783	100
170(177)	Greensboro, N. C.	59,319	7,202,745	2,082,300	2,581,020	11,866,065	229,397	55	N	45	11,636,668	9,159,363	154.41	3,552,235	100

[55] **New Britain.** General debt does not include $567,000 revenue anticipation serial coupon notes.

[56] **San Jose.** Debt as of November 30, 1940.

[57] **Madison.** Utility debt includes $73,000 water bonds not self-supporting.

[58] **Dearborn.** General debt includes $534,000 refunding debt to be retired from

[59] **Terre Haute.** General debt includes $432,000 bonds of park district which is independent of the city.

[60] **Lancaster.** Debt as of January 4, 1941. Utility debt not self-suporting.

[61] **Galveston.** General debt includes $427,000 grade-raising bonds serviced by state aid.

		Census 1940	GROSS BONDED DEBT General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	SINKING FUNDS Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	NET BONDED DEBT Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
171(165)	Decatur, Ill.	59,305	Not Reporting												
172(157)	Chester, Pa.	59,285	Not Reporting												
173(162)	Beaumont, Tex.[62]	59,061	4,352,000	1,863,138	2,401,000	8,616,138	377,263	38	20	42	8,238,875	5,996,125	101.52	24,000	100
174(161)	Bethlehem, Pa.[63]	58,490	1,373,000	2,405,000	2,728,500	6,506,500	900,553	1	76	23	5,605,947	3,081,764	52.69	N	0
175(175)	New Rochelle, N. Y.	58,408	8,516,000	4,951,000	N	13,467,000	117,689	—	—	—	13,349,311	13,349,311	228.55	3,297	—
176(159)	Malden, Mass.	58,010	2,527,000	1,154,000	105,000	3,786,000	201,777	100	N	N	3,584,223	3,479,223	59.98	94,267	100
177(176)	Macon, Ga.	57,865	838,000	646,800	N	1,484,800	N	N	N	N	1,484,800	1,484,800	25.66	N	0
178	Corpus Christi, Tex.[64]	57,301	8,438,143	1,639,000	1,328,000	11,405,143	1,104,072	79	9	12	10,301,071	9,107,930	158.95	N	0
179(170)	York, Pa.	56,712	1,159,500	1,850,000	N	3,009,500	272,166	65	35	N	2,737,334	2,737,334	48.27	600	0
180(158)	Union City, N. J.	56,173	5,034,875	1,540,000	N	6,574,875	87,969	72	28	N	6,486,906	6,486,906	115.48	6,000	100
181(181)	Waco, Tex.[32]	55,982	2,972,500	1,427,800	1,680,000	6,080,300	991,240	—	—	—	5,089,060	3,409,060	60.90	N	0
182(174)	McKeesport, Pa.	55,355	Not Reporting												
183(166)	Irvington, N. J.[65]	55,328	3,801,000	3,381,150	N	7,182,150	326,380	57	43	N	6,855,770	6,855,770	123.91	N	0
184(186)	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	54,992	594,500	4,403,500	N	4,998,000	706,559	12	88	N	4,291,441	4,291,441	78.04	310,000	100
185(199)	Stockton, Calif.	54,714	4,668,975	310,000	N	4,978,975	N	N	N	N	4,978,975	4,978,975	91.00	14,978	0
186(173)	East Chicago, Ind.	54,637	Not Reporting												
187(172)	Kalamazoo, Mich.[66]	54,097	N	—	N	—	—	N	—	N	—	—	—	—	—
188(167)	Holyoke, Mass.	53,750	372,000	362,000	692,000	1,426,000	N	N	N	N	1,426,000	734,000	13.66	N	0
189(253)	Santa Monica, Calif.[67]	53,500	1,683,500	1,724,500	935,000	4,343,000	157,746	24	61	15	4,185,254	3,273,451	61.19	175,000	100
190(221)	Columbus, Ga.	53,280	1,668,900	639,600	60,000	2,368,500	N	N	N	N	2,368,500	2,308,500	43.33	7,300	100
191(191)	Pueblo, Colo.[68]	52,162	3,446,000	1,292,000	7,706,400	12,444,400	N	N	N	N	12,444,400	4,738,000	90.83	867,000	0
192(208)	Waterloo, Iowa	51,743	Not Reporting												
193(220)	Amarillo, Tex.	51,686	2,958,600	1,684,000	1,961,980	6,604,580	382,830	60	37	3	6,221,750	4,268,306	82.58	N	0
194(190)	Asheville, N. C.[69]	51,310	15,050,059	2,704,550	5,082,930	22,837,539	N	N	N	N	22,837,539	17,754,609	346.03	N	0
195(179)	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	965,000	2,800,000	138,000	3,903,000	1,874,650	49	46	5	2,028,350	1,992,711	39.22	25,700	100
196(212)	Portsmouth, Va.[32]	50,745	5,101,000	596,000	2,973,000	8,670,000	2,619,545	29	N	71	6,050,455	4,944,425	97.44	N	0
197(183)	Hamilton, Ohio	50,592	1,325,786	843,000	764,000	2,932,786	103,595	62	38	N	2,829,191	2,065,191	40.82	101,751	100
198(156)	Hoboken, N. J.	50,115	Not Reporting												
	Group V **Population 30,000 to 50,000**														
199(168)	Hamtramck, Mich.[32]	49,839	3,569,978	2,761,000	491,000	6,821,978	1,052,315	33	67	N	5,769,663	5,278,663	105.91	N	0
200(200)	Brookline, Mass.[32]	49,786	591,000	572,000	332,000	1,495,000	N	N	N	N	1,495,000	1,163,000	23.36	—	—

[62] **Beaumont.** Utility debt includes $1,903,000 wharf debt not self-supporting.

[63] **Bethlehem.** Utility debt includes $2,150,000 bonds of independent Bethlehem Municipal Water Authority.

[64] **Corpus Christi.** General debt includes $3,325,000 sea wall and breakwater construction debt serviced by state aid.

[65] **Irvington.** General debt includes $252,000 school refunding bonds.

[66] **Kalamazoo.** The city of Kalamazoo has no outstanding debt. School district debt was not available at time of this tabulation.

[67] **Santa Monica.** Does not include city's share of Metropolitan Water District debt ($4,844,957) nor flood control district debt ($501,207). Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[68] **Pueblo.** General debt includes $2,927,000 flood control which, together with light and power debt of $6,763,400 is not a city obligation. Utility debt includes $943,000 water bonds not self-supporting.

[69] **Asheville.** General debt includes $1,019,956 debt of four sanitary districts assumed by the city.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
201(206)	Muncie, Ind.	49,720	844,447	725,000	880,000	2,449,447	N	N	N	N	2,449,447	1,569,447	31.57	—	—
202(192)	Pittsfield, Mass.	49,684	913,000	411,000	155,000	1,479,000	N	N	N	N	1,479,000	1,324,000	26.65	N	0
203(171)	Jackson, Mich.[70]	49,656	1,327,000	1,123,000	1,263,500	3,713.500	N	N	N	N	3,713,500	2,450,000	49.34	174,500	100
204(210)	Lexington, Ky.	49,304	2,185,000	561,000	N	2,746,000	427,068	91	9	N	2,318,932	2,318,932	47.03	38,349	0
205(193)	Woonsocket, R. I.	49,303	5,667,000	978,000	716,000	7,361,000	1,485,260	91	9	N	5,875,740	5,159,740	104.65	N	0
206(204)	Clifton, N. J.	48,827	Not Reporting												
207(189)	Kenosha, Wis.	48,765	334,500	2,340,000	500,000	3,174,500	N	N	N	N	3,174,500	2,674,500	54.84	111,155	0
208(203)	Berwyn, Ill.	48,451	Not Reporting												
209(202)	Bay City, Mich.	47,956	422,000	571,500	1,196,000	2,189,500	247,772	37	32	31	1,941,728	822,807	17.16	204,000	100
210(207)	Stamford, Conn.	47,938	2,805,348	2,226,500	N	5,031,848	373,061	9	91	N	4,658,787	4,658,787	97.18	N	0
211(229)	Muskegon, Mich.	47,697	1,585,000	1,782,812	901,000	4,268,812	270,766	100	N	N	3,998,046	3,097,046	64.93	45,570	100
212(195)	New Castle, Pa.	47,638	728,000	1,891,000	N	2,619,000	67,280	93	7	N	2,551,720	2,551,720	53.56	N	0
213(205)	Aurora, Ill.	47,170	578,500	435,000	269,000	1,282,500	N	N	N	N	1,282,500	1,013,500	21.49	—	—
214(223)	Cranston, R. I.	47,085	2,563,500	2,179,000	N	4,742,500	198,729	N	100	N	4,543,771	4,543,771	96.50	N	0
215(251)	Raleigh, N. C.[71]	46,897	2,238,000	1,501,950	1,939,000	5,678,950	173,294	100	N	N	5,505,656	3,566,656	76.05	858,000	100
216(196)	Everett, Mass.[32]	46,784	1,270,900	436,000	107,000	1,813,900	N	N	N	N	1,813,900	1,706,900	36.48	N	0
217(194)	Haverhill, Mass.	46,752	1,361,300	60,000	116,000	1,537,300	N	N	N	N	1,537,300	1,421,300	30.40	N	0
218(250)	Green Bay, Wis.	46,235	204,000	1,432,500	757,000	2,393,500	240,946	N	87	13	2,152,554	1,426,554	30.85	—	—
219(187)	Port Arthur, Tex.[72]	46,140	3,805,600	1,868,000	662,500	6,336,100	338,179	81	11	8	5,997,921	5,360,450	116.18	N	0
220(216)	Wichita Falls, Tex.[73]	45,112	3,200,000	1,781,000	2,976,000	7,957,000	139,451	N	24	76	7,817,549	4,946,846	109.66	—	—
221(201)	Elmira, N. Y.	45,106	2,052,000	904,000	300,000	3,256,000	N	N	N	N	3,256,000	2,956,000	65.53	N	0
222(225)	Lima, Ohio	44,711	2,433,500	410,000	373,000	3,216,500	N	N	N	N	3,216,500	2,843,500	63.60	N	0
223(233)	Lynchburg, Va.	44,541	2,427,445	826,976	2,449,208	5,703,629	1,106,679	35	16	49	4,596,950	2,687,742	60.34	N	0
224(211)	Williamsport, Pa.	44,355	530,000	895,000	N	1,425,000	214,332	12	88	N	1,210,668	1,210,668	27.29	43,800	0
225(214)	Lorain, Ohio	44,125	1,137,247	501,000	73,000	1,711,247	16,263	100	N	N	1,694,984	1,621,984	36.76	233,386	100
226(228)	Dubuque, Iowa	43,892	Not Reporting												
227(236)	Ogden, Utah	43,688	Not Reporting												
228(249)	San Bernardino, Calif.	43,646	521,500	866,200	182,325	1,570,025	154,969	24	70	6	1,415,056	1,241,883	28.45	N	0
229(217)	Battle Creek, Mich.	43,453	463,000	773,500	288,000	1,524,500	N	N	N	N	1,524,500	1,236,500	28.46	—	—
230(230)	Warren, Ohio[74]	42,837	1,242,600	619,450	280,000	2,142,050	123,370	N	33	67	2,018,680	1,821,680	42.53	36,000	100
231(247)	Rock Island, Ill.	42,775	Not Reporting												
232(240)	La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	557,000	753,000	21,000	1,331,000	6,500	—	—	—	1,324,500	1,303,500	30.52	34,798	0
233(213)	Jamestown, N. Y.[74]	42,638	537,233	1,643,000	379,000	2,559,233	89,120	N	N	100	2,470,113	2,180,233	51.13	25,000	100
234(222)	Joliet, Ill.[74]	42,365	649,000	1,166,790	84,000	1,899,790	N	N	N	N	1,899,790	1.815,790	42.86	523,626	—
235(232)	Fitchburg, Mass.[32]	41,824	1,102,700	668,000	206,200	1,976,900	N	N	N	N	1,976,900	1,770,700	42.34	N	0

[70] **Jackson.** Public utility debt includes $758,500 water bonds not self-supporting.

[71] **Raleigh.** School debt as of June 30, 1940.

[72] **Port Arthur.** General debt includes $1,295,000 sea wall bonds retired from remission of 8/9 of state taxes collected.

[73] **Wichita Falls.** Utility debt includes city's share ($2,576,000) of Wichita County Water District debt which is not self-supporting.

[74] **Warren et al.** School debt is not an obligation of the city.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
236(215)	Chicopee, Mass.	41,664	Not Reporting												
237(246)	Bloomfield, N. J.	41,623	2,192,000	2,543,500	1,062,000	5,797,500	21,000	71	N	29	5,776,500	4,714,500	113.27	N	0
238(238)	Anderson, Ind.	41,572	Not Reporting												
239(226)	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	Not Reporting												
240(209)	Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	1,884,800	250,500	N	2,135,300	428,106	100	N	N	1,707,194	1,707,194	41.38	N	0
241(218)	Perth Amboy, N. J.	41,242	8,279,500	1,270,000	1,586,000	11,135,500	477,561	29	42	29	10,657,939	9,209,099	223.29	N	0
242(219)	Salem, Mass.	41,213	908,442	93,000	174,000	1,175,442	N	N	N	N	1,175,442	1,001,442	24.30	—	—
243(284)	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.[82]	40,832	642,000	1,066,000	38,000	1,746,000	719,534	9	90	1	1,026,466	994,484	24.36	N	0
244(242)	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	1,175,000	535,000	122,000	1,832,000	N	N	N	N	1,832,000	1,710,000	42.08	40,560	0
245(235)	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	40,478	3,469,908	1,057,000	338,000	4,864,908	21,677	65	35	N	4,843,231	4,505,231	111.30	90,149	100
246(244)	Quincy, Ill.[75]	40,469	N	662,000	191,000	853,000	14,852	N	100	N	838,148	647,148	15.99	119,461	0
247(224)	Portsmouth, Ohio	40,466	3,280,200	1,362,000	1,201,000	5,843,200	111,416	37	11	52	5,731,784	4,588,523	113.39	36,000	100
248(265)	White Plains, N. Y.	40,327	4,678,274	6,556,000	1,080,000	12,314,274	468,860	61	37	2	11,845,414	10,774,511	267.18	N	0
249(243)	Waltham, Mass.	40,020	Not Reporting												
250(261)	Arlington, Mass.	40,013	43,000	365,000	8,000	416,000	13,475	100	N	N	402,525	394,525	9.86	N	—
251(262)	Norwalk, Conn.[82]	39,849	2,105,000	1,866,000	816,000	4,807,000	213,308	—	—	—	4,593,692	3,777,692	94.80	N	0
252(227)	Montclair, N. J.	39,807	Not Reporting												
253(239)	East Cleveland, Ohio	39,495	899,000	1,304,000	N	2,203,000	679,996	40	60	N	1,523,004	1,523,004	38.56	143,500	100
254(245)	Meriden, Conn.	39,494	413,000	753,000	48,000	1,214,000	11,454	100	N	N	1,202,546	1,154,546	29.23	—	—
255(248)	Cumberland, Md.	39,483	2,587,000	1,357,000	3,174,900	7,118,900	1,250,915	36	N	64	5,867,985	3,494,319	88.50	N	0
256(231)	Kearny, N. J.[76]	39,467	5,175,000	1,805,000	4,850,000	11,830,000	208,000	100	N	N	11,622,000	6,772,000	171.58	N	0
257(254)	West New York, N. J.	39,439	Not Reporting												
258(288)	Laredo, Tex.[77]	39,274	1,003,000	566,000	N	1,569,000	82,212	75	25	N	1,486,788	1,486,788	37.86	—	—
259(237)	Oshkosh, Wis.[78]	39,089	487,000	305,000	473,000	1,265,000	N	N	N	N	1,265,000	792,000	20.26	N	0
260	Alhambra, Calif.	38,935	Not Reporting												
261(270)	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	Not Reporting												
262(257)	High Point, N. C.[79]	38,495	4,593,794	1,899,791	2,561,613	9,055,198	342,890	—	—	—	8,712,308	6,150,694	159.78	3,741,210	100
263(263)	Elgin, Ill.	38,333	949,000	516,000	138,000	1,603,000	78,279	75	N	25	1,524,721	1,405,972	36.68	191,825	0
264(264)	Norristown, Pa.[26]	38,181	595,000	1,475,000	N	2,070,000	326,641	—	—	N	1,743,359	1,743,359	45.66	N	0
265(255)	Hazleton, Pa.	38,009	1,620,500	1,233,000	N	2,853,500	189,849	16	84	N	2,663,651	2,663,651	70.08	—	—
266(267)	Steubenville, Ohio	37,651	351,490	754,750	23,000	1,129,240	29,869	33	67	N	1,099,371	1,076,371	28.59	676,540	100
267(259)	Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	589,020	344,500	120,000	1,053,520	194,247	4	96	N	859,273	739,273	19.71	64,935	0
268(276)	Plainfield, N. J.[26]	37,469	2,778,000	1,579,000	N	4,357,000	113,193	—	—	N	4,243,807	4,243,807	113.26	20,768	100
269(297)	Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	2,117,000	—	260,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	N	0
270(252)	Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not Reporting												

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[75] **Quincy.** Debt as of February 1, 1941. Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[76] **Kearny.** Surplus of $138,802 is available for retirement of serial bonds. Utility debt is only partially self-supporting.

[77] **Laredo.** Debt as of March 31, 1941.

[78] **Oshkosh.** Debt as of March 27, 1941.

[79] **High Point.** Electric revenues are pledged for retirement of $2,951,000 of general city debt although this amount is full faith and credit of the city as well.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
271(280)	Mansfield, Ohio	37,154	Not Reporting												
272(281)	Joplin, Mo.	37,144	367,500	746,000	N	1,113,500	145,839	62	38	N	967,661	967,661	26.05	N	0
273(241)	Butte, Mont.[80]	37,081	1,067,521	632,858	N	1,700,379	107,466	69	31	N	1,592,913	1,592,913	42.96	—	0
274(277)	Newport News, Va.[20]	37,067	2,348,000	1,162,000	2,839,000	6,349,000	1,410,911	—	—	N	4,938,089	2,099,089	56.63	N	0
275	Gadsden, Ala.[81]	36,975	1,737,500	780,000	95,500	2,613,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	155,000	0
276(256)	Danville, Ill.[74]	36,919	117,000	344,322	N	461,322	N	N	N	N	461,322	461,322	12.50	77,600	0
277(289)	Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	1,249,000	816,800	828,000	2,893,800	651,659	54	15	31	2,242,141	1,614,141	43.84	864,441	100
278(285)	Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	394,000	637,000	1,462,000	2,493,000	75,503	N	N	100	2,417,497	1,031,000	28.02	22,500	0
279	Orlando, Fla.	36,736	4,219,000	1,092,500	1,225,000	6,536,500	855,936	17	16	67	5,680,564	5,031,037	136.95	N	0
280(299)	Fort Smith, Ark.	36,584	129,000	747,750	1,208,000	2,084,750	278,200	24	N	76	1,806,550	811,050	22.17	364,680	0
281(273)	West Allis, Wis.[32]	36,364	1,111,000	923,000	242,000	2,276,000	N	N	N	N	2,276,000	2,034,000	55.93	413,346	0
282(269)	Alameda, Calif.[82]	36,256	125,170	1,061,350	3,201,255	4,387,775	N	N	N	N	4,387,775	1,186,520	32.73	63,697	100
283(258)	Auburn, N. Y.	35,753	Not Reporting												
284(268)	Orange, N. J.[83]	35,717	2,956,000	1,209,500	188,000	4,353,500	300,642	40	60	N	4,052,858	3,864,858	108.21	N	0
285(296)	Meridian, Miss.[84]	35,481	1,971,768	844,411	440,000	3,256,179	18,492	98	2	N	3,237,687	2,797,687	78.85	195,438	100
286	Albuquerque, N. Mex.[85]	35,449	1,757,500	697,000	834,000	3,288,500	436,422	52	8	40	2,852,078	2,189,969	61.78	539,500	0
287(271)	Watertown, Mass.[32]	35,427	786,000	331,000	3,000	1,120,000	N	N	N	N	1,120,000	1,117,000	31.53	N	0
288(290)	Richmond, Ind.	35,147	563,000	630,000	N	1,193,000	43,282	93	7	N	1,149,718	1,149,718	32.71	135,294	0
289(260)	Superior, Wis.	35,136	660,643	1,317,628	N	1,978,271	N	N	N	N	1,978,271	1,978,271	56.30	N	0
290(278)	Santa Barbara, Calif.[32]	34,958	984,525	1,206,625	578,250	2,769,400	248,371	28	48	24	2,521,029	2,001,543	57.26	—	—
291	Greenville, S. C.[86]	34,734	1,511,000	555,100	4,460,000	6,526,100	708,753	—	1	—	5,817,347	1,357,347	39.08	48,060	0
292(306)	Baton Rouge, La.	34,719	Not Reporting												
293	Riverside, Calif.	34,696	161,067	1,037,720	531,800	1,730,586	N	N	N	N	1,730,586	1,198,787	34.55	5,294	0
294(293)	Moline, Ill.	34,608	649,500	568,000	296,000	1,513,500	N	N	N	N	1,513,500	1,217,500	35.18	113,635	0
295(266)	Revere, Mass.	34,405	Not Reporting												
296	Burbank, Calif.[87]	34,337	249,350	2,211,000	565,250	3,025,600	N	N	N	N	2,460,350	2,460,350	71.65	175,000	0
297(282)	Waukegan, Ill.	34,241	Not Reporting												
298(291)	Rome, N. Y.	34,214	Not Reporting												
299(283)	Norwood, Ohio[32]	34,010	521,610	682,750	96,000	1,300,360	207,137	96	4	N	1,093,223	997,223	29.32	N	0
300(287)	Kokomo, Ind.	33,795	385,000	456,000	308,000	1,149,000	N	N	N	N	1,149,000	841,000	24.89	—	—
301	West Hartford, Conn.[28]	33,776	741,000	1,637,000	N	2,378,000	398,684	—	—	N	1,979,316	1,979,316	58.60	N	0
302(279)	Paducah, Ky.	33,765	1,568,000	88,000	2,189,000	3,845,000	155,717	52	29	19	3,689,283	1,529,409	45.30	—	—
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.[88]	33,693	11,642,125	784,730	N	12,426,855	258,370	78	22	N	12,168,485	12,168,485	361.15	N	0
304(275)	Easton, Pa.[89]	33,589	2,483,900	1,357,000	3,478,000	7,318,900	856,683	—	—	N	6,462,217	2,984,217	88.84	N	0
305	Alexandria, Va.[90]	33,523	2,852,900	—	N	2,852,900	N	N	N	N	2,852,900	2,852,900	85.10	N	0

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[80] **Butte.** Debt as of June 30, 1940.

[81] **Gadsden.** Debt as of September 30, 1940. Utility debt is not self-supporting.

[82] **Alameda.** Utility debt includes city's share of East Bay Municipal Utility District debt ($3,167,775).

[83] **Orange.** Utility debt includes $90,000 light and power debt not self-supporting.

[84] **Meridian.** Debt as of September 30, 1940.

[85] **Albuquerque.** Debt as of July 1, 1940.

[86] **Greenville.** General debt includes $35,000 swimming pool and $12,500 skating rink bonds which are self-supporting. Division between utility and general sinking fund not available.

[87] **Burbank.** Does not include city's share of flood control debt ($298,965) nor Metropolitan Water District debt ($3,254,736).

[88] **West Palm Beach.** Winter population estimated at 60,000.

[89] **Easton.** Debt as of January 6, 1941. Separation of school and general sinking fund not available.

[90] **Alexandria.** School debt is included in general debt.

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Census 1940	General Improve-ment	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Im-prove-ment (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Util-ity (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
306(286)	Elkhart, Ind.	33,434	32,000	465,900	1,075,000	1,572,900	74,604	2	N	98	1,498,296	496,422	14.85	N	0
307(292)	Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	Not Reporting												
308(294)	Watertown, N. Y.	33,385	2,146,966	858,000	508,000	3,512,966	246,161	59	41	N	3,266,805	2,758,805	82.64	2,393	0
309(272)	Amsterdam, N Y.	33,329	726,100	1,649,350	69,000	2,444,450	66,512	N	40	60	2,377,938	2,348,868	70.48	6,282	0
310(274)	New Brunswick, N. J.	33,180	2,792,000	1,126,000	967,000	4,885,000	N	N	N	N	4,885,000	3,918,000	118.08	N	0
311	University City, Mo.[74]	33,023	1,875,000	1,452,075	N	3,327,075	N	N	N	N	3,327,075	3,327,075	100.75	N	0
312(298)	Nashua, N. H.[26]	32,927	1,066,000	432,000	N	1,498,000	46,842	—	—	N	1,451,158	1,451,158	44.07	N	0
313(303)	Bloomington, Ill.	32,868	Not Reporting												
314(300)	Port Huron, Mich.	32,759	887,498	228,000	20,000	1,135,498	137,568	100	N	N	997,930	977,930	29.85	92,889	100
315	Danville, Va.	32,749	1,483,000	406,000	2,257,200	4,146,200	27,556	100	N	N	4,118,644	1,861,444	56.84	N	0
316	Fargo, N. Dak.[91]	32,580	30,000	73,000	462,000	565,000	124,294	4	6	90	440,706	90,058	2.76	876,872	100
317(304)	Hagerstown, Md.[92]	32,491	2,080,000	640,000	2,662,000	5,382,000	N	N	N	N	5,382,000	2,720,000	83.72	N	0
318(295)	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	Not Reporting												
319	Spartanburg, S. C.	32,249	2,187,000	968,000	1,402,000	4,557,000	1,263,426	54	44	2	3,293,574	1,920,157	59.54	N	0
320	East Providence, R. I.[93]	32,165	1,854,000	946,000	702,500	3,502,500	542,040	—	—	—	2,960,460	2,257,960	70.20	N	0
321(309)	Santa Ana, Calif.	31,921	380,360	1,515,000	87,575	1,982,935	176,908	18	73	9	1,806,027	1,734,436	54.34	418,965	0
322(301)	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,883	1,077,637	1,563,656	467,731	3,109,024	32,447	84	16	N	3,076,577	2,608,846	81.83	4,000	100
323	Lubbock, Tex.	31,853	Not Reporting												
324	Ottumwa, Iowa[94]	31,570	1,197,500	795,000	50,000	2,042,500	25,000	N	100	N	2,017,500	1,967,500	62.32	32,783	0
325(307)	Newark, Ohio	31,487	Not Reporting												
326(310)	Alton, Ill.	31,255	Not Reporting												
327	Middletown, Ohio	31,220	553,417	866,000	25,000	1,444,417	N	N	N	N	1,444,417	1,419,417	45.46	1,280	100
328	Salem, Ore.	30,908	591,000	484,500	2,173,000	3,248,500	131,469	N	N	100	3,117,031	1,075,500	34.80	312,107	100
329(302)	Marion, Ohio	30,817	Not Reporting												
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	552,000	234,000	202,000	988,000	N	N	N	N	988,000	786,000	25.57	N	0
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	1,740,500	266,000	245,000	2,251,500	125,016	70	25	5	2,126,484	1,888,192	61.64	5,600	100
332	Petersburg, Va.[95]	30,631	4,439,000	800,000	N	5,239,000	1,872,297	—	—	—	3,366,704	3,366,704	109.91	N	0
333	Wyandotte, Mich.	30,618	642,257	513,435	547,919	1,703,611	732,895	51	27	22	970,716	588,694	19.23	88,528	100
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.	30,579	Not Reporting												
335	Newport, R. I.	30,532	1,745,000	612,000	3,100,000	5,457,000	232,800	61	39	N	5,224,200	2,124,200	69.57	N	0
336	New London, Conn.[96]	30,456	4,086,000	467,000	950,000	5,503,000	398,351	—	—	71	5,104,649	4,439,248	145.76	N	0
337	Owensboro, Ky.[97]	30,245	1,401,000	284,000	1,505,000	3,190,000	N	N	N	N	3,190,000	1,685,000	55.71	—	—
338(308)	Everett, Wash.	30,224	756,000	282,000	1,665,000	2,703,000	251,555	38	19	43	2,451,445	894,049	29.58	193,940	0
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	Not Reporting												
340	Inglewood, Calif.[98]	30,114	40,000	424,887	262,500	727,387	N	N	N	N	727,387	464,887	15.44	105,795	100

[91] **Fargo.** General debt shown is issued by park district.

[92] **Hagerstown.** Utility debt includes $2,359,000 water debt not self-supporting.

[93] **East Providence.** Debt as of April 1, 1941.

[94] **Ottumwa.** Water debt is not a city obligation.

[95] **Petersburg** It is estimated that $500,000 of general bonds are invested in water department which is self-supporting.

[96] **New London.** Debt as of March 31, 1941. Separation of school and general sinking fund not available.

[97] **Owensboro.** Debt as of May 31, 1940.

[98] **Inglewood.** Does not include city's share of flood control debt ($208,103) nor sanitation district debt ($296,180).

			GROSS BONDED DEBT				SINKING FUNDS				NET BONDED DEBT			GROSS SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS	
		Population	General Improvement	Public Schools	Public Utility	Total	Total	Gen'l Improvement (per cent)	Public School (per cent)	Public Utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding Utilities	Per Capita Excluding Utilities	Total	Per Cent Gen'l City Obligation
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.	30,103	Not Reporting												
342	West Haven, Conn.	30,021	Not Reporting												
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	Not Reporting												
1	Montreal, Que.[99]	910,000	163,304,861	37,372,000	68,153,794	268,830,655	57,090,844	—	14	—	211,739,811	143,586,017	157.79	37,166,536	18
2	Toronto, Ont.	648,309	Not Reporting												
3	Vancouver, B. C.[100]	272,352	42,226,350	10,471,370	9,598,887	62,296,607	14,843,714	47	26	27	47,452,893	41,833,641	153.60	6,240,654	100
4	Winnipeg, Man.	215,814	Not Reporting												
5	Hamilton, Ont.	155,836	13,536,816	2,829,802	5,095,748	21,462,366	499,546	4	N	96	20,962,820	16,348,913	104.91	780,943	100
6	Quebec, Que.	151,432	Not Reporting												
7	Ottawa, Ont.	150,277	8,912,479	2,981,626	5,714,119	17,608,224	4,774,856	35	11	54	12,833,368	9,691,887	64.49	2,003,003	100
8	Windsor, Ont.[101]	103,567	28,195,417	4,180.562	—	32,375,979	1,735,606	—	—	—	30,640,373	—	—	—	—
9	Edmonton, Alta.	91,723	19,984,228	3,135,351	5,201,427	28,321,006	5,182,311	93	7	N	23,138,695	17,937,268	195.56	1,311,452	100
10	Calgary, Alta.	85,726	2,460,487	1,729,033	9,716,718	13,906,238	1,269,987	100	N	N	12,636,251	2,919,533	34.06	1,754,685	100
11	London, Ont.[102]	77,369	3,575,127	1,655,423	2,602,450	7,833,000	2,835,634	37	22	41	4,997,366	3,565,987	46.09	269,135	100
12	Verdun, Que.[103]	64,314	8,670,797	3,944,059	100,000	12,714,856	2,928,752	88	10	2	9,786,104	9,731,169	151.31	1,752,500	100
13	Halifax, N. S.	63,582	Not Reporting												
14	Regina, Sask.[104]	53,389	7,133,909	2,324,246	5,826,176	15,284,331	7,496,137	42	10	48	7,788,194	5,537,482	103.72	3,091,028	100
15	St. John, N. B.	50,200	Not Reporting												
16	Saskatoon, Sask.	41,734	6,380,194	2,580,750	3,591,657	12,552,601	5,648,993	43	13	44	6,903,608	5,790,502	138.75	1,913,982	100
17	Three Rivers, Que.	40,185	Not Reporting												
18	Victoria, B. C.	39,082	8,713,303	110,000	4,622,419	13,445,722	159,381	—	—	—	13,286,341	8,663,922	221.69	N	0

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[99] **Montreal.** Debt as of October 31, 1940. Separation of general and utility sinking fund not available.

[100] **Vancouver.** Sinking fund does not include $15,517,600 owing by the city.

[101] **Windsor.** Figures show total debt for all purposes including special assessments and utilities. Separation of debt into general and utility debt is not possible.

[102] **London.** Utility debt includes $1,522,519 electric radial bonds not self-supporting.

[103] **Verdun.** General debt includes $12,246 consolidated tax bonds retired from collection of delinquent taxes.

[104] **Regina.** General debt includes $100,000 municipal airport bonds. Utility debt includes $1,969,318 street railway bonds which are not self-supporting.

[105] **Pontiac.** Utility debt includes $1,238,000 water debt not self-supporting.

[106] **Atlantic City.** General debt includes $140,000 bonds in lieu of delinquent state taxes. School debt included in general debt under refunding plan.

National Defense and the Cities

Second civilian defense bulletin issued; plans laid for civilian aircraft observation; health and housing efforts increased; living costs rise.

By **DANIEL W. HOAN**

Division of State and Local Cooperation
Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense

THE second bulletin on civilian defense, *Protective Construction,* has now been mailed by the Division of State and Local Coöperation to all state and local defense councils. In addition, it was sent directly to the chief executive officers of all municipalities of 1,500 or more in population.

This bulletin not only describes the various types of bombs used in recent aerial attacks abroad and the general effects of such bombs, but the measures of defense against aerial attack. It also discusses the protection of utilities and industrial plants, and the structural design and construction of air raid shelters.

While the bulletin will probably be of interest to some laymen, it is somewhat technical in character and is intended primarily for civilian and army engineers and others responsible for making plans. Issuance of the bulletin at this time is *not* a signal for starting work on the air raid shelters described.

Aircraft Observation Service

In accordance with a plan worked out with the general headquarters of the Army Air Corps, Mr. Frank Bane, director of the Division of State and Local Coöperation, recently sent informational letters to the state and local defense councils containing advice and instructions for registering suitable civilian volunteers for aircraft observation and warning service.

The civilian volunteers for such service are to be organized by the defense councils in time to begin operations in the Atlantic and Pacific coastal areas not later than June 15. Other areas of the nation-wide aircraft warning service will be organized shortly thereafter.

Steps to be taken by defense councils in registering volunteers and manning observation posts, filter centers, and information centers are outlined in *Aircraft Warning Series Bulletin No. 1,* issued on May 15 by the Division of State and Local Coöperation.

Observation posts spot aircraft. Men will be used for this outside duty. Inside service at filter and information centers is open to both men and women. Filter centers eliminate non-essential information. Essential reports are transmitted to information centers for plotting.

State defense councils have been asked to take three steps immediately: (1) They are to designate a member of the council to devote full time during the next thirty days to the program; (2) a planning committee is to be appointed; and (3) the officer and this committee are to develop at once a state-wide program of registration of volunteers.

To register volunteers for filter and information centers, state defense councils are urged to extend local defense council organization immediately to any unorganized sections of the state. Each state council and the state employment service will issue a joint instructional letter to local defense councils and local employment offices on the state's registration plan. Local defense councils, aided by local employment offices, are to plan local registration procedures at once.

If Soldiers Break the Law

The American Municipal Association has published and given wide distribution to a twenty-page pamphlet containing information designed to assist local officials in handling the problem of whether the civil or the military authorities have jurisdiction over soldiers or sailors running counter to the law. The publication is particularly valuable to localities adjacent to army training camps or navy posts. Civil authorities in these localities will, no doubt, be glad to familiarize themselves with the contents of this pamphlet and will find it helpful in solving problems that may arise.

Health Problems to the Fore

It is reported that 32 per cent of the draft registrants examined by draft board physicians are rejected because of physical or mental deficiencies. Of those who are passed, 12 per cent are later rejected by army doctors at the induction centers. Thus a total of 44 per cent are rejected.

This would indicate need for improvement and extension of public health programs, physical education in the schools that stresses bodily development rather than winning teams, and other steps to improve the health of the men, women, and children of the nation.

According to a survey of the International City Managers' Association the largest cities in the United States spent on an average approximately 35 per cent less per capita on health programs in 1940 than they spent in 1929, when expenditures were $1.19 per person. The highest 1940 expenditure shown on the survey, which included sixty-four cities of over one hundred thousand population, was $1.82 per capita, spent by a city with a public health program recognized as outstanding. The smallest amount spent was 14 cents per capita.

Leaders in the fields of medicine and public health, social work, nursing, home economics and nutrition, agriculture, education, labor, industry, government, and community organization met in Washington on May 26, 27, and 28, at the call of President Roosevelt, for the purpose of discussing the whole problem of health and nutrition as it relates to defense problems. It is expected that the conference will make recommendations to the President for an immediate program of action.

Apparently the federal government is tackling this problem in earnest. The question is will the municipalities do likewise?

Housing Survey to Be Made

A recent announcement by Defense Housing Coördinator Charles F. Palmer indicates that 58,542 housing units are now under construction contracts, and that additional construction approved by the President brings the total number of allocations for housing units to 87,260. Included in this construction are temporary shelters for defense workers and their families and demountable dormitories for single workers. Even trailers are called into use until better accommodations can be provided for families.

While private construction of housing has been on the increase, it is obvious from the figures quoted above that it has not kept pace with the demand.

It has also been announced that fifty-four additional offices will be opened by the Homes Registration Division "to survey and record every available room and house that could accommodate defense workers in the key industrial areas." The new offices, in addition to thirty-four already operating, will coöperate with chambers of commerce, realtors, public health and welfare agencies. As in existing offices, clerical staffs and office help will be supplied by the WPA and NYA.

Urge Use of Subcontractors

City officials as well as private citizens are concerned with the question of whether every factory and every machine within the city boundaries is coöperating in the nation's productive efforts. A pamphlet on the defense contract service of the Office of Production Management tells manufacturers how to obtain information on defense contracts and subcontracts.

To get the defense program under way as rapidly as possible, most of the primary defense contracts went to the larger firms. Now every suitable factory in the country, large and small, must be enlisted.

Under date of May 3, Robert L. Mehornay, chief of defense contract service, sent a letter to each of the thirty-six field offices located in the federal reserve regions, stating in part as follows:

"Undoubtedly you have read President Roosevelt's letter to Mr. William S. Knudsen and Mr. Sidney Hillman urging an immediate acceleration of defense production and full utilization of available facilities. . . . It is essential that industry continue to increase the number of vital machines manufactured and that every single critical machine in the United States be used the maximum number of hours each week. Every effort should be made to utilize to the very limit those critical machines."

Sidney Hillman, associate director general of the Office of Production Management, has disclosed that the OPM, in conjunction with industrial leaders and committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the Congress for Industrial Organization, is laying plans for four-shift operation of key defense plants to secure 160 hours of consecutive operation out of the 168-hour week. Mr. Hillman went on to say that defense authorities are urging primary contractors to sublet contracts wherever possible, and that new defense contracts may contain specific provisions requiring the subletting of a certain percentage of the work.

These developments place a responsibility on the mayor, city manager, or local defense council to check into this subject to make certain that all idle plants and machines useful for defense work are placed in active service.

A movie on "Farming Out Defense Contracts" has just been released by the Office for Emergency Management. The film is available without cost to defense councils, civic organizations, community councils, veterans' groups, schools, and other organizations, upon application to the Information Division of the Office for Emergency Management.

Spiraling Prices and Wages

If every employer of labor realized that increases in the prices of commodities directly contribute to increased living costs which, in turn, often lead to demands for higher wages; if every employee appreciated the fact that increases in wages may be added to the price of the article he helped produce and may later buy in the retail market, thereby tending to raise the cost of his living generally, probably there would be less enthusiasm for boosting either prices or wages. It is like the cat turning around in a circle chasing its tail.

Such upward spirals are what Administrator Henderson, of the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, is trying to prevent. He has stated that this spiraling of prices and costs of living must be checked.

Recently Secretary of Labor Perkins announced that the cost of living in March was 2.6 per cent higher than in August 1939. Commissioner Lubin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported retail costs of food in large cities advanced 2.2 per cent between March 18 and April 15 in a general move throughout the country. Price rises were reported, for example, for fresh fruits and vegetables and such staples as flour, lard, butter, sugar, pork chops, and eggs. Retail prices of foods have shown moderate but steady advances since last November, and prices are now 5 per cent higher than last autumn and 4½ per cent higher than a year ago, but still lower than in 1937, Commissioner Lubin said.

Second Inter-American Congress of Municipalities

In the promotion of an inter-American Congress of municipal governments, municipalities of the United States have been represented, first, by the American Municipal Association, and later through the American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities. This is a body made up of approximately eighteen representatives of the principal organizations of municipal officials and allied groups.

The first Congress was held in Havana, Cuba, in 1938. As was expected, a great deal of good was accomplished in promoting international good will and in demonstrating the value of local self-government.

Following the first Congress, the governing body has been able to increase the number of countries having national municipal leagues, or commissions to organize such leagues, from two to eighteen.

In order to make it possible for Canadian cities to affiliate, the name was changed recently from "Pan-American" to "Inter-American Congress of Municipalities."

Last month the writer was delegated by the President of the governing body of the Congress, Mayor Beruff of Havana, to attend the annual meeting of the Federation of Canadian Mayors and Municipalities, for the purpose of extending to them a formal invitation to participate in the Congress. He therefore joined the ten mayors from the United States, headed by Mayor LaGuardia, who flew to Ottawa on April 22 to attend the Canadian conference. The principal subject before the conference was "civilian defense."

Malcolm MacDonald, High Commissioner to Canada for the United Kingdom, addressed the conference and told of the very vital part the municipalities are playing in conducting civil defense in Great Britain.

Following the presentation of the invitation, a resolution was adopted by the Canadian federation endorsing the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities and urging that the federation endeavor to arrange for representation therein and that means be found to finance the trip.

The second Congress will be held in Santiago de Chile September 15-21, 1941. It is expected that several cities of the United States will see the wisdom of sending their chief executives to attend this Congress. They will do so not only because of increasing interest in seeing that a representative committee from this country attends the Congress, thus demonstrating a real interest in promoting good neighborliness, but also because of the publicity that will be given their cities throughout all the republics, particularly those in Central and South America.

The Researcher's Digest: June

Units of government in Texas; Boston and traffic; cooperation in defense research; what Hitler will do to Dayton; should the city go into business.

NO AMERICAN can ever talk about "the government" and be really intelligible. That is not so much because he may be governmentally illiterate but simply because he never has the simple fortune of living under a single government. Our system is blessed with such a multiplicity of governmental units, all operating upon the purse and surroundings of Mr. Average Citizen, that it would take a truly remarkable intelligence to encompass the activities of them all.

All of which is a lengthy way of leading up to *Units of Local Government in Texas*, a 221-page book which is the contribution of the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** to the simplification of the units of government problem. The bureau traces the various types of units in Texas back to their origins in the 1820's. Then present-day types and functions are discussed, with an analysis of trends and needs. And finally, the bureau presents the citizen with the compasses necessary for finding his way among the wildernesses of units which surround his own home. Fully two-thirds of the book are given over to lists and maps. If the Texan does not find at least a glimpse of the sun through his forest, assuredly it is not now the fault of the bureau.

State Aid for Traffic Relief

Local discussion of a nation-wide problem is contained in a recent *Bulletin* of the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau.** The bureau asks state aid for traffic relief in Boston, and announces that state, not local, bond issues should be used to cover arterial highway costs, provided there are safeguards against waste and extravagance. The bulletin outlines the history of Boston's traffic problem and presents in detail the proposed remedial program. Some of the "essential safeguards" presented include publicity, joint representation of the state and the city on a special authority, and a statutory brake on profits and land takings.

Pacific Defense Research

A plan for coöperation in making available to researchers in the Pacific southwest the fruits of one another's research on problems related to national defense is outlined in a recent bulletin of the **Western Governmental Research Association.** A questionnaire was sent to all the members of the WGRA to this end. The bulletin also describes the industrial resources survey of the Pacific southwest which is being conducted under the sponsorship of the National Resources Planning Board with the coöperation of the California State Planning Board.

"Competing with Business"

An argument to end arguments about the "city in business" is the theme of *Briefly—*, the May 16 bulletin of the **Kansas City Civic Research Institute.** Explains the bureau: "Outcry frequently is heard against the 'city going in business' or 'competing with private business,' when it is proposed that the city furnish for itself some service previously obtained through private sources." The bureau admits that in the case of specific projects there may be a real question of economic or public policy. However, it discards other arguments with an analogy: "If it is not 'proper' for the city to construct its own asphalt plant—for its own uses, or to set up printing equipment—for its own uses, then why should not *all* government services be performed in this way? Why should not the city contract with private auditors to keep its books? . . . Clearly, this question is . . . a matter of efficiency and economy—how best to get a given job done."

Hitler Unimportant

A little homily on international affairs *cum* local affairs in the May 5 issue of the **Dayton Research Association's** *Facts* is most appropriate in this moment of international bewilderment. "The important thing is not what Hitler is going to do to Dayton," titles a discussion which maintains that the "more important thing is, what are the citizens of Dayton going to do to Dayton?" The bureau maintains that "it is folly for citizens to become so anxious to help mankind that they pass up the opportunity to preserve freedom at a minimum cost on Grand Avenue in Dayton, Ohio, in order to create freedom at a minimum cost thousands of miles away in Bagdad, Iraq." Nevertheless, the article continues, the locality must pitch into the national defense effort, and a seven-point program is presented, centering around the need for local economy.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Analysis of Assessed Valuation of Land and Building in Detroit. Edited by J. R. Searles, prepared with cooperation of the WPA. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc. (Report No. 157), February 1941. 98 pp.

Research

Research in the Social Sciences in Virginia's Colleges and Universities. *White Paper*, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, 1941. 11 pp. mimeo.

Traffic

The $19,400,000 Street Program for Boston. *Bulletin*, Boston Municipal Research Bureau, April 28, 1941. 4 pp.

Units of Government

Units of Local Government in Texas. Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas (Municipal Studies No. 15), 1941. 221 pp.

CLEVELAND

(Continued from Page 340)

units being willing to give up their legal existence or any of their activities.

The numerous examples of coordinated activity pointed to in preceding pages constitute but a rather small fraction of the total governmental activity of the region. Aside from public utilities, welfare institutions, and police radio calls, coordination of effort receives scant attention. A major objection, raised particularly in connection with public utilities, is that only the central city has a voice in the administration of the service.

The obvious answer is that the Cleveland metropolitan area ought to be unified by annexation, or by centering certain activities such as planning, police and fire protection, and promotion of public health in one central agency representing and serving the entire region. Neither seems possible of achievement in the near future. Perhaps the Regional Association of Cleveland and the citizen committee now being organized may in time carry along the needed public education in regionalism sufficiently to make a solution possible.

Contributors in Review

ACTIVE on both the national and the local governmental scene, **James W. Fesler** (*North Carolina's Local Government Commission*) holds two appropriate posts at the present time—that of associate professor of political science at the University of North Carolina, and that of consultant to the National Resources Planning Board. He has in the past been a member of the staffs of the National Resources Committee and of the President's Committee on Administrative Management. Professor Fesler has held both Brookings and Rockefeller research fellowships.

THE only annual report issued by Cleveland since 1916 came out in 1939, a product of the pen of **Christian L. Larsen** (*Cleveland—Potential City of a Million*). Dr. Larsen is assistant professor of political science, specializing in local government and public administration, at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, where he has been for the past four years, ever since receiving his Ph.D. at the University of California.

SEMI-ANNUAL events in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are the municipal debt and tax tables of **Rosina Mohaupt** (*The Bonded Debt of 304 Cities as at January 1, 1941*), who continues as the statistician of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. Miss Mohaupt has done a manful share of work on taxation and other heretofore masculine research topics, and is responsible for several monographs published by the Detroit Bureau.

ANOTHER of the luminaries in the field of local government who has been drawn to Washington by the call of national defense is **Charles P. Taft** (*National Defense and Community Service*) who has been prominently identified with Cincinnati's municipal redemption. Councilman Taft is now assistant coordinator of all health, nutrition, and recreation activities affecting national defense, a position which permits him to reach down into the local scene from a new vantage point. He is author of *City Management—the Cincinnati Experiment.*

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from Page 318)

techniques permit this at relatively low cost), dealing with one subject expressed in the simplest possible language, is far more effective than any attempt to cover the whole field of annual municipal operations.

If persistently pursued over a sufficiently long period, this method will tend to educate and stimulate the citizen, particularly if it is personalized as much as expense limitations permit. And after all, isn't money spent for such a worthy purpose wholly justified?

B. H. FAULKNER

Director, Department of Revenue and Finance
Montclair, New Jersey

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Two States Make Administrative Changes

Colorado and North Carolina assemblies adopt provisions which modify present set-up

THE state reorganization act just passed by the Colorado legislature, widely heralded as a great improvement in some quarters, is lacking in various important respects, according to Don C. Sowers, secretary-treasurer of the Colorado Municipal League. In a recent address, during Newspaper Week, Dr. Sowers said, in part:

"The administrative code of 1941 is not a sweeping reorganization measure. It incorporates very few of the recommendations of the Griffenhagen survey. It can most accurately be described as a reënactment of the code bill of 1933 with a few changes and improvements. It is, therefore, largely a paper reorganization as was the code bill of 1933.

"The important changes made are the following:

"1. The executive council is abolished and its functions are transferred to the governor and in its place is established a governor's advisory council.

"2. The governor is given control over all appointments in all departments and the number of employees must be approved by him. He may require the dismissal of employees in any department and in all these matters his decision is final and conclusive.

"3. A central revenue collection department is established. This is the most important administrative change made.

"Among the minor changes, the Division of Commerce, which includes the public utilities commission, state bank commissioner, insurance commissioner, and building and loan commissioner, is transferred from the Department of Law, headed by the attorney general, to the Executive Department under the governor.

Major Criticisms

"The major criticisms of the administrative code are that it does not provide an integrated and coördinated state organization, over which the governor can exercise real control, direction, and supervision. Within the eighteen divisions which constitute the executive department of which the governor is the head, there are no less than thirty-three independent and semi-independent state offices, boards, and commissions. Although normally responsible to the governor, in actual practice these agencies are continued as now organized without any change whatsoever in their legal or administrative structure.

"The code presents some major administrative difficulties in connection with the control of financial matters. It is not clear which department of government is to be responsible for the accounting and bookkeeping functions.

"The reorganization of the state machinery of governing constitutes just one-half of the job required to secure an economical and efficient administration. It is just as necessary to have competent people to staff and manage the organization as it is to have a sound organization. Although laws designed to improve the civil service system were introduced and considered, none were enacted. Until this is done the task is incomplete."

North Carolina Essays Reorganization

A general air of optimism prevailed in the 1941 session of the North Carolina legislature, and in consequence it distributed its largess with good will and dispatch.

In a term of only fifty-eight legislative days, the shortest since 1927, it increased appropriations and reduced taxes, provided substantial benefits for agriculture, improved the educational system, expanded pensions for public employees, increased state appropriations to units of local government, provided new legislative apportionments, and reorganized the state administration. Over 1,300 bills were introduced, and most of them were enacted into law.

The legislature passed two constitutional amendments which now will be submitted to popular referendum. The first involves judicial redistricting of the state, and the second provides for a state board of education replacing four present independent school agencies.

Administrative Reorganization

State administrative reorganization appears to be the result of a welter of motives in which reform in the interest of efficiency is only one. The constitutional amendment embodying the consolidation of several public school agencies provides for a board of education composed of one member appointed by the governor from each of the twelve congressional districts and the lieutenant governor, state treasurer, and superintendent of public instruction serving as ex-officio members. Submission of the amendment appears to result from public criticism of partisanship in the selection of an elementary state history textbook. The proposed amendment is considered by many still to be so political in nature that they believe it should be defeated at the polls.

The creation of many new agencies and commissions apparently stems from a desire to reward faithful party workers. The legislature bestowed on the newly-elected governor the greatest power of appointment ever possessed by a North Carolina executive. He is permitted to add twenty-five highway patrolmen. He is authorized to appoint commissions on state memorials, judicial redistricting, recodification of laws, problem of high school to college transition, practice code before quasi-judicial bodies, usury practices and laws, a state merit system, a unified merit system for employees paid in part by the federal government, new state buildings, establishment of a state nautical school, establishment of farm-trade schools, and consideration of aeronautics laws.

The elective office of utilities commissioner is transformed into an appointive board of three. The Motor Vehicle Department is reorganized, and a Tax Research Bureau is created. Three six-year, unexpired terms were abrogated by the legislature, and the governor was authorized to replace the incumbents with four-year appointees. It has been asserted that in other cases, such as the ABC and REA boards, resignations were obtained by mere threat to take similar action. Salary increments also had strong political implications.

E. A. M.

Merit System Gains in Two States; Loses in One

The New Mexico legislature has repealed the civil service system created in 1939 for seven state agencies and institutions; but the North Carolina and Vermont legislatures have recently enacted laws for advancement of the merit system, according to the Civil

Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

The North Carolina law establishes a five-member merit system council to take over the work of three such councils that had been organized in compliance with the federal social security act to handle the recruitment and selection of personnel for the state agencies for unemployment compensation, health, welfare, and the blind. The legislature also authorized the governor, who has appointed the new council, to appoint a special commission to study the merit system.

The Vermont legislature empowered the governor to establish a classification and pay plan and to prescribe rules and regulations for a merit system of personnel administration; but no appropriation was made.

St. Louis to Vote on Merit System

Mayor Becker of St. Louis has announced that his administration will go ahead with an election scheduled for September 16, on a civil service charter amendment, in conformity with his campaign pledge. The Democratic aldermen who submitted the amendment and the new Republican members who ran on a platform calling for adoption of this reform both say they will regard it as "an administration measure."

Council Manager Plan News

A series of five bills to permit **Illinois** municipalities to select any one of four forms of government, introduced in the House of Representatives at Springfield on April 1, received a favorable vote—sixteen to nine—of the committee on municipalities on April 23; but on May 22, after amending the bills to exclude Chicago, the legislation was defeated in the house. The bills would make available to any Illinois city the city manager plan and the mayor-small-council plan, in addition to the commission and mayor-large-council plans which are now legal (the manager plan is at present limited to villages under 5,000 population). Proportional representation was optional under the bills. They were introduced at the request of the Illinois Council-Manager Conference and the City Manager Committee of Chicago, and have the backing of some two hundred civic and social groups. Governor Dwight Green has spoken in favor of city manager enabling legislation and Speaker Elmer Schnackenberg has worked for it.

A bill authorizing the manager plan in **Bar Harbor, Maine,** was adopted by the Maine legislature on April 25; a local referendum must be held prior to March 1942.

The village of **Windsor, Vermont,** which approved the manager plan in March, and the town of the same name, which had previously adopted the plan, will unite in selecting a manager for both.

A proposed manager plan for **Columbia, Pennsylvania,** has been endorsed by the merchants and other groups.

A bill to provide a town manager for **Smyrna, Delaware,** was passed unanimously by the State Senate.

Wise, Virginia, is expected to elect a new council June 10 and begin operation under the manager plan September 1.

Mayor V. L. Bjork of **Ishpeming, Michigan,** advanced the idea of council-manager government at a meeting of the Ishpeming Industrial Association on April 22, and a committee was named to make a thorough study of the plan.

The City Manager Charter Association of **Minneapolis, Minnesota,** has been recently organized.[1] A proposed new city charter is in the hands of a research committee for study.

Burbank, California, which has had the manager plan for fourteen years, recently defeated charter amendments to abolish the plan by a three-to-one vote.

The council of **Palm Springs, California,** adopted the manager plan by ordinance, effective May 15.

Million-Vote Backing Fails to Help Penn. Home Rule

The present year has seen further efforts in Pennsylvania to secure enabling legislation and optional charters for cities under the home rule constitutional amendment which was approved nearly twenty years ago, in 1922, by a large majority of the electorate.

The home rule bill of 1939, which died in committee, has been redrafted in coöperation with the leaders of statewide citizens' organizations, and was introduced in the Senate during the first week of the present session of the legislature. The bill was referred to the Committee on Municipal Government for consideration and finally, on March 18, a public hearing was held at which representatives of more than one million Pennsylvanians endorsed the bill and asked for its passage.

At this hearing the only opponent of home rule was a spokesman for the League of Third Class Cities who opposed it on the grounds that the citizens in cities whose public officials were members of the league might decide by popular vote to change the present form of their local government. Although now he plead for the status quo, in 1922 representatives of the League of Third Class Cities campaigned throughout the state for home rule.

Finally, on April 29, the bill was reported out of committee, but with the principles of home rule destroyed by amendments which preserved the status quo for politicians and restricted the people in their effort to secure better public officials and more efficiency in public affairs.

The bill purports to permit Pennsylvania communities to draft new charters without legislative approval, but was changed to apply to only three cities—Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Scranton—by eliminating reference to third-class cities, of which there are forty-six. It provides for the election of a charter commission to consist of fifteen from the majority party and ten from the minority party, with nominations at party primaries; whereas previously the commission was to consist of fifteen members, nominated by petition without party designation, and elected at the same time as the vote on the question of creating a commission, each elector to vote for ten. No new charter, or even amendments, are to be submitted at less than four-year intervals. The state election code must govern the election of officials under any charter, thus blocking proportional representation. Furthermore, a charter can deal only with "administrative affairs."

The bill was not discussed on the Senate floor at any time, but was again referred to the committee. Several further attempts have been made by interested citizens' groups to have the bill amended and reported out for passage. Thus far no action has been taken by the Senate.

In the meantime, a bill to consolidate the city and county of Philadelphia, a bill to eliminate county officials and consolidate their duties with the city, and new charter bills for both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have been introduced, adding to the confusion on the home rule issue.

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[1] See "Snowdrifts Bury Old Charter; Minneapolis Seeks New One," p. 377 this issue.

Proponents of home rule and other legislation to improve state and municipal government in Pennsylvania are not discouraged although little constructive work has been done by the legislature.

Sidney B. Dexter, *Chairman*
Committee on Legislation
The Committee of Seventy
Philadelphia

Police Administration in Seattle

Seattle is engaged in a spirited controversy over law enforcement policies of the past five years. The five-year term for police chief was voted by the people in 1936, changing from the old basis of police chief appointments by each incoming mayor, every two years. On May 1 the present chief was reappointed by the mayor for a second five-year term, over the protest of church, parent-teacher, and community organizations, and the Seattle Municipal League. The City Council plans a public hearing to air numerous complaints that have been registered concerning police administration.

Once approved by a majority of the council (five votes), the chief of police can be removed only by a three-fourths majority vote of the council (six votes), when requested to do so by the mayor for specific reasons, and following a public hearing.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Seattle Municipal League

Growth of Supervised Public Recreation

More than 1,200 cities in the United States provide public playgrounds under leadership today, according to the National Recreation Association, compared with forty-one in 1906, when the association was organized. In reporting on its thirty-five years of activity, it gave the present number of supervised playgrounds as about 10,000, with 3,450 full-time and 21,500 part-time recreation leaders. There are 1,200 public swimming pools and 4,000 indoor recreation centers.

Nation's Growth Chiefly in Metropolitan Areas

The Bureau of the Census announces that 62,958,703 persons, or 47.8 per cent of the population of continental United States, live in 140 metropolitan districts. This is an increase of 8,205,058 for such areas in ten years, compared to 8,894,229 for the nation. For most of the larger cities the growth was faster in their entire metropolitan areas than within the cities proper.

Michigan Municipal Executives Graduate

For fourteen weeks twenty-two local administrators of the neighboring cities of St. Joseph, Benton Harbor, South Haven, and Niles, Michigan, met once a week to compare work experiences and discuss text materials of the International City Managers' Association correspondence course on the technique of municipal administration. They included city managers, finance officers, assessors, city attorneys, a police chief, and a city councilman. This was the first group training project built around this course. On April 22 the group held its "graduation" at St. Joseph; certificates were awarded the members by James W. Parry, state supervisor of public service training, who was one of the sponsors of the project. A similar training group is under the leadership of City Manager C. S. Johnson of Grand Rapids, and training activities for city officials have been undertaken in other parts of the state.

Post-Emergency Stabilization Plans

A three-billion-dollar program of municipal construction is under contemplation by the United States Conference of Mayors, it was stated on May 9 by Mayor LaGuardia of New York, president of the conference.

The program is not complete, and it has been suggested to President Roosevelt that $3,500,000 be provided for an inventory of desirable public projects, the construction of which would help to minimize the dislocation of industry and employment whenever the present defense effort may be drastically reduced.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Manager Plan in Darlington County

Georgia legislature provides for manager appointed by Governor

EFFORTS to procure manager government in Darlington County, South Carolina, are being followed with considerable interest. The General Assembly on January 30 placed eight departments of Darlington County under the management of one official who was to be appointed by the county legislative delegation. On February 17 this plan was condemned by a mass meeting of local citizens as "dangerous and impractical," and an eight-man committee was appointed to confer with the local delegation in an effort to formulate an acceptable bill. Meanwhile the law was contested in the courts, and Circuit Judge J. Henry Johnson ruled that it was invalid because it violated the principle of separation of powers.

The office of county manager has since been created under an act which provides that a manager shall be appointed by the governor for a term of two years on recommendation of the county legislative delegation including the senator. An advisory commission of five members is likewise named by the governor on recommendation of the local delegation.

Public works of the county, including supervision and maintenance of all buildings and other public property, the construction, maintenance, and supervision of roads and bridges, and the supervision of the chain gang are placed under control of the manager. It is also his duty to purchase all equipment and supplies for the county, but "under such restrictions, rules, and regulations as to public advertisements, bidding, and opening and acceptance of bids, as may be promulgated by the Advisory Commission."

Since all past county government acts have been repealed, the departments of health, education, forestry, delinquent taxes, etc., are at present functioning under de facto officers. The legislature is now considering a bill which would make these various agencies directly responsible and responsive to the county manager.

It should be remarked that the action of the court in voiding the earlier enactment created considerable interest throughout South Carolina, inasmuch as county legislative delegations have by long established custom largely assumed the direction of county affairs. Incidentally, it should be added that this condition is being attacked by the women's organizations of the state. It was one of the subjects considered at a public forum sponsored in January by the Civic Club of Charleston. Since then it has been placed high on the agenda of the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs by a recent meeting called to map out a state-wide plan for conducting forums during the present year.

James K. Coleman

The Citadel
Charleston, South Carolina

County Reform Made Easier In New York State

Governor Lehman has signed a bill introduced by Senator Thomas C. Desmond and Assemblyman Lee B. Mailler which brings the optional county government law into conformity with the state's new constitution and thereby removes a major obstacle to the adoption of modernized county governments in the more populous counties outside of New York City.[1]

The original county home rule constitutional amendment passed in 1935 directed the legislature to make alternative forms of county government available for counties outside New York City (New York City having its own special county home rule provisions). In order to protect the towns and villages, the amendment provided that in any county having a city with more than a quarter of the county's population an alternative form could be adopted only by receiving a majority vote in such city and a separate majority in the rest of the county. This provision was known as the "split referendum."

Under this amendment the legislature passed three general laws making available a great variety of options for all counties outside New York City, and two special laws under which the suburban counties of Nassau and Westchester are now operating. In addition Monroe County, containing the city of Rochester, is operating under a general optional law that was enacted before passage of the amendment and which consequently limited the extent of reorganization. All four general laws contained the split referendum provision, although in three it was unnecessary repetition of the language of the constitution.

When the county home rule provision came up for reconsideration in the constitutional convention of 1938, the split referendum was opposed by many people in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Schenectady, and other cities on the ground that rural suspicion of any change advocated by the cities would make it impossible to get the required majority outside the major city even for a reorganization plan that left municipal powers intact.

On the other hand, representatives of the towns and villages complained that the split referendum did not afford them sufficient protection. As a compromise the convention provided that a simple county-wide majority vote was sufficient to adopt an alternative form which transferred no functions, but that any form including such a transfer must receive a majority vote in the class of municipalities from which, or to which, any function was transferred. The new constitution as adopted embraced this compromise.

The laws, however, still retained the split referendum as a requirement in addition to those prescribed by the constitution. The result was a combination of two sets of hurdles, but this now has been cured in two of the four general laws. The precedent was set last year when the "Fearon law" of optional county government was amended.

This year, on their third attempt, Senator Desmond and Assemblyman Mailler succeeded in amending the optional county government law they sponsored and saw enacted in 1937. This act is by far the most extensive of the four general laws in the range of options available both to county government itself and to units within the county. It is, for example, the only law that allows proportional representation and preferential voting for county elections, and it is the only one that makes available a complete city-town-village-county consolidation.

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[1] Ch. 190, L. of 1941.

Although the remaining two general laws still include the split referendum, the variety of options in the Desmond-Mailler law is such that almost any desired combination of provisions can be found under it. A proposal which seeks to modernize county government alone without encroaching on the smaller municipalities now will require simply a 10 per cent petition (or a resolution by the board of supervisors) and a county-wide majority vote. Any transfer of "powers, duties, or functions" will require the special majorities specified in the constitution and also, as formerly under the optional county government law, a separate majority in each city or large village before a power, duty or function can be taken from it.

G. H. H., Jr.

Citizens' Committee Studies Knoxville-Knox County

In August 1940, through funds raised by public subscription and supplemented by an appropriation from the Knoxville City Council, Griffenhagen and Associates were employed to make a survey of the governments of Knox County and the city of Knoxville. While a comprehensive survey of the city and county governments was originally contemplated, inability to raise sufficient funds necessitated making only preliminary or exploratory surveys of the two governments.

The Griffenhagen report on local government in the Knoxville-Knox County area was submitted to the joint survey committee in January of this year. Soon thereafter the Citizens' Advisory Committee was established to study the findings and recommendations set forth in the report and to formulate a program for the improvement of the two governments.

The report, in two volumes, has three parts: one deals with the government of Knox County, one with the government of the city of Knoxville, and the third with relationships between the two governments.

For the purpose of analyzing various sections of the report, the advisory committee has been divided into twelve subcommittees to deal with such matters as governmental organization, financial administration, health and welfare, education, public works, and city-county relationships. In addition a coördinating committee of four members has been created. This committee maintains contact with the various subcommittees, receives and reviews their reports, and submits its findings and recommendations to the Citizens' Advisory Committee.

The various subcommittees hold periodic meetings to study the report and to secure whatever additional information is deemed necessary to enable them to pass upon the recommendations embodied in it. City and county officials are invited to attend these committee meetings, and a number of local officials serve as advisory members.

The Citizens' Advisory Committee, consisting of approximately 125 members, holds monthly meetings, at which time the various subcommittees report on their activities. It also considers any committee reports submitted to it through the coördinating committee. The various committee reports, as changed by the Citizens' Advisory Committee in open discussion, will form the basis for final recommendations for improvement of the city and county government.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

County Reform Asked by Milwaukee City Club

The Committee on County Affairs of the City Club of Milwaukee in a thirty-five page report issued recently[1] made the following recommendations:

"This committee recommends the adoption of enabling legislation including necessary constitutional amendments, which would permit the voters of Milwaukee County to reorganize the structure and activities of our county government so as to provide for:

"1. Election of a county board of nine at large by proportional representation for four-year terms;

"2. A county manager appointed by the county board and responsible to it for planning, directing, and coördinating the administration of county government;

"3. Abolition of the following as elective constitutional offices: county clerk, county treasurer, register of deeds, clerk of circuit court, sheriff, coroner, and county surveyor;

"4. Concentration of all administrative activities of county government in a limited number of departments, organized on the basis of function, including the following: public finance, public works, public welfare, public safety, public records, personnel, each department in charge of a director responsible to the county manager;

"5. Transfer of the functions of legal adviser and attorney for the county in all civil matters to the office of corporation counsel, an officer appointed by and responsible to the county board, and limiting the functions of the district attorney to those of public prosecutor;

"6. Appointment of the clerk of each court by the judge or judges of such court;

"7. A county auditor, appointed by and responsible to the county board.

"The committee recommends further, as a means of arousing public interest in the improvement of county government, the creation by the Wisconsin legislature of a special commission on county government to be appointed by the governor of the state, to study and report on the condition of county government in Wisconsin and draft proposals for improving its efficiency."

Independent Grand Juries Opposed in Washington State

A state-wide effort is under way to block grand jury reforms, passed by the Washington state legislature, through a door-to-door campaign for signatures on referendum petitions which would delay effectiveness of the new laws until the general election in November 1942.

Amendments approved by the legislature provide for independent grand juries, served by special prosecutors appointed by the judges of the Superior Court, with the county prosecuting attorney barred from taking any part in the proceedings. The State Association of County Prosecutors is on record formally objecting to the changes. Unless proponents of the referendum measure obtain 30,000 valid signatures before June 11, however, the new laws will go into effect.

The Seattle Municipal League, in opposing the referendum campaign, emphasized the need for completely independent grand juries, functioning entirely apart from the control or influence of the prosecuting attorney.

Ewen C. Dingwall
Seattle Municipal League

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[1] *Reorganization of Milwaukee County Government,* January 1941.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

AS LOCAL communities feel the impact of the defense program to an increasing extent, there is a growing awareness of the need for some kind of community coördination to meet the problems created by that program . . . **Community councils** seem to be the best solution developed so far, and there are now, in addition to the **National Municipal League,** some fifteen national groups, including citizen organizations and government agencies, which can provide information or guidance to groups interested in establishing councils. Let us know if you need help.

Under the auspices of the **American Association for Adult Education,** adult education councils have been organized in a number of communities. . . . One of the most outstanding jobs has been done by the **Council of Metropolitan Cincinnati,** which this year sponsored a highly successful "Leader's Institute in Group Discussion for Strengthening Democracy." Anyone interested in obtaining a complete outline of the procedures followed in planning and holding this institute as well as in their follow-up should write to the council, 629 Vine Street, Cincinnati.

May seems to be the popular convention month for citizen organizations. . . . The **American Association of University Women** met in Cincinnati May 5-9, and the **National Congress of Teachers** in Boston May 19-22. . . . This is not a convention year for the **National League of Women Voters,** but the National League Council gathered in Washington May 6, 7, and 8. Later in the month most of the **State Leagues** held their annual meetings to hear reports from their delegates to the National Council and to act on state programs for next year.

We have recently seen a copy of the plan of work for 1940-1943 of the **Committee on Citizenship of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.** It includes a recommendation that local parent-teacher associations would do well to encourage formation of coördinating councils in communities where they do not exist and also describes briefly the so-called Manitowoc Plan or "Induction into Citizenship" movement. . . . These are two projects which we have long felt to be worthwhile; either of them is suitable for application in almost any community.

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** in support of its bill providing civil service standing for county employees, has issued one of the most effective promotion pieces we've seen in some time. It's colorful, direct, easy to read, and to the point—in fact, full of suggestions for any group sponsoring merit system legislation.

Municipal movies are becoming an increasingly popular way for cities to tell their citizens about what they are doing. And the citizens seem to like it. In Atlanta and Chicago, for example, municipal films are substituted for shorts in local theatres. . . . We think it would be well worth while and meet with widespread support if citizen organizations looking for suitable projects would investigate the possibility of having such films produced in their own communities.

Cleveland, Ohio, was one of the early cities to use the radio as a means of informing the public about the city government. The May 1 issue of *Greater Cleveland,* bulletin of the **Citizens League,** is devoted to a detailed discussion of the kinds of programs which have been put on by the various city departments. . . . This bulletin contains ideas which should be useful to citizen organizations which want to sponsor their own radio programs on civic subjects or to those who would like to be able to suggest to their local governments a greater variety of ways in which they might employ the radio.

"Easy-chair citizenship" affects too many people these days, says the **Seattle Municipal League** in its current membership campaign literature. The league maintains that voting on election day, important as it is, is not enough. Always in step with the times, the league calls its members "Seattle's Army for Good Government" and has adopted military terms as follows: a colonel for a member who helps in securing fifteen new members; a captain for one who helps in recruiting from five to nine new members, etc.

R. M. W.

New York Women's City Club Celebrates Silver Anniversary

In May the Women's City Club of New York celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. While organizations of men dedicated to the task of improving local governments were common a quarter of a century ago, women had not as yet received the vote in this country and there was, therefore, little opportunity for them to express an opinion in municipal or, in fact, any governmental affairs.

With the granting of suffrage to women, however, the way was opened for their participation in public affairs. A study of the past accomplishments of this organization and its program for the future makes suggestive reading for those who today are asking themselves what can be done to strengthen the defense of democracy.

The club has consistently confined its activities to the affairs of the City of New York and takes action on state or federal legislation only when such legislation has a direct bearing on either the government of the city or the welfare of its citizens. For example, the club supported the public housing program which necessitated passage of both state and federal legislation. More recently, it has been urging the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor to undertake a study of the household employment situation throughout the country. The first was of vital concern to slum dwellers in the city and the second of equal importance to a large group of women workers for whom comparatively little has been done in the regulation of hours, in social security, or in unemployment or workmen's compensation insurance.

The work of the club is carried on by seven civic committees: city affairs, education, public health, housing, labor and industry, prevention and correction, and civil liberties. Membership in these committees is open to any member who has interest in the subject and is willing to give time to meetings, study, and research.

A glance at some of the achievements will give an idea of the scope of the club's activities.

> Financing and operation of first maternity center in New York City—1918—which in May 1920 became a separate entity, and today is a national organization;
>
> Blocking of the attempt of the federal government to establish a naval aviation station on city-owned Jacob Riis Park at Far Rockaway—1921;
>
> Study and report on tenement home work in New York City—1919;
>
> Study of dance halls in New York City—1924—and tightening of licensing and supervision of same;
>
> Study of the delinquent negro child—1927;
>
> Study of child and youthful marriages in New York County—legislation prohibiting child marriages and requiring parents' and judges' consent in marriage of minors—1929;
>
> Study of "Housing for the Family" the report of which has

been used extensively throughout the country in the development of the public housing program—1935;

Study of comfort stations in New York City—1933—copies of this report have been distributed throughout this country as well as in many foreign countries;

Study of truancy and probationary schools—1934-35;

Publication of primer on proportional representation method of voting—1936;

Publication of primer on "Topsy Transit"—1937—showing how New York's complicated transit system grew and the importance of transit unification.

But the Women's City Club is not an organization that looks backward, and on the occasion of its recent anniversary it presented a program for future govenment in New York City, not only for the coming mayoralty campaign but one for several future campaigns.

Included in this program are the eventual adoption of the city manager form of government; a complete overhauling of the present tax structure of the city including taxes shared by the state; and complete reorganization of the archaic county government.

It is in the field of education, health, and social welfare, however, that women show the deepest concern. The club is urging careful studies and eventual reorganization of both the Board of Education, which is responsible for the administration of the elementary, junior, and senior high schools, and the Board of Higher Education, which is responsible for the four city colleges. In the opinion of the club, New York City is not getting the kind of education it wants for the city's children and it anticipates the day when parents will move into New York City because of the educational opportunities for their children, rather than out of it because of the lack of such opportunities.

The health of the nation is of paramount importance today as the backbone of defense. The club urges extension of the Astoria health program to all the cities' schools, even though this entails doubling the number of doctors and nurses for school service. A corollary of this program requires periodic health and psychological check-ups for every school teacher, and at least one course in public health for every teacher.

The club is convinced that henceforth the emphasis must be on adequate personnel to staff the city's hospitals, health centers, and laboratories. There is a similar need of additional trained personnel in the social services connected with the courts. The club urges expansion of the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department and clearance through that bureau of all children taken into custody. They advocate that the city provide its own shelters for such children as soon as practicable, instead of relying on private shelters which refuse public inspection.

These planks taken from the club's platform illustrate how a group of women can serve their community by educating themselves and influencing public opinion through their organization. In a small way it may help to give our democratic form of government a chance for survival and expansion.

JULIET M. BARTLETT, *Secretary*
Women's City Club of New York

Snowdrifts Bury Old Charter; Minneapolis Seeks New One

The worst snowstorm in many years of its history hit Minneapolis on Armistice Day 1940. Many lives were lost; drifts were piled high; transportation came to a virtual standstill; street cars were unable to move; and motorists were forced to abandon their cars. Taxi drivers wouldn't venture beyond the immediate loop.

Minneapolis is in a belt where snow is a bountiful crop. Every winter sees at least one big snow—sometimes a blizzard. But never had a snowstorm so handicapped a city as did this one.

The city was many days digging itself out. Many streets went unplowed for a week. Sidewalks were left to the householders to clean. Even main thoroughfares were almost impassable.

Minneapolis began to wonder. Where was its government in this emergency? What was being done with its taxes? The city engineer's office was busy all day long explaining why things weren't being done—lack of funds—can't get out there—can't help it. Why wasn't something being done? Its neighbor, St. Paul, was getting the job done quickly.

The answer was simple. A horse-and-buggy-day government, complacent in its hodge-podge of politics, with its numerous politicians ready to pledge anything but passing the buck whenever called upon to produce, was responsible.

The old-fashioned city government hadn't prepared for this snow. It hadn't appropriated necessary funds. Equipment was not where it should have been. Handshaking, backslapping aldermen—twenty-six of them—had forgotten that Minneapolis does have snowstorms. The story was repeated again a few weeks later with another heavy snow.

Minneapolis has been dissatisfied with its form of government for years, but never had it seen the outmoded government fail to operate as it did during these emergencies. The city looked askance at the organization and cast about for something new—something that would eschew politics and be prepared to operate when it was needed.

Public-spirited citizens are undertaking to provide the answer—as set up in the city manager form of government. Efforts had been made in the past to amend the charter and shave off some of the excess in the city hall but without success. A number of citizens have now joined in and are trying to convey the picture to the voters. Mrs. Arnulf Ueland, active in women's affairs, is president of the City Manager Charter Association; George F. Williamson, an attorney, is its vice-president; Marshall B. Taft, another young lawyer, is its treasurer. Well known citizens of all political interests compose the board of directors. Professor William Anderson, head of the University of Minnesota Political Science Department and a nationally known authority on municipal government, is chairman of the research committee that will prepare the new charter.

Already a rough draft of the proposal has been submitted by a Minneapolis expert on municipal government, Ben W. Palmer. In brief, it provides for a council of nine members to replace the current twenty-six. The council will elect the mayor from its own members and select a city manager who will be responsible for operation of all administrative activities. The proposed charter provides also for retention of the civil service principle.

The new organization, with headquarters at 224-226 Midland Bank Building, Minneapolis, got under way in February. It was incorporated and started its campaign May 1. The plan is to raise a nominal budget of $12,400 in a drive to be terminated July 1, following which the organization will complete preparation of the charter which it will submit.

The campaign to educate the voters to the new form of government will get under way September 1. The proposed charter will come before them for their vote at the state primary election in September 1942.

HAROLD N. FALK, *Secretary*
Minneapolis City Manager
Charter Association, Inc.

Organized Campaign Brings Indiana Home Rule Victory

With the passage of a home rule amendment to the constitution by the 1941 Indiana legislature, the strong Home Rule Committee, organized through the efforts of the state Junior Chamber of Commerce, has seen the successful conclusion of the first steps necessary to secure home rule for Indiana cities.

Since 1905 all cities in the state have operated under the cities and towns act which permits only one form of government—the mayor-council plan.

A movement for adoption of optional forms of government culminated in the securing of such legislation in 1921; but discovery that the act did not fit the complicated structure of existing city government led to the adoption of extensive amendments in 1929.

Acting under the optional law Indianapolis adopted the manager plan in 1927 by a vote of six to one, but a successful suit to test the validity of the act halted its use before the new plan actually went into effect. The attack was not on a broad constitutional ground, but it was effective and the law was held invalid.[1] This bitter defeat on a narrow and strained construction effectively halted the manager movement in Indiana for nearly ten years.

Many organizations in Indiana favored the city manager plan of government for years before the present state-wide movement got under way. Among these were the Indiana League of Women Voters, the State Chamber of Commerce, and the Indiana League of Civic Associations. One of the major newspapers of the state—the *Indianapolis News*—long had carried city management as the first plank of its platform. However, no organization adopted the program as its major objective. The movement lacked leadership until the Indiana Junior Chamber of Commerce, at its convention in 1937, determined to press the program.

A committee of young men set out to study plans. Much support was tendered. In the legislative session of 1939, the first held after the 1937 convention, the 1921 optional manager law, with the 1929 amendments and some other modifications, was introduced by a senator hoping to ride the crest of the demand for manager government.

The studies of the Indiana Junior Chamber of Commerce committee, after counselling with John W. Esterline of Indianapolis and other leaders in the original movement, convinced the committee that any city manager plan to be effective must have a degree of permanence. An act subject to repeal or modification by every successive legislature, regardless of whether charters were or were not adopted under it, could afford no permanence.

Adoption of an amendment to the constitution was the way to obtain permanence. A resolution, providing for the establishment of a commission to study and draft an amendment was prepared and introduced. Support was given to this resolution rather than to the manager bills, and the bills were defeated and the commission set up.[2]

The commission spent nearly two years in study, and prepared a carefully drawn amendment for the constitution with a supporting report.[3]

In the meantime, the Indiana Junior

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[1] See *Keane v. Remy* (September 24, 1929), 201 Ind. 286, where the court held the law unconstitutional on the narrow ground that the clerk could not physically verify the signatures on a petition within the time allotted by statute. The court disregarded the right of the clerk to use deputies, which had actually been done, and also the certification which had been made.

[2] See also NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for November 1939, p. 802.

[3] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for October 1940, p. 638.

Chamber of Commerce organized for the anticipated fight in the legislature by establishing the Home Rule Amendment Committee. The committee secured adequate funds from leading citizens of the state, and proceeded with the groundwork for the 1941 legislative session.

Long in advance of the primary election, the committee determined to contact all candidates prior to the election, to furnish them with copies of the commission's report and acquaint them generally with the interest in the proposed home rule movement. A one-day school was held at Indianapolis with about sixty-five persons, consisting primarily of young men who were to be trained for the problem of contacting three hundred legislative candidates. The school gave instruction by the members of the commission as to the character and content of the amendment, by persons versed in municipal law as to the operation of the amendment if adopted, and by legislators as to the best method of approaching a candidate for support.

This group accepted assignment of cards for every legislative candidate, and prior to the general election all but a small percentage of the candidates, as well as the candidates for governor, had been personally interviewed and furnished with a copy of the commission's report and acquainted with the home rule objectives.

A subsequent training school was held for the instruction of speakers, and some twenty-five persons participated in a day's training. A speakers' bureau was established through which speakers from the Home Rule Amendment Committee made talks in every part of the state.

As the legislative session approached, an active working subcommittee was placed in charge, and a young man obtained and registered as a lobbyist for the amendment.

The amendment as submitted was self-executing, no legislative act being required for the adoption of a charter under it. It was also broad enough to permit the establishment of any kind of charter—city manager, mayor-council, commission, or otherwise. No real opposition developed except in the Senate which disputed the self-executing feature.

The amendment, with the self-executing clause eliminated, passed both the Senate and House and was signed by the Governor. The fight, however, is not successfully concluded because the amendment must also pass the next session of the legislature in 1943, and be adopted by a majority of the voters of the state at a general election.

The Home Rule Amendment Committee is now girding itself for this effort. Its speakers' bureau is being continued and enlarged, its plan for acquainting legislators with the amendment will operate again, and through coöperation of local organizations there will undoubtedly be a clear and strong expression of public sentiment for passage of the amendment at the next session of the legislature.

The amendment will provide permanence to any city charter adopted because it restricts the legislature in modifying or repealing any enabling act as to charters in existence. Enabling legislation must be adopted after the amendment becomes law, however, in order to put home rule in motion.

Many of the leading citizens of the state have recognized that it will take long and arduous effort to bring about the final result, but they have willingly cast their lot with the Home Rule Amendment Committee because they consider it worthwhile.

Harry T. Ice
Indiana Junior Chamber of Commerce

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Chicago Survey Reduces Costs

Two citizen groups report on constructive results obtained; additional surveys planned

CHICAGO'S coöperative survey to reduce expenditures and improve administration has borne important fruits in the little more than a year since it got under way. The city's operating budget for 1941 has been measurably reduced as a consequence of the adoption of survey recommendations, and similar surveys are in prospect for other Chicago governmental units.

This is indicated in an interim report[1] just published by the Chicago Association of Commerce and the Chicago Civic Federation, which jointly sponsored the survey. The "more important, immediate, and tangible" results of the survey are summarized in the report as follows:

1. A reduction of at least 305 positions, including elimination of an entire department, and salary reductions totaling $937,637;
2. Constructive assistance to the city administration in its action in reducing the total city appropriation for 1941 by some $2,000,000;
3. Action by the City Council looking toward complete review of position classifications and wage scales in the city government;
4. Provision by the City Council for a fiscal audit.

An interesting feature of the survey, which disclosed that the civil service system in Chicago "has persistently failed to function actively," was the tabulation of service classifications and rates of pay in a large number of private enterprises in the city for comparison with those in the city service. It revealed rates of pay in the city service in some cases double those in private employment for like work, as well as wide divergence within the city service itself for comparable positions. The consequent deterioration in employee morale and lack of recruitment of desirable new employees was found to be one of the most important problems facing the city.

An interesting feature of the survey organization is the coöperation secured between the sponsoring civic organizations and the city administration. The survey was first seriously considered in April 1939, when Mayor Kelley conferred with Civic Federation representatives concerning means of alleviating the fiscal difficulties of the city's corporate (general operating) fund. Early in 1940 ways and means were found of financing a survey to develop possibilities of economies which would permit progressive reduction of the city's operating deficit, and in March 1940, the city council appointed a Budget Survey Committee to coöperate in the survey.

This committee consisted of Frank J. Flanagan, chairman of the council finance committee and city budget examiner; Oscar E. Hewitt, commissioner of public works; Robert B. Upham, city comptroller; and Graham Aldis, president of the Civic Federation and representative of the Chicago Association of Commerce. The survey was actively directed by the Civic Federation's executive secretary, Douglas Sutherland, using a technical staff financed by the Association of Commerce. Working space was provided by the city in the City Hall.

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[1] *An Administrative Survey of the City of Chicago* (1941).

Inasmuch as Chicago has been much criticized for its administrative inefficiency, spoils politics, and fiscal difficulties, the success shown thus far is both significant and heartening. Moreover, present results are not to be the full measure of the survey's effectiveness. Already a survey has been requested by the Chicago Sanitary District, and has been begun, while a similar survey has been requested by the Chicago Board of Education. An intensive survey of the Cook County tax collector's office has been going on for some time, with procedural changes effected and experimental efforts still going forward to find a satisfactory way of liquidating the community's gigantic accumulation of unpaid property taxes.

All in all, it looks very much as though Chicago were at last waking up to the fact that its problems are susceptible of solution if attacked with vigor and determination.

Trend of Public Debt Reviewed by Census Bureau

At June 30, 1940, the public debt of the United States and its local subdivisions was $63,196,000,000. Of this total $42,971,000,000 was the responsibility of the federal government, $16,720,000,000 of the local units, and $3,505,000,000 of the states. While the total compared with $39,049,000,000 in 1932, the local share alone was only $39,000,000 above 1932 while the state share was up $623,000,000. Whereas in 1932 the local portion accounted for 42.7 per cent of the total, in 1940 it accounted for but 26.5 per cent. The federal government's share, 49.9 per cent of the total in 1932, had increased to 68.0 per cent by 1940.

These facts are revealed in a recent study of the Bureau of the Census,[1] prepared under the direction of C. E. Rightor, chief statistician for state and local government. Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, technical assistant to Mr. Rightor, compiled and analyzed the data with the assistance of staff members and wrote the text, while Lynden Mannen of the division of tax research of the Treasury Department collaborated in the study. The planographed volume of seventy-nine pages includes material invaluable to those working in the field of municipal research and local government administration. The voluminous tables contain detailed data for the states, counties of over 50,000 population, and cities of over 30,000 population.

The study is the first nation-wide report to analyze state and local public debt according to the character of the obligation. It shows that of the total long-term state and local public debt, $16,672,000,000, or 86.2 per cent, consist of general obligation bonds (that is, bonds for which the full taxing power of the issuing unit is pledged). An additional $1,778,000,000 or 9.2 per cent are revenue bonds (obligations payable exclusively from the revenues of specified enterprises) and $880,000,000, or 4.6 per cent of the total, are special assessment obligations. The latter type of obligation, which has been extremely troublesome in many localities, is found to have declined over 52 per cent since 1932. The obligations paid from earnings of special enterprises (mostly municipal water and electric power utilities) account, of course, for a much larger amount than the revenue bonds alone. While figures on this type of debt could not be secured in total, it is notable that the public service enterprise debt of cities of over 100,000 population was $3,189,000,000 in 1940, or 44 per cent of their total obligations.

The local debt movement from 1932 to 1940, which was marked by retirements almost sufficient to offset new issues during the period, was of course in sharp contrast to the situation during the two preceding decades. Local debt was estimated at less than $2,000,000,000 in 1902, at $4,075,000,000 in 1912, and at $9,092,000,000 in 1922. In 1912 local debt accounted for 71.6 per cent of the estimated aggregate federal, state, and local total, however, comparing with $423,000,000 for the states and $1,194,000,000 for the federal government.

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[1] *State and Local Government Debt: 1940.*

In connection with the sharp and well known rise in federal debt, the study notes the conclusions of the National Income Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce that between 1929 and 1939 private net debt in the nation declined $21,744,000,000, more than offsetting the rise in public net debt from $28,946,000,000 to $50,804,000,000 between these years. Thus the past decade appears to have seen a check not only in the rise of local debt but in the rise of total public and private net debt.

Louisville Award to Gibson of Portland

The first annual "Louisville Award" of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada was presented at the banquet concluding its annual convention on May 22 to City Auditor Will E. Gibson, of Portland, Oregon. The award is for the most outstanding service by a municipal or other public finance officer during 1940, and bears the name of the city which last year established the fund. Louisville was also the host to the convention on the occasion of the first award.

Mr. Gibson has been city auditor of Portland since November 1938 and formerly was county auditor of Multnomah County. He was presented with the award for his outstanding work in revising the accounting system of his department. The revision included the installation of an accrual accounting system which will permit the city to prepare balance sheets for the first time in its history, but an extremely interesting phase of the job included the setting up by Mr. Gibson of detailed work plans for each phase of the department's activities. The resulting work manual contains a set of specifications which will insure continuity of work in the department and greatly facilitates the training of employees.

Certificates of merit and honorable mention were given at the same time to Julian W. Deshaies, city auditor of Lewiston, Maine; Charles J. Fox, city auditor of Boston, Massachusetts; Walter C. Peterson, city clerk of Los Angeles, California; A. E. Neale, city auditor of Springfield, Massachusetts; Wm. "Scotty" Jack, state auditor of Wyoming; and John J. Schiedel, secretary of the school district of the township of Upper Darby, Pennsylvania.

The award was made by a committee of judges consisting of George Price Ellis, of Chicago, past president of the American Society of Certified Public Accountants and past president of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce; Neville Miller, former mayor of Louisville, now president of the National Association of Broadcasters; and Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research for Dun and Bradstreet. Dr. Bird, incidentally, was named an honorary member of the association at the meeting, bringing the roster of honorary members to three.

In considering applications for the award, the judges required that each accomplishment be equal to the best standards in current practice. They also considered the amount of original thinking necessary, the degree of cooperation required with other governmental agencies or other governmental departments, the value to the public at large of the accomplishment, and the value to the governmental unit involved considering its size, nature, and complexity. The applications submitted for the award were twenty-one in number, ranging from coast to coast and from north to south. It is expected that this annual award will bring to light and stimulate the constructive work being done by the finance and accounting officers of states, counties, cities and other local governments.

Each year a gold medal and parchment certificate will be given the winner and certificates of merit and honorable mention will be given to those whose services are outstanding.

Minnesota Reports on Finances of Local Units

The public examiner of the state of Minnesota recently released a summary report of the revenues, expenditures, and debt of the state and local governments for the year 1938. This report will be followed by a more detailed report giving this information for each of the local units throughout the state for which information was available.

These reports are the first results of the new activity—state reporting of local financial statistics—instituted by this department under the statutory direction contained in the so-called Minnesota reorganization act enacted by the 1939 state legislature.

The only reports of this nature which were formerly available in Minnesota have been incomplete, both as to the financial transactions included and as to the classes of local units covered. The Department of Education has published biennially a fairly complete report on the financial transactions of the seven thousand school districts within the state. Information as to assessed valuations, tax levies, and debts of other local units has been included in reports of the Department of Taxation.

A growing recognition of the need for accurate and comparable information as to the revenues, expenditures, and other financial transactions of all classes of local units led to the enactment of the statute directing the public examiner to collect such information in coöperation with local officials and to make a report as to his findings.

Unfortunately, no legislative appropriation was made to carry on the activity at the time the law was enacted. A study of local finance in Minnesota for the year 1937, however, had been made by the Work Projects Administration and sponsored by the Minnesota Resources Commission through its Committee on Governmental Finance. In the fall of 1939 the public examiner joined with this committee as co-sponsor for the collection of financial statistics of local governmental units for the year 1938. Thus the activity was initiated. Federal approval of a continuation of this project for the year 1939 has already been secured and legislative appropriations to the Department of Public Examiner will permit the continuation of this activity during the biennium of 1941-43.

Report forms were devised by the public examiner and sent to some 750 cities and villages and 1,900 towns within the state. Financial information from the eighty-seven counties and the state itself was secured from the audit reports of the department and the school district statistics were secured from the Department of Education. It is interesting to note that the first report covers approximately 95 per cent of all local units, although no effort was made to force compliance with the law. The coöperation received from all classes of local officials was excellent.

While the statistical purposes of the

report are important from a standpoint of community comparison and in developing state-wide information, the constructive use of the reporting activity as a means of improving local accounting and budgeting methods has been and will be even more important. Even after only two years of operation, considerable interest in improving their present accounting and budgeting procedures has been evidenced by local finance officers as a result of the educational aspects of the activity.

William H. Sherman

Department of Public Examiner
State of Minnesota

Public Reporting

An interim public report of note is *Quarterly Progress,* the quarterly municipal and financial report of the city of Jackson, Mississippi, population 62,107. An attractively printed volume issued by the city auditor, Mr. V. E. McGowen, this little report is a model of its kind. The issue for the quarter ending March 31, 1941, of forty-eight pages, contains excellent illustrations of current developments in the city, vividly written and highly informative spot-news stories on pending governmental and community problems, eleven pages of financial statistics which include balance sheets as well as debt and tax data, and a number of brief "letters to the citizens" posing matters of city policy on which an expression of opinion is asked. The city has the commission form of government. Its annual financial report is also of above-average quality.

The annual report of City Auditor W. H. McNichols, of the city and county of Denver, contains a good discussion of the city's past policy of issuing bonds. Past issues, while serial, have had initial maturities deferred ten to sixteen years, costly in point of total interest to be paid.

Proportional Representation

By George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Authorized for Boston

Another Illinois Defeat
An Object Lesson in Alberta

ON JUNE 2 Governor Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts signed the bill permitting Boston to adopt P.R. for its city council. A campaign for actual adoption is being planned for next year.

The bill was advanced to third reading in the House of Representatives by 119 votes to 88 with the active assistance of Speaker Christian A. Herter, who left the chair to speak on its behalf. Then, on May 13, it passed third reading by 110 votes to 92. .

The bill then went to the Senate, where on May 20 it was passed finally by the narrow margin of 17 to 16. Fourteen Republicans and three Democrats voted for the measure and four Republicans and twelve Democrats (including the representatives of the dominant Democratic organization of Boston) voted against it. Motions in both houses to reconsider were defeated.

Boston now has the same right as other cities in Massachusetts to adopt P.R. for its city council by petition and popular vote without an accompanying change to the city manager plan. The "Plan E" law, under which Cambridge is to elect its council by P.R. for the first time this fall and choose its first city manager in January, was not affected by the bill and will still exclude Boston from its scope. Boston already had the option to elect its school committee by P.R. and its mayor by the corresponding Hare system of majority preferential voting.

The *Boston Herald,* referring editorially on May 10 to the hurdles still to be surmounted before P.R. becomes a reality in Boston (after passage of the bill, circulation of a petition, and popular approval at the polls), concluded:

> Nevertheless, it should not discourage those citizens who want Boston to achieve a better, fairer, and more effective technique of self-government. We have tried electing councilors at large and electing them, as at present, by wards, and the results have been equally disappointing.

On May 17 the *Christian Science Monitor* carried the following editorial:

> *"PR" for Boston*
>
> Should the people of Boston be allowed to decide how they shall choose their City Council? That is the major issue in the pending legislative measure which would permit a referendum in Boston on adoption of the proportional representation system, if 10 per cent of the voters should petition for it.
>
> The present Council, by a vote of seventeen to one, registered its opposition to the bill and to "PR" in general. Several who spoke asserted "PR" is "hard to understand." Yet the newsboys of the Burroughs Foundation used it successfully in electing officers some time ago. Others charged that "PR" brings "minority rule." Yet under the present plurality system twelve of the present twenty-two councilors were elected by a minority of those actually voting in their wards!
>
> The councilors object that "PR" would "destroy the last vestiges of representative government." Yet the system has greatly improved local government in Cincinnati and New York City and is used successfully in Eire.
>
> Proportional representation gives every group in the population representation in proportion to its voting strength. Because of the intrinsic merit of "PR" and because Bostonians should have opportunity to choose "PR" if they want it just as do citizens of other Bay State communities, the legislature would do well to act favorably on the bill.

Illinois Bills Lose Again

Bills to permit Illinois cities and villages to adopt the manager plan of government and to couple proportional representation with it if they wished received serious consideration again in this year's Illinois House of Representatives, but once more failed to pass. A favorable committee report was followed by rejection on May 13, by 72 votes to 54, of a motion to kill the bill by striking out the enacting clause. At that point the prospects looked bright, for a House majority seemed assured and Governor Green was openly in favor. But on May 22 an amendment was carried *viva voce* to exclude Chicago from the scope of the proposal, after a proposal to table it had been beaten 74 to 60, and then, since a large part of the interest centered in Chicago, the whole proposal was killed by striking out the enacting clause on a voice vote without a roll call. A companion bill has been introduced in the Senate and could still be passed if there should be a change in the legislative alignment.

Two Systems Compared in Alberta

Complete figures recently received for the election of the Alberta legislature held on March 21, 1940, bring out the usual contrast between the results of the "alternative vote" (the Hare system of majority preferential voting) used in single-member districts in most of the province and the Hare system of P.R. used in the two five-member districts of Calgary and Edmonton.

The contest this time was between the Social Credit organization, which swept the province outside the two largest cities in a landslide the time before, and various conservative elements running as "Independents." The United Farmers of Alberta, which formerly controlled the province but were wiped out by the Social Credit landslide, were to be found partly in the Social Credit ranks and partly in the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, which ran a poor third.

Though the margin of Social Credit was considerably reduced, it once more elected members out of all proportion to its voting strength. With less than 43 per cent of the total first-choice vote it elected 35 out of 56, or 63 per cent of the members.

This disparity in voting power was created almost entirely by the operation of the majority system, outside the two P. R. cities. In this area it took almost twice as many votes on the average to elect an Independent member as a Social Credit man, and the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, with eight times as many votes as the number of Social Credit votes for each member elected, got no representation at all.

The results for the majority area may be summarized as follows:

OUTSIDE THE TWO LARGEST CITIES
ALTERNATIVE VOTE

Party	*First Choice Votes*	*Members Elected*	*Members in Proportion to Votes*
Social Credit	101,165	31	21.2
Independent	82,975	13	17.4
C.C.F.	25,906	0	5.5
Others	9,161	2	1.9
	219,207	46	46

In contrast to this the use of P.R. in Calgary and Edmonton resulted as follows:

CALGARY AND EDMONTON—P.R.

Party	*First Choice Votes*	*Members Elected*	*Members in Proportion to Votes*
Social Credit	31,342	4	3.5
Independent	48,197	6	5.4
C.C.F.	8,410	0	.9
Others	1,708	0	.2
	89,657	10	10

The Coöperative Commonwealth Federation failed to win a seat because its votes were divided between the two cities in such a way that it did not approach the minimum quota in either. In each city the Independents won three seats and Social Credit two, which was the fairest possible division of the five seats on the basis of the votes cast.

The alternative vote used in the single-member districts had the merit of preventing a minority from winning in any district at the expense of a divided majority. In Olds, for example, the Independent led on first choices because the Social Credit forces were split between two candidates, but when the independent S.C. candidate was defeated as being lowest of the three contestants and his votes transferred to next choices, it was clearly demonstrated that more voters preferred the regular Social Credit candidate than the Independent. In St. Albert the situation was reversed and an Independent won out on transfers.

But since only one person was to be elected in each district, the minority in each district necessarily went unrepresented even under the best of preferential systems; and these unrepresented remainders so far threw off the true proportions that a party with far less than half the votes won a good majority of the seats. Only by electing several together from a district and dividing the seats proportionately among the competing groups of electors, as in Calgary and Edmonton, can such distortions of the popular will be avoided.

The P. R. League, as announced in this department last month, invites every member of the National Municipal League to enroll as a P. R. member without additional dues by writing to Elsie S. Parker at the N. M. League office.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

The Boss. By Dayton D. McKean. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. xvii, 285 pp. $3.

Before accepting his present position on the Dartmouth College Faculty, Professor McKean served in the New Jersey legislature and on various administrative boards in that state. On the basis of his legislative experiences he published a widely read thesis entitled *Pressures on the Legislature of New Jersey.* Like that work, his new volume is a comprehensive accumulation of data, interestingly written and selected.

Its highly sensational content and colorful subject matter has given the book an extremely wide appeal for a work on city government. And it is, of course, primarily, a serious study of city government—a description of a phenomenon that is unfortunately rather typical of urban politics in America. The rise of Frank Hague, a conspicuously unpromising son of a poor blacksmith of the railroad yards, to the most powerful position in the state is much more fascinating than an Alger story, and considerably more realistic. McKean describes in detail the various steps that he travelled, and the various political, economic, and ecclesiastical groups that contributed to his eventual success. He records the deals that Hague entered into with the Republican party, in order to eliminate Democrats whose presence threatened his power, and does not spare the corrupt leadership of the Republican party of New Jersey, whose leaders have always been willing to respect Hague's territory in the north if he would leave them theirs in the south.

Professor McKean's work, however, is neither a work of mature scholarship nor of incisive reporting. But it is a straightforward, honest, and courageous account of a political machine and the factors which contributed to its continued dominance. In effect, a guidebook and a challenge to reformers, and a warning to lazy citizens, has been fashioned out of the bar-room myths and legends that have circulated around Jersey City for decades.

There will be those who will point out the inadequacy of McKean's documentation: but an independent investigator of political corruption must always rely chiefly upon rumor and gossip. It is difficult to see how he could do otherwise, with the limited time, money, and investigatory power at his command.

It is rather depressing to read this book in conjunction with the essay on Mark Fagan, Frank Hague's immediate predecessor, in Lincoln Steffen's collection, *Upbuilders.* The hope which that great reporter held forth for the west bank of the Hudson seems woefully unfulfilled. Mark Fagan, the noble and truly heroic figure around whom Steffens centered his sanguine description of the forces which were at work to build a newer and better Jersey, has for twenty years been quietly and humbly practicing his old calling of undertaker in Jersey City's poorest district.

JEROME H. SPINGARN

Adjusted Rents. A report on the adjustment of rents in public housing projects to family income. New York City, Committee on Housing, Community Service Society of New York, 1940. 52 pp. 25 cents.

This is the most satisfactory and comprehensive analysis of the rent adjustment problem that has come to my attention. It presents no final conclusions, but the evidence and discussion of the available facts and experience in the United States and in England clarify the value of rent adjustment and its various possibilities in relation to the factors which determine the needs for rent adjustment.

The report should prove particularly valuable as a stimulus to further study of the questions raised. We shall need in the future a whole system of legislative rent controls and subsidy policies intended to bring public housing closer to the people for whom such housing is intended. A clarification of the seven questions which in my estimation the report so clearly brings into focus should be basic to any rent policies in public housing which may be devised by federal, state, local or private agencies dealing with the relation of rent to incomes and essential family budget requirements. The Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society of New York, in issuing the report, has performed a very valuable service in the cause of bringing the benefits of public housing closer to those who should benefit by such housing.

Carol Aronovici

Research Methods in Public Administration. By John M. Pfiffner. New York City, The Ronald Press Company, 1940. xv, 447 pp. $4.50.

This book is far more than its preface declares it to be. It is a textbook in the methodology of social science that will guide the student throughout college and post-graduate years so completely that when he has finished he will realize he has a thorough knowledge of the subject of governmental research.

Its comprehensiveness is at once its strength and its weakness, and which is which only the "shake-down" process of using it can show. For instance, the first chapter, "What is Research," deals with such tools of thinking as induction and deduction. Yet there is an old-fashioned flavor in its writing that suggests notes from lectures in logic as it was taught forty years ago. On the other hand the chapter contains, and suggests as supplemental reading, some of the best writing available on the scientific method.

There is a sentence on page 157 which is a comment on the chapter containing it: "Some of the observations contained herein would undoubtedly seem elementary or even naïve to advanced workers." The comment applies to the entire book and will be the reaction of many who cannot qualify as advanced workers, particularly when they read "Personal Characteristics of the Interviewer," pp. 188-189. On the other hand, if one starts with the postulate that the students who use this book are callow the advice given is needful.

The book is a bold attempt to dispel the dismay of those who, having grasped the importance of social research and the opportunities it offers to those who live to serve instead of to get, discover that to become proficient is another case of, "the lyf so shorte, the crafte so long to lerne." In the hands of discriminating teachers and pupils it should achieve a notable success in dispelling such fears and shorten the necessary apprenticeship.

W. J. M.

County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States. By M. H. Satterfield. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940. ix, 144 pp.

This report, issued by the Tennessee Valley Authority, is a most effective presentation of county government in the valley states. By judicious use of tables and footnotes, and by simplicity and clarity of style, Mr. Satterfield has presented a mass of information with a minimum of the cataloguing effect.

The seven states included in the study are Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Kentucky. Major topics discussed in the report are administrative organization, finance, highways, education, health and welfare, law enforcement, planning and zoning, and the consolidation of areas and functions. Descriptive detail and analysis are based on extensive use of laws, surveys, and reports as well as on secondary literature.

The interpretations and conclusions of the author are not novel, but they are based on conservative aspirations for governmental reform in this most laggard field. He suggests that frequently county boards are too large, such as one in Tennessee with fifty-two members. They should be elected at large, and where a conflict between urban and rural interests exists, it could be resolved by a system of proportional representation. Furthermore, he believes the board has much too limited control over administration. It should have complete responsibility for all county functions. He thinks the most promising devices are the county manager and executive plans, but due to a variety of reasons counties probably will continue to be slow in adopting them.

The author believes that the unification of functions, especially fiscal, is needed badly in the valley counties. He thinks a single department should be responsible for assessing property, collection of all revenues, the budget, accounting, control over spending agencies, and financial reporting.

The author stresses also the need for sound procedures in budgeting, accounting, and reporting. Since these functions should be uniform throughout the state, they should be supervised by a state agency which has full power of enforcement.

Although the author recognizes the need for consolidation of counties and for city-county consolidation, he does not believe that permissive legislation such as that found in two states will be effective.

Functional consolidation is much more prevalent in the valley states, but the author is distrustful of it. He believes the major solution will lie in the transfer of many functions to higher units.

E. A. M.

Additional Books and Reports

Accounting

Central Control of Municipal Accounts in Louisiana. An analysis of the Situation in Louisiana, an Examination of Practice in Other States, and a Proposal for Action. By Clarence Scheps. University, Bureau of Government Research, Louisiana State University, 1941. 15 pp. 25 cents; 10 cents for additional copies.

Data Concerning the Accounting Activities of City Clerks in Sixth-Class Cities of California. By Paul Beckett. Los Angeles, Bureau of Government Research, University of California, 1941. 8 pp. mimeo.

Apportionment

Congressional Apportionment. By Laurence F. Schmeckebier. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1941. x, 233 pp. $2.50.

Legislative Apportionment. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1941. 46 pp. mimeo.

Methods of Apportionment in Congress. A Survey. By Edward V. Huntington. (Senate Document No. 304.) Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1940. v, 41 pp.

Blighted Areas

Blighted Urban Areas and Their Rehabilitation. A Selected List of References. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1940. 13 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Citizenship and Democracy

America's Last Chance. By Albert Carr. New York City, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1940. 328 pp. $2.75.

Democracy Comes to a Cotton Kingdom. The Story of Mexico's La Laguna. By Clarence Senior. Mexico, D. F., Centro de Estudios Pedagogicos E Hispano Americanos, 1940. (Distributed in the United States by the League for Industrial Democracy, New York City.) 56 pp. 15 cents.

Democratic Education. Suggestions for Education and National Defense. By Progressive Education Association. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. 22 pp. 25 cents.

Education in Citizenship. The Organization of a Citizenship Program for Young Voters. By Harold M. Dorr. Ann Arbor, Extension Service, University of Michigan, 1940. 11 pp.

Freedom of Assembly and Anti-Democratic Groups. A Memorandum of the Council for Democracy. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. 27 pp. 25 cents.

Illinois Program of Citizenship Training for First Voters. By Neil F. Garvey. Urbana, University of Illinois, 1941. 10 pp. mimeo.

Student Coöperation. A Report of Student Government in High Schools. By Earl C. Kelley. New York City, National Self Government Committee, Inc., 1941. 20 pp. 10 cents.

The Clash of Political Ideals. A Source Book on Democracy, Communism, and the Totalitarian State. Selected and Annotated by Albert R. Chandler. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. xvii, 273 pp. Student edition, $2.

Your Business as a Voter. A Handbook of Essential Facts about Voting in Illinois. By Neil Ford Garvey, Richard G. Browne, and William G. Wood. Urbana, University of Illinois, 1941. 64 pp.

Defense

City Problems and Defense 1941. The Proceedings of the St. Louis Regional Conference of the United States Conference of Mayors. Edited by Paul V. Betters. Washington, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1941. 94 pp. $3.

Community Employment Problems under Defense. A Memorandum of the Council for Democracy. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. iv, 23 pp. 25 cents.

Defense and the Consumer. By Institute for Consumer Education. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1941. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Defense Statistics Related to Local Markets. New York City, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1941. 18 pp.

Financing National Defense. By Robert S. Ford. Ann Arbor, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1941. 28 pp. 10 cents.

Fundamental Economic Issues in National Defense. By Harold G. Moulton. Washington, D. C., Brookings Institution, 1941. 32 pp. 25 cents.

How Shall We Pay for Defense. By Maxwell S. Stewart. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1941. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Labor and National Defense. A Survey of the Special Labor Problems Arising from America's Defense Activities and a Program for Action. The Factual Findings by Lloyd G. Reynolds; The Program by The Labor Committee. New York City, Twentieth Century Fund, 1941. xiii, 130 pp. $1.00.

Unemployment and Defense. A Movie

Discussion Guide. (A Defense Digest.) New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. 15 pp. 10 cents.

Housing

Defense Housing in Our Town. The Community's Problem in Providing Homes for Workers in Defense Industries. New York City, Twentieth Century Fund, 1941. 13 pp. 2 cents each in quantities up to 500; 1½ cents over 500.

Housing for Citizens. (A Defense Digest.) New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. 13 pp. 10 cents.

Suggested Emergency Fair Rent Legislation. A Report. By Consumer Division, National Defense Advisory Commission. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1941. v, 21 pp.

Liquor Control

Liquor Taxes and Public Welfare. By Harley L. Lutz, Paul Studenski, etc. New York City, *Journal of Commerce and Commercial,* 1941. 56 pp. $1.

Miscellaneous

American Year Book. A Record of Events and Progress for 1940. Edited by William M. Schuyler and Albert Bushnell Hart. New York City, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1941. xxiii, 1,079 pp. $7.50.

Definite Sentence Laws, Parole Organization and Reparole. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1941. 31 pp. mimeo.

Government and Business. A Manual and Syllabus. By Russell H. Ewing. Denver, Colorado, School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, University of Denver, 1940. 132 pp. $1.

Growth and Decline of Agricultural Villages. By David R. Jenkins. New York City, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. v, 95 pp. $1.60.

Matching Youth and Jobs. A Study of Occupational Adjustment. By Howard M. Bell. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1940. xiii, 277 pp. $2.

Opinions of the Corporation Counsel and Assistants, January 1, 1938, to January 1, 1940, and Cumulative Index to Opinion Volumes I to XX, 1872 to 1940. Edited and Compiled by Barnet Hodes, Corporation Counsel. Chicago, Department of Law, 1940.

Registration of Births in Nebraska. Lincoln, Research Department, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1940. 7 pp. mimeo.

Regulation of Neon Signs. By Charles C. Weinstein. New York City, City Club, 1940. 7 pp.

Regulation of the Use of Groundwater in Nebraska. Lincoln, Research Department, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1940. 15 pp. mimeo.

Removal of Judges. By Albert I. Edelman. New York City, City Club, 1941. 13 pp.

Social Work Year Book 1941. Edited by Russell H. Kurtz. Part I: An Authoritative Record of Organized Activities; Part II: A Directory of 1,023 National and State Agencies in Social Work and Related Fields. New York City, Russell Sage Foundation, 1941. 793 pp. $3.25.

Solicitations for Charitable Purposes. A Report by the Research Department, City of Houston, Texas, 1940. 16 pp. mimeo.

State Aid for Driver Training Courses. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 16 pp. mimeo.

State Regulation of Weights and Measures. Review of Present Administrative Organization in Kansas, Possibilities for a More Comprehensive and Coördinated System, and Regulation in Other States. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, 1940. x, 23 pp.

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The League's Business

Three New League Council Members

The election of three additional members of the League's council has just been announced by President Winant and the League's Executive Committee:

John Cowles, president of the *Minneapolis Star-Journal,* vice-president of *Look Magazine* and the *Des Moines Register and Tribune,* and a director of the Associated Press;

C. G. Hoag, trustee of the C. F. Taylor Trust, honorary secretary of the Proportional Representation League (now affiliated with the National Municipal League), and co-author (with George H. Hallett, Jr.) of *Proportional Representation* (Macmillan 1926);

Ralph B. Maltby, finance commissioner of Bronxville, New York, and president of the St. Regis Paper Company.

Model State Constitution

A final draft of the League's new model state constitution is now in the hands of all members of the Committee on Revision of the Model State Constitution for correction and approval. Professor W. Brooke Graves, of Temple University, is chairman of the committee. It is expected the document will be ready for publication this fall.

League Officials in the News

President Winant, now U. S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James, on a flying visit to this country, found time during his busy schedule to confer with the League's secretary on League problems. Mr. Winant has returned to London.

The League notes with regret the retirement of its former president, **Charles Evans Hughes,** as chief justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. Justice Hughes was president of the League in 1920 and 1921.

C. A. Dykstra, president of the League from 1937 to 1940, has resigned as chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board as of July 1 to devote his full time to his duties as president of the University of Wisconsin.

S. Howard Evans, the League's director of education project, is serving as acting assistant director of the Office of Civilian Defense, of which Mayor F. H. LaGuardia is director.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

County 'Statesmen' in Action

THE historian of some future day, trying to define our conception of democracy as of the year 1941, will be puzzled by the recent oratorical display in Westchester County, an area suburban to New York City which is frequently referred to as the wealthiest county in the United States.

For all its estates and exclusive communities, Westchester still has a fairly average type of population. It has cities with industries, foreign-born population, and slums. It has ordinary "middle-class" villages. And, of course, it has its typical county politicians.

Westchester in recent years has won claim to distinction in addition to its wealth and populousness. It became one of the handful of counties which reorganized their antiquated, headless form of government. For nearly two and one-half years it has had an elected county executive in whom considerable responsibility is concentrated.

There also has been a growing popular demand, in line with the trend in cities, for a small legislative body. Recently the demand became too great to resist and the present board of supervisors, numbering forty-four, voted grudgingly to permit the people to vote in November on a plan to reduce its number to ten or twelve members representing population groups of 50,000.

The board had the effrontery to amend the resolution by inserting the statement that it "firmly believes the proposed amendment inadvisable"; but the flights of oratory in which its members indulged as they wrestled with themselves were even more amazing, if hackneyed. They will undoubtedly puzzle the future historian.

A few samples: "I would be a traitor to my ancestors [who fought in the Revolutionary War] if I joined such a move. . . . It would allow a county dictator to collect our taxes but do nothing to save our souls and our properties . . . taxation without representation . . . would wipe out constitutional, representative, democratic government. . . . I was born an American and, by God, I intend to die an American. . . . Look at the foreign countries, where people are being killed, all because of centralized government. . . . It is time we stopped dilly-dallying with governmental changes. I wish to God that these people who talk about changes would get busy in our national defense industries and start trying to save America."

All this is so obviously ridiculous that it might well cause us to worry about the future of democratic self-government. No one seriously argues any longer that there is anything essentially democratic in having a plethora of representation in a legislative body. The United States House of Representatives with its 435 members and the New Hampshire House with its 423 are prime examples of how an unwieldy body functions only if the leaders are able to whip the members into line and limit debate. Hundreds of cities can testify to the fact that they have obtained better and *more genuinely democratic* government since they dropped the old two-house legislative arrangement and elected councils small enough to produce a sense of responsibility.

There may be some small comfort in the knowledge that we aren't the only ones who have politicians who talk like that. Several years ago when an effort was being made to "streamline" a Canadian city along lines similar to those adopted in some cities in the United States the plan was promptly branded as "un-British."

Is there really something so un-American about progressing and making constructive changes in government or anything else? Hardly. In this country we have experimented with and improved local government more in the last thirty years than in all previous history. As people contemplate such arguments as were strewn around hysterically by the Westchester County board they must inevitably come to the conclusion that the proposition is good and that there are no valid arguments against it.

New Jersey's Dead Hand of the Past

NEW JERSEY'S constitution has remained virtually unchanged in the last ninety-seven years. Now the agitation for the rewriting of this basic law serves to emphasize again that it is seldom possible for us to see ourselves as others see us.

The rest of the country never ceases to be amazed at the political goings-on in Boss Hague's Jersey City and in other sections. New Jersey can be so regularly depended upon for news stories of political chicanery that the tall tales about the famous Jersey "skeeter" have gone into total eclipse.

During last autumn's campaign both candidates for governor called attention to the inadequacy of the old constitution. Since the election, the leadership of both parties has sponsored legislative bills to call a convention. Still, a group in the State Senate succeeds in clouding the issue with specious argument and in preventing anything constructive from happening.

These tactics may, however, be just the thing to arouse public opinion to the point which will help people see the sagacity of a statement made some months ago by a distinguished civic leader: "Nothing much worthwhile will be accomplished in New Jersey until it is generally realized that the issue lies between the entrenched politicians who think public affairs are designed for their individual enrichment and the people who foot the bill."

The statesmen of 1844 who de-

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In Recognition of the Native-Born New Voter

By **R. J. COLBERT**
University of Wisconsin

> *"I do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of Wisconsin and the laws enacted pursuant thereto, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties and obligations of a citizen of the state of Wisconsin to the best of my ability, so help me God."*
>
> *—Wisconsin Citizenship Oath*

IN THE June issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW appeared an editorial entitled "I Am an American." It briefly reviewed the development of a plan whereby our young men and women who have become twenty-one years of age during the year are given a proper and worthy public induction into the electorate. As has been said, the idea is not new; indeed, it is a very old one. Nevertheless, its inclusion in our state school systems marks one of the most significant forward steps in education for democratic self-government.

There is a tendency for some to regard Citizenship Day (the third Sunday of May) as a sort of mass birthday party for new voters. Even this might do much to awaken a deeper appreciation of what it means to become a voter in a land where "We, the People" rule.

But Citizenship Day, as conceived by the originators of the "Manitowoc plan,"[1] is the climax to a thoughtfully developed program for adult education carried out by the new voters themselves in coöperation with their elders—and with their county and local officials and public school authorities. It is this educational program that makes the plan potentially a most significant contribution to the advancement of good government. Through forums, round-table discussions, panel discussions, lectures, and conventions the new voters—and their neighbors—seek answers to two questions which voters need to know:

1. How far, and where, have the older voters brought government to date? What does the tax dollar contribute to our standard of living?
2. What problems and issues are we, as new voters, expected to help think through *now?* What do we need to know in order to meet these problems and issues squarely?

It is a mistake to assume that youth should automatically be familiar with these responsibilities of voting stockholder in our public corporations. It is also a mistake for the elders to assume that youth is not interested, willing, and able to take a lively part in public affairs, or that youth wants these matters done *for* it. Between the time when a youth is exposed to the more or less effective teaching of school civics and his twenty-first birthday, many things have happened in public affairs and changes have taken place in government. He should have a chance to prepare for the current responsibilities he is expected to share. This calls for a program of training —a responsibility that must be regarded as belonging to our public school system, in coöperation with county and local government and the civic organizations of the community.

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[1] See also "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1939, p. 499.

The Manitowoc Plan

The Manitowoc County demonstration of 1938-1939 set the pattern for the Wisconsin legislation of 1939, creating a state plan for adult citizenship training and induction of new voters, and for the Congressional resolution in the spring of 1940, naming the third Sunday of May as **National Citizenship Day.** (Edward Arnold of Hollywood, California, president of "I am an American" Panegyric Foundation, Inc., flew to Washington to insist that Congress amend the resolution to call it "I Am an American Day." Congress tacked Arnold's amendment to the resolution, in spite of its awkward wording and egotism.)

It is obvious that such a program of adult citizenship training is based upon community organization with the county as the basic unit (in New England the basic unit would no doubt be the town).

Around the public school authorities is organized a county-wide citizenship committee composed of county and local officials, civic leaders, *and a good representation of the youth* of the county. Several counties this year attempted to carry out the program without such a county-wide organization and the results were far from satisfactory. In several leading counties this county-wide committee held its final meeting after Citizenship Day to discuss how the program for next year might be improved, to arrange for an early start in the fall, and to elect officers and appoint new members. This committee is not only responsible for shaping and directing the program, but is a safeguard against political tampering.

The next major job of community organization is concerned with organizing the new voters of the county. This, too, calls for coöperative effort. In Wisconsin the census of the twenty-one-ers is taken annually at the time the school census is made. However, even this cannot be relied upon completely—many move, marry, or shift about, and now many are in military service. The securing of an accurate list is not accomplished until the new voters have attained a fair degree of organization by townships, villages, and city wards—or the voting units of the county. This year the most effective organization of the new voter units was accomplished by teams of last year's new voters working closely with their local township, village, and city officials.

The next step in the community organization is the combining of the several local units into discussion centers to carry out the program of forums, round-table discussions, and panels, and to bring into focus the information and resources for working out plans for meeting problems and issues confronting the community, state, and nation. Such a program was carried out in more than half of Wisconsin's seventy-one counties this year. In more than a score of Wisconsin counties leadership institutes were held, where selected discussion leaders (many of them members of last year's new voter organizations) learned how to use various methods of conducting effective public discussion.

The final phase of the organization is the county convention of the new voters. It has been necessary to prepare a convention guide in order to insure that American democratic processes be followed. In this convention the new voters assemble behind the banners of their respective townships, villages, and city wards (precincts) to complete their county organization, elect a county cabinet of officers, and determine a program for aiding their community next year. This convention is held some time prior to Citizenship Day and thus provides an opportunity for the County Citizenship Committee to announce the program for Citizenship Day—the climax of the year's program. Many county conventions held this year would do credit to veteran leaders. They have demonstrated the possibility of a bona fide youth organization on this distinctly American plan. The programs of service they have adopted have already accomplished much to their credit. Some have conducted "Know Your Candidate" campaigns; others have made occupational studies of their county; others have set up provisions for protecting and looking after the interests of the men in military service; others are aiding local councils for defense.

The program for Citizenship Day needs less explanation. In every state of the union there were communities that staged wonderful programs in honor of their native-born sons and daughters who now become partners with their elders in the conduct of public affairs. In only a few instances was the induction of naturalized citizens included—such programs being arranged at other times during the year.

Growth of the Movement

In Wisconsin there is already coming a demand from the various county organizations of new voters that a state convention be held. The following request from the officers of Winnebago County New Voters illustrates the character of the point of view of these county groups: "May we have your views on the idea of having a state-wide convention of the officers of the twenty-oneers and school superintendents? We have thought of promoting such a convention and would appreciate any suggestions you might have."

On the national front there is already an astonishing public interest in the movement, and a serious need for guiding this interest into constructive educational channels.

The National Municipal League has recognized the potentialities of the program from the beginning, and has done much to help guide state and local communities in getting started right.

The National Education Association created a standing committee to assist schoolmen of the nation to get

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The Metropolitan Problem—1941

Our big cities continue to sprawl over ever-widening areas beyond their formal boundaries. New problems are many, efforts to solve them few.

By THOMAS H. REED
Municipal Consultant

IT IS now more than ten years since the National Municipal League, through its Committee on Metropolitan Government, presented to the public the first authentic and comprehensive account of the metropolitan problem in the United States and what had been done to solve it.[1] It is exactly nineteen years since the publication of Professor Maxey's *Political Integration of Metropolitan Communities* as a supplement to the REVIEW. Measured from either of these dates, progress in solving the problems which arise from the maladjustment of the areas of local government to the needs of metropolitan communities has been insignificant.

At the same time, the retardation of general population growth has served to emphasize the scarcely abated outward trend of urban population. There are 63,958,703 people, or 47.8 per cent of the total population of the United States, now living in 140 metropolitan areas—8,205,058 more than ten years ago. This is almost equal to the total population increase of the country as a whole (8,894,229).

What has been taking place can be seen even more clearly from the figures for the ten largest metropolitan areas in Table I.

TABLE I

	Metropolitan Area Population			*Nucleus City Population Increase or Decrease*
	1930	*1940*	*Increase*	*1930-1940*
New York	10,902,424	11,690,520	788,096	524,549
Chicago	4,364,755	4,499,126	134,371	20,370
Los Angeles	2,318,526	2,904,596	586,070	266,229
Philadelphia	2,847,148	2,898,644	51,496	— 19,627
Boston	2,307,897	2,350,514	42,617	— 10,372
Detroit	2,104,764	2,295,867	191,103	54,790
Pittsburgh	1,953,668	1,994,060	40,392	1,842
San Francisco	1,290,094	1,428,525	138,431	142
St. Louis	1,293,516	1,367,977	74,461	— 5,912
Cleveland	1,194,989	1,214,943	19,954	— 22,093

In six of these ten districts all growth was confined to the area outside the nucleus city, and in four of them it had to be rapid enough to make up for a positive decline within the nucleus city. The four nucleus cities which showed substantial growth are so large in area that suburban development is still going on within the city limits.

The problems, administrative and financial, of both nucleus cities and their suburban satellites have been intensified in the last decade. The metropolitan situation, in spite of much talk by political scientists and city planners, has grown steadily worse since they first became conscious of it a generation ago. This is not flattering to American democracy, but it would be a great mistake not to look the hard facts in the face now.

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[1] *The Government of Metropolitan Areas,* National Municipal League, 1930.

The Problem Grows

There are, it is true, forces at work gradually clearing the way for a new order in metropolitan government. One of the most obvious is increasing "necessity," the grim cause of most human achievement. There is nothing static about metropolitanism. Loss of population and taxable values in the older residential areas of the nucleus cities has brought on a crisis in their finances. A similar crisis has arisen in the outlying "bedroom" municipalities by the invasion of hundreds or thousands of families not much above the level of self-support who must be provided with schools and other municipal services at a cost far exceeding the taxes collectible upon the houses they occupy.

A working-class family which lives, works, trades, and seeks its amusements all in one municipality contributes to local government not only through property taxes on its home but through the values which its spending gives to downtown business property. Every such self-supporting family pays for the local government services it gets. But divide its contributions between two municipalities, in one of which it lives and in the other of which it trades and amuses itself, and it pays its way in neither. The overhead of two governments is too much for the low income family, which means most families, but it is impossible as a rule to reduce the expenditures of their old home town to correspond with the increase in those of their new home town.

This is not a wholly new situation though in current discussions it is sometimes disguised under a new name, "urban decentralization." It is but one phase of the fact, clearly brought out years ago, that the areas of local government fail to correspond with economic and social realities. The effects of this discrepancy caused by the rapid out-thrust of population, however, are clearer than they used to be. They have caught the attention of some politicians who ten years ago were all for the status quo. When the financial pressure gets heavy enough they may be willing to acquiesce in some form of consolidation. It is significant that the only voluntary consolidations of local governments which have taken place in the last ten years, including the three instances of county consolidation, have occurred when a bankrupt small unit found surcease of sorrow in the bosom of one able and willing to assume its obligations.

The phenomena of "urban decentralization," moreover, have aroused the passionate interest of the powerful real estate owners whose heavy investments lie in the centers of nucleus cities. They looked on calmly enough ten years ago at the efforts of municipal reformers and city planners to do something about metropolitanism. They are calm no longer. They are eagerly anxious to stop the exodus to the suburbs, and, barring that, to extend city boundaries and taxing power to include the newly created values in the outskirts.

In other words, the municipal reformers and city planners, who were interested chiefly in the better administration of certain local government activities suffering from the *morcellement* of areas and jurisdictions, have acquired new allies whose interest is largely in the purely fiscal side of the problem. Whether the two teams will pull together or not remains to be seen. Some of the values most cherished by the reformers mean relatively little to those whose thought runs along purely economic lines. What may appear a solution to one group may seem only another problem to the other.

The remedies which are today proposed for the maladjustments of metropolitanism are the same as ever: city-county consolidation, outright annexation to the nucleus city, metropolitan consolidation on the borough plan, special metropolitan districts, and functional consolidation.

City-County Consolidation

City-county consolidation is still practically where it was in 1922. In Virginia all cities of over 10,000 population continue to be counties by themselves. Elsewhere there are still only Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Denver. One may add, for good measure, Boston, almost but not quite consolidated with Suffolk County under circumstances which have produced a century of minor headaches. New York City, with its five by no means wholly consolidated counties, occupies an anomalous position which defies classification.

Denver, the last recruit, was finally fairly united with a portion of Arapahoe County after a struggle which lasted from 1902 to 1916. With this exception there has been no addition to the list for two generations. For some years following the Denver achievement there was an active but unsuccessful movement for consolidation. City-county consolidation plans were defeated by local referendum in Alameda County (Oakland), California, in 1922; Silver Bow County (Butte), Montana, in 1924; Multnomah County (Portland), Oregon, in 1927; Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, in 1929. Plans to combine the city of St. Louis (already a county) with the county of St. Louis in a still greater city and county were defeated in 1926 and 1930. Since 1930 there has been no city-county consolidation proposal that has got as far as the ballot box.

There has been in the past decade some progress in the adoption of enabling legislation. Constitutional amendments in Ohio and Texas in 1933 and in New York in 1935 seemed to favor consolidation. It is to be doubted, however, if any of these amendments offer a practical means of securing anything more than modest functional consolidation. To date they have produced nothing except a modicum of functional consolidation in a few New York counties.

The term city-county consolidation is commonly used somewhat indiscriminately to describe a variety of different devices. Consolidation may be simple—a merger into a single unit of government; or compound—a merger into a new unit in which member municipalities retain their identity like the round pebbles in the mass of a Roxbury puddingstone. Consolidation is very properly used to describe the union of a city with the county in which it is situated, as happened in the case of Philadelphia (1854) and New Orleans (1874). It is also used, even more frequently, to describe the withdrawal of a city, with or without the addition of some territory, from the surrounding county to become a city-county by itself. This is what happened in Baltimore (1851), San Francisco (1856), St. Louis (1876), and Denver (1902-1916). It is what is provided for cities of over 10,000 in the Virginia constitution and what was practiced for nearly one hundred years in England in the erection of county-boroughs. It is in the interest of clearness to refer to this practice as city-county separation.

No example of a compound consolidation has yet been put into effect in the United States unless the anomalous arrangement in New York can be called so. The discussion of its prospects will best be considered under the head of the borough plan of metropolitan integration, which is not necessarily confined by county lines.

Simple consolidations have varied considerably in the completeness and smooth operation of the consolidation affected. There is a certain unavoidable difficulty in bringing under the ordinary city authorities the instrumentalities of the administration of justice, in which the interest of the state as a whole must remain dominant. The repeated complaints of Philadelphians concerning the imperfections of consolidation arise fundamentally from the fact that the perfectly legitimate distinction between municipal and state functions has been abused by political powers bent on preserving as large an area of local administration as possible free from the restraints of budgeting, the merit system, and financial supervision. The best possible consolidation act could limit but hardly wholly remove the opportunities for such abuse. Similar motives may be found back of the unsatisfactory city-county relations in Boston and New York.

Advantages

Consolidation can and should be made complete except for those aspects of judicial administration in which the state is bound to preserve uniformity. This requirement should be satisfied if the judges and the office of the prosecuting attorney are put directly under the state. There is no reason why clerical and recording functions cannot be performed conformably to state laws by locally responsible officials.

Generally speaking, a merger of city and non-judicial county activities under a single set of municipal authorities has proved advantageous to the taxpayers of the consolidated unit. It is impossible to prove this statistically because other conditions which affect local government costs vary so much from city to city. The

TABLE II

Adjusted Tax Rates in Consolidated Cities and Counties Compared with Average Adjusted Tax Rates in Cities of Same Population Group[2]

City and County	*Population*	*Adjusted Tax Rate in $ per $1,000*	*Average Adjusted Rate for Population Group*
GROUP I	500,000+		$28.87
Philadelphia		$28.75	
Baltimore		30.34	
St. Louis		23.29	
San Francisco		19.69	
GROUP II	300,000-500,000		29.30
New Orleans		28.38	
Denver		33.55	
GROUP III	100,000-300,000		29.08
Richmond		22.00	
Norfolk		20.00	
GROUP IV	50,000-100,000		27.25
Roanoke		12.50	
Portsmouth		17.50	
GROUP V	30,000-50,000		26.96
Lynchburg		16.45	

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[2] Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities—1940, by Rosina Mohaupt, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1940, pp. 792-810.

accompanying Table II, based on Miss Mohaupt's tax rate figures for 1940, indicates that consolidated city-counties as a whole, on the unanalyzed face of the returns, compare favorably with other cities from the point of view of tax burdens.

It should be added, moreover, that it has been the practically uniform testimony of those closely identified with local government in places which have affected consolidation or separation that it has been financially advantageous.

It must be apparent, however, that city-county separation does not offer any long-time solution to the metropolitan problem unless a wide margin for growth is included in the new city and county. Denver took such a large slice of Arapahoe County that after a quarter of a century it still seems to have no metropolitan fringe to contend with. San Francisco, Baltimore, and St. Louis, however, have long since outgrown their original city-county boundaries, and the fact that they constitute separate counties has served as a serious obstacle to further municipal expansion. San Francisco, for example, is not an inch larger in area than it was in 1856, although a varied array of suburbs has grown up on the peninsula and across the bay which constitutes one of the largest metropolitan areas in the United States. St. Louis has been struggling vainly for nearly twenty years to remove the strait-jacket she put on her growth in 1876.

Only Virginia city-counties, of all those in the United States, have continued to grow territorially, due to the provision in the Virginia law for annexation by judicial process.[3] Even where the whole county was taken, as in Philadelphia, the metropolitan problem was only temporarily solved and annexation of further territory has been prevented. The utmost perfection which could be given to "consolidation" in that city would leave wholly untouched the problem of a metropolitan area which has invaded three states and several counties.

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[3] The addition to Richmond of nearly ten square miles and 15,000 people from Henrico County, finally sanctioned by the highest court of that state on June 9, 1941, is the first considerable annexation to an important city in a decade and a half.

City-county separation is always bitterly resisted by the rural portions of the county which is asked to suffer the amputation, and with good reason. The impoverished rump of a county whose expenses are upped by its proximity to a large city does not face a wholly pleasant prospect. This may be bettered by state aid for this and that, or simply by growth, but in extreme cases there might be nothing for it but union with another county. Such changes disrupt the game of politics whose checkerboard has counties for squares. The balance of good and evil often would justify separation, but no county has actually suffered separation since the long bout in which Arapahoe lost to Denver.

On the other hand, consolidating a city with a county of large area and extensive rural interests creates problems which give pause to both insiders and outsiders. The insiders fear that they will be obliged to pay for city services for the rural areas. The outsiders fear that their property will be assessed at urban levels and be taxed at urban rates. That is why adding Campbell and Milton to Fulton County froze the Atlanta metropolitan situation. That is why Dallas hesitates to merge with its county. There may be a way around this difficulty but none has yet been suggested which any city and county have been willing to adopt. Metropolitan integration by city-county consolidation or separation is a horse which won its last race before "Man of War" was foaled.

The growth of cities by annexation, even where there is no county line to cross, has practically ceased. This is in part a curious by-product of the long campaign waged by reformers for home rule. So good a job in developing a sense of municipal independence has been done that every "Tiny-Lots" or "Shady-Lawn" has become an embattled center of resistance to the political expansion of its parent city. More important, however, has been the attitude of local political leaders who, intensely anxious to preserve the status quo, have not been slow to utilize for their own purposes the local patriotism of their constituents. Only dire disaster to finances of the municipality ever induces its dominant political clique to relinquish voluntarily its grip on the municipal government. It is only under such circumstances that annexation of incorporated places can be effected today.

The Borough Plan

The difficulty of securing outright annexation led many students of metropolitanism to recommend what has sometimes been called, with doubtful propriety, the "federal" or "federated" and, sometimes more properly, the "borough" type of organization for metropolitan areas. Under this plan a metropolitan government would be given jurisdiction over certain matters of general concern while the pre-existing units would retain their autonomy in all other matters. This may be tantamount to what we have called "compound" city-county consolidation as in the Pittsburgh metropolitan plan of 1929; a combination of counties as in the St. Louis proposals of 1930; or union of parts of several suburban counties as in the Boston proposals of the same period.

This method of solving the metropolitan problem offers some obvious advantages and disadvantages. It would keep alive the sacred fires of local self-government, prevent the abuses and dangers of over-centralization, give each section of the metropolis the kind and quantity of services it wishes, and provide tax differentials for the nucleus city and its richer and poorer satellites. These are very significant advantages, especially if it is desired to include in the metropolis large areas of varying wealth and social character.

On the other hand, the borough plan, unless carefully drawn, might actually add to the complexity of areas and jurisdictions, especially if all pre-existing units were preserved in the new scheme. A dual system of local government is, other things being equal, more cumbersome and costly than a unified one. It can be reasonably counted on to bring about a more efficient performance of the functions transferred to the metropolitan government. This, however, in practice might result in greater rather than less expense, while the overload of overhead arising from too many governments might not be diminished.

The most common reason for proposing the borough plan has been that it seemed to by-pass the bitter-end hostility which confronted pure and simple annexation or consolidation. Just how much opposition the borough plan has avoided in any particular case, it is difficult to say. It has never been enough to affect the result, for no such plan has, as yet, been adopted. The value of concessions repeatedly offered and as often rejected certainly is subject to suspicion. A borough plan is not worth proposing unless it can be sustained on other grounds than supposed political practicality. These grounds do exist in many large metropolitan areas. There have been instances, however, in which, in their zeal to placate opposition, the advocates of metropolitan integration have succeeded in chilling the enthusiasm of their natural adherents without making any appreciable inroads in the ranks of the enemy. In the St. Louis attempt of 1930 concession after concession was made to the particularist sentiments of St. Louis Countians, only to find the very men who had extorted these compromises in opposition to the whole scheme in the end.

It is essential that solutions of the metropolitan problem should be genuine. If they are genuine there can be no objection to their also being politically realistic. But it is not political realism to sacrifice the substance of a reform in order to secure the enactment of its shadow. Due partly to such alleged political sagacity resulting in plans which no ordinary citizen could understand and partly to the uniformity with which all borough plans, good or bad, have been defeated, there is apparently less interest in it today than in 1930.

Special Districts

Attempts to solve particular metropolitan problems by the creation of special metropolitan districts continue to be made from time to time. A large crop of power and other utility districts embracing several municipalities have sprung up under the influence of recent federal policies. Most of them are in rural areas but some include situations which may be described as metropolitan. Chief among these is the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California. It was organized under an act passed in 1927, received its first grants from the R.F.C. at the beginning of the decade, and has since developed spectacularly. Through it thirteen southern California cities, including Los Angeles, have each bought a "piece" of the prodigious project to bring water nearly three hundred miles from Uncle Sam's Boulder Dam. As late as 1937 New York and New Jersey formalized a previous informal coöperation in the management of the so-called Palisades Interstate Park when they established by interstate compact a single body corporate and politic under the title of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission.

As has often been pointed out, while each such special district provides for some particular metropolitan need, the district plan cannot be expected to solve the metropolitan problem as a whole. If a patient were suffering from cataracts, heart disease, diabetes, and an infected toe, amputating the toe might enable him to walk around for a while but it could not be considered a really important step toward restoring him to health. Just so with *ad hoc* districts and the metropolitan problem. They continue to be used because they run parallel with, rather than counter to, the thinking of local politicians. The erection of such a district displaces no one, destroys no relationship, cuts out no jobs. It adds one more organization which politicians can control without disturbing their relations with any existing organization.

Functional Consolidation

When all is said and done, the chief progress which has been made toward the solution of the metropolitan problem in recent years has been along the lines of functional consolidation. By this we mean the performance by one unit of local government of a function or functions hitherto performed by two or more units, without any change in the general structural relations of such units. It may be brought to pass in two ways: (1) by state action in reallocating the functions of local government, either mandatorily or optionally, and (2) by some form of contractual arrangement between local units themselves. Closely associated with the movement for functional consolidation is the assumption of previously local functions by the state which is illustrated in the highway policies of Virginia and North Carolina.

Numerous examples of mandatory reallocation of local functions are to be found in the statutes passed by the states to qualify for federal grants under the Social Security Act. In twenty-nine of the thirty-seven states which entrust the administration of old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children to a local unit, that unit is exclusively the county. In most instances the administration of general relief has gone along with the so-called "categories." Optional reallocation has taken place to some extent in certain New York counties through the operation of the county home rule provisions of the state constitution, as in the centralization of assessing in Nassau County. It has resulted in the transfer, stimulated by state grants, of the highway functions of Michigan townships to counties. A similar stratagem has resulted in the adoption of a county health unit in several New York counties.

Examples of functional consolidation by contract are increasingly numerous. In Los Angeles County they have been widely employed. The city of Los Angeles between 1926 and 1929 made forty-one contracts with other governmental agencies in the county for their use of the city sewer system. Pasadena has contracts with three other cities for use of its disposal plant. Pomona has two similar contracts, and Long Beach four.[4] Nine county sanitation districts operate an integrated trunk sewer system on a coöperative basis. While functional consolidation has made its most rapid progress in the thickly populated and rapidly growing southern California metropolis, instances could be multiplied from every part of the country. And new ones continue to crop up every few weeks.

No single act of functional consolidation solves the metropolitan problem. In fact, it is inconceivable that it ever could be completely solved by that route. It does, however, provide for handling tough situations in a practical manner without, at any rate, increasing the existing complexity of local government areas as the creation of new special districts or metropolitan government on the borough plan may do. It is the road of easiest grade into the intricate and complicated field of metropolitanism. To vary the metaphor, it bears somewhat the same relation to the solution of the metropolitan problem as the patient untying of knot after knot has to untangling a skein of yarn. To the extent that a functional consolidation works, there is one less complexity to deal with.

Politicians do not like functional consolidation. It means less jobs as a rule, and in any event the control of what jobs there are is usually shifted. They cannot, however, resist it as they can a direct attack on the independence of a local community. They cannot, for example, appeal to local patriotism to save the office of sewer commissioner. They may realize that the gradual transfer of powers is cutting the ground from under their feet, but that is hard to

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[4] Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles, *Intergovernmental Coöperation in the Los Angeles Area* (Studies in Local Government, No. 4), December 1940.

Winning the Billboard War

Citizen groups work for "highway zoning" legislation; restrictions to billboards already on statute books in 22 states.

By ALBERT S. BARD
Counsel to National Roadside Council

GOOD news for those who love the American countryside—the war against the billboards is being won. Years of hard fighting are still ahead. But the forces striving to preserve our highways from defacement are on the offensive; the interests striving to use the highways for selfish profit are on the defensive.

The perspective of time shows the extent of the gains. In six years twenty-two states have passed laws restricting billboards. This year "highway zoning" bills were introduced in a number of state legislatures. That is progress, undreamed of when the National Roadside Council under Elizabeth B. Lawton started the fight eighteen years ago.

The most dramatic sector recently has been Pennsylvania. It needed to be; a motorist on the Lancaster Pike saw more immense billboards than rolling hills, and to visit Gettysburg he worked through acres of advertising. But some years ago the women started a spirited campaign. Mrs. Cyril Fox, chairman of the Pennsylvania Roadside Council, gave her full time to it, and the Garden Club of America, making an exception to its principle of not entering state affairs, threw its strength into the battle. Working with them is an impressive array of public-spirited organizations.

Finally, because of the sheer, unrelenting pressure, things moved. The State Department of Commerce took a hand to help eliminate unsightly advertising from certain mountain areas. The billboard industry, the oil companies, and the hotels saw the handwriting on the wall and hastily joined in a "coöperative roadside improvement program."

"If this voluntary cleanup movement proves effective in stemming the legislative tide in Pennsylvania, it may be possible to accomplish similar results in other states by the same methods," Morris B. Mitchell, general counsel of the American Highway Sign Association, reported to his clients. Which really means that the industry is trying, by skillful retreat, to head off the highway zoning legislation now pending.

The billboard interests feel the pressure on too many fronts to defend them all successfully. In Maryland they did defeat a strip-zoning bill, but four other bills were passed to strengthen existing billboard law. In California ten counties have protected their newer scenic highways by zoning roadside frontages. The billboard interests call California and New Jersey their "worst" situations; New Jersey because of its heavy tax on roadside signs.

The secret of success for any community enlisted in this fight is in the highway zoning idea. The one thing the billboard men dread is legislation regulating the kind of structures permissible on a strip along both sides of the highway. Unless we do this strip zoning, we have the roadside slum—tawdry ribbons of cheap, garish gas and refreshment stands and a jungle of signs.

Citizen Groups Active

Any group with civic interests can well throw its weight in favor of this zoning idea. There is plenty of ammunition. The American Automobile Association has sent its model highway zoning bill into every state. Drafted by Alfred Bettman of Cincinnati and revised by Hugh R. Pomeroy of the Virginia State Planning Board, this bill is being adapted to local conditions and introduced in state legislatures.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards, in its 1940 convention, unanimously resolved that billboards "tend to destroy public enjoyment of the vast investment in rural highways, and therefore should be subject to regulation through municipal, county, and statewide zoning enactments."

There are other powerful allies: the American Society of Planning Officials, the Federal Public Roads Administration, the American Association of State Highway Officials, the Highway Research Board, the American Planning and Civic Association, various state garden clubs, and the newspapers, which long were reluctant to appear in the light of selfishly trying to hurt a rival advertising medium but now are vigorous campaigners for highway beauty and safety. The billboard men have been known to refer scornfully to the garden clubs as "scenic sisters," "feminine aesthetic enthusiasts"; but nowadays, thoughtfully contemplating these new reinforcements, they start "voluntary cleanup campaigns."

This is a good fight, in the public interest. But it is no fight for those who are tender-skinned. The billboard folk, for example, tie you right up with Hitler. They write that highway zoning is "the same kind of strait-jacket in which individuals are now being put under the dictatorships of Europe," and "a big step toward establishing a dictatorship in this country." They say, "If these city groups are successful, it will not be long before they will not only prohibit unpainted barns, pig-pens, and manure piles, but will specify the color which farm buildings must be painted to meet their aesthetic ideas."

These absurd statements are worth recording because they indicate desperation within the billboard ranks. This is important to the hard-fighting civic organizations. In a confidential report counsel for the sign association confessed: "In many legislatures we have encountered the feeling among reasonable legislators that . . . something should be done to improve conditions along many highways."

Another indication of conscious weakness is the industry's comic pretense of combining "beauty" with "utility." The Outdoor Advertising Association of America issued a pamphlet illustrating dewdabs to be arranged around big signs—settings of shrubbery, lattices, gravelled walks, and benches, centering upon the monstrous billboard, the whole layout called a "park." One notes with a smile that the benches in these microscopic "parks" have their backs to their own billboards!

Allies for Billboards

So there is light ahead, the light of victory. But the civic groups must not be overconfident yet. One ominous portent is the fact that two real allies have lined up with the billboard industry, the Petroleum Industries Committee and the United States Brewers Association. These, the sign men cheerfully note, "have valuable legislative contacts." It would be in the public interest to know more about this, and about the extent to which these organizations use their "valuable legislative contacts" in favor of billboard profits. They are not organizations which can afford to combat public opinion.

It is well to remind local civic groups that the answer to that sort of thing is publicity and more publicity. It is fatal to permit regulatory bills to go into committee and stay there. That is where bills are quietly murdered. "A good local attorney," remarks the billboard industry's report, "who knows his way around the legislature can do much to protect our interests." He can, indeed; but not so much if we keep him in the light of publicity.

One of the new tactics of the billboard industry has been to set up the "Highway Property Owners Association," a wholly artificial organization without dues, without privileges, without obligations. But it sounds impressive in the ear of a legislator: "If you vote for this bill, you will offend thousands of our members."

One of the industry's oldest games is to make a present of unrented space to a patriotic or public cause and then proclaim its patriotism or public spirit as justification for its general abuse of the landscape and highways. Organizations that accept such gifts often do so ignorantly, not realizing that they are being made cats-paws for the billboards. Similar favors are frequently offered to political candidates, but the latter are more wary than formerly of accepting such publicity and later finding themselves in a dilemma with respect to legislation or public comment affecting the business.

If the billboard representatives raise their last-ditch cry, "You are throwing men out of work," you will know you have them licked. For its own general counsel reminded the American Highway Sign Association that "advertisers can if necessary use some other form of advertising . . . sign manufacturers have products other than highway signs . . . and would probably increase to some extent the other branches of their business."

So out of the window goes the long pretense that the faintest regulation would destroy a vast industry and throw thousands out of work. What defense now remains for those who use our public highways for private profit?

The formula of victory, then, is simple as sunlight. See that a model highway strip-zoning bill is intro-

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Civil Service and Citizen Opinion

Residents of Evanston, Illinois, make poor showing in their knowledge of merit system. Little known of work of local commission.

By **ROBERT S. AVERY**
Northwestern University

THE extent to which civil service is adopted in municipalities depends in large measure upon the will of the people. Therefore one of the first tasks of the proponents of the merit system is to educate the public as to the relative advantages of a city government administered according to set standards of efficiency as opposed to administration based upon the spoils system.

It would be presumptuous to assume that the general public is already well informed as to the relative merits of these two bases of administration. Even where the merit system is in use the extent of public information about its administration is far from clearly defined.

In April 1940 a survey was begun by the writer, the objectives of which may be stated as follows:

1. To determine whether the people of Evanston were in favor of civil service for city employees, and to ascertain whether they were well enough informed about civil service to be able to express intelligent opinions concerning it;

2. To determine whether or not the public believed that city government was likely to be more honest and more efficient if its employees were placed under civil service;

3. To determine the extent to which the public was informed about the actual work of the Evanston Civil Service Commission, and whether reaction to its work was favorable or unfavorable.

The sampling technique used to arrive at a representative cross-section of the city is similar to that employed by Dr. George Gallup in his public opinion polls. The sample was set up proportionally according to six factors: age, sex, political affiliation, economic status, race, and population by voting precincts. It has been shown time and again that a small sample of this type, which contains these factors in the proportion that they are found in the population as a whole, is much more likely to furnish accurate results than a large sample where the subjects are chosen at random.

Dr. Lyndon O. Brown, of Northwestern University School of Commerce, an authority in the field of market research, suggested that, for the purposes of this study, a cross-section consisting of one hundred interviews made upon this basis should be sufficient to insure accuracy. Actually two hundred interviews were made.

The Evanston public schools census for 1939 was relied upon to furnish a breakdown according to race and sex. The only reliable source of information concerning population by age groups which was available at the time this survey was begun was the 1930 United States Census.

The Evanston file of registered voters was used to furnish a breakdown according to population by precinct. In April 1940 it showed a registration of 34,954 voters. The school census, however, indicated a total of 48,616 people of voting age. This left a difference of 13,662 persons not taken into account in arriving at the number to be interviewed in each precinct. It is doubtful whether this group of non-voters is so unevenly spread throughout the city as to affect the ratios set up for each precinct enough to destroy their proportionate accuracy.

Information concerning the number of Republicans and Democrats to be polled was sought from three sources: results of the 1936 election for president of the United States and governor of the state of Illinois, the 1938 election for United States Senator, and the estimate of the existing ratio between Democrats and Republicans as given by the local chairmen of the two parties.

The economic status of the individual, perhaps the most important factor to be considered in choosing a representative cross-section, is extremely difficult to measure. In order to cope with this problem a special color map of the city was designed for use in this survey showing the average rental value of homes throughout the city according to specified streets and areas.[1]

Several questionnaires were drawn up and discussed before a graduate seminar in public administration before one was finally decided upon for use in this survey. Even then, the one selected was given a pre-sampling test in order to eliminate flaws in phraseology etc. that might make interpretation difficult. The personal interview technique was employed in preference to a questionnaire sent out by mail. As a further precaution that men and women in all walks of life would be represented in the sample,[2] each of the two hundred interviews was made in the evening. All interviews were made by the writer, who asked each question orally rather than requesting that the form be filled out by the person being interviewed. Thus a degree of uniformity was maintained throughout the survey which otherwise would not have been present.

Cross-Section of City

In dealing with every factor going to make up a cross-section of the Evanston public, the sample which was used in making this survey corresponded almost precisely with the mathematically - calculated sample which was set up as being a true cross-section of the city. In the light of this fact the writer does not feel that he is assuming too much in believing that the results were indicative of the general trend of opinion throughout the city at the time the survey was conducted.

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[1] In apartment areas this information was obtained by asking each person interviewed to state the approximate rental value of the apartments in his building. In numerous instances these people voluntarily offered to state the exact amount of rent they were paying.

[2] Men and women employed by the city were purposely excluded from the survey.

The survey was completed late in June 1940. The first thing of importance indicated was that only a small percentage of the population was without opinion as to the meaning of the term "civil service." This is shown from the answers given to the first question, "Do you think that civil service for city employees is a good thing?" Only 12 per cent expressed no opinion. Eighty-two per cent registered in favor of civil service, and only 6 per cent expressed opposition to its philosophy. It was noted that 16 per cent of the women were without opinions as contrasted to 7 per cent of the men.

The occupational differential shows that civil service was favored 100 per cent by the professional and executive groups polled in the survey. Unskilled laborers on the other hand were only 50 per cent in favor with 40 per cent expressing "no opinion."[3]

The second question asked was: "Do you think that all employees of the city of Evanston should be under civil service?" Thirty-nine per cent of the group polled expressed affirmative answers; 45 per cent were definitely opposed to this idea; 16 per cent were without an opinion.

Evidently a large percentage of those in favor of civil service preferred to limit it to certain classes of city employees. The factor of political affiliation seemed to have little effect upon the answers to either the first or second questions. Women continued to register a greater percentage of "no opinion" answers than men. The nationality differential was interesting in that the foreign born and the native born of foreign parentage were more inclined to favor a complete "cover-all" civil service than the native born of native parentage. This seems to be in keeping with the high degree of prestige given to civil service and governmental positions in many foreign countries.

The third question listed all classes of employees engaged by the city and permitted the persons polled to state which they thought should not be classified under civil service.

Reversal of Opinion

The survey results disclosed that 62 per cent of the same 39 per cent who had stated that all employees of the city should be placed under civil service reversed themselves when asked the third question and checked one or more classes of employees which should be, in their opinion, divorced from civil service. However, it should be said in all fairness to this group that many of them checked only the positions of alderman and mayor who are, in reality, not employees at all, but officers. To include them in a list of strictly city employees might seem a bit unfair to those who had answered the second question in the affirmative. On the other hand there was a justifiable purpose in including them in the list in order to determine what percentage of the people would fail to make the distinction between an employee and an elective official and would go so far as to include the latter under civil service.

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[3] It must be kept in mind that only the general results to each question can be considered as representatively accurate. Each of the various differentials of age, sex, economic status, race, and nationality, etc., when examined individually cannot be considered as truly measuring the effect of the differential due to the size and construction of the sample. This does not, however, keep the opinions expressed within these differentials from being of some significance.

The results of the third question, then, may be stated thus: 70 per cent of those polled were not in favor of extending civil service to include all classes of employees listed; 15 per cent expressed themselves in favor of a complete "cover-all" civil service for all city employees (this is 18 per cent less than answered affirmatively to the second question); 15 per cent were without opinions.

Further analysis of these results showed that of the 70 per cent who had expressed themselves as opposed to extending civil service to all classes of city employees, more than half this group, 63 per cent to be exact, were opposed to classifying common laborers under civil service. This opposition in nearly all cases was based upon a misunderstanding, namely, that common laborers would be required to take a written examination similar in nature to the type of examination given for higher positions, or in other words, a test of academic knowledge.

This result is significant in light of the fact that in November 1939 the Evanston Civil Service Commission extended civil service downward to include common laborers. The examination, far from being of a written nature designed to test the candidate's mental ability, consisted primarily of a sound physical examination designed to test his physical fitness for the type of manual labor he would be required to do.

It must be concluded, then, that the group which expressed dissatisfaction either was not informed as to the nature of the examination or was still ignorant of the fact that common laborers had been put under civil service.

The positions of alderman and mayor were the next highest upon the list to be excluded from civil service. This is as it should be inasmuch as these are elective officials and would not in any circumstances be given civil service tenure. But what is more significant is that 15 per cent of those polled were in favor of putting the aldermen and mayor under civil service. That is ridiculous indeed. It is even more so in light of the fact that 14 per cent of the college graduates polled were in favor of such action.

Honesty or Corruption

Does civil service insure honesty in city government or does corrupt politics working behind the scene overshadow all efforts toward honest administration? Laying aside all speculation as to the gullibility of the human race and getting down to actual survey results, it was found that 68 per cent of the people believed that civil service made for increased honesty in city government. Only 19 per cent believed that there was no connection between civil service and honesty in city government and that corruption in city administration can and will take place regardless of the system upon which the city administration is based.

Finally 13 per cent were frank to admit that they hesitated to say definitely one way or the other and would prefer to go on record as expressing no definite opinion on the matter. The native white of foreign or mixed parentage and the foreign born showed a greater tendency to believe in a more honest administration under civil service than the native white of native parentage. This is in keeping with their attitude toward the desirability for civil service as expressed in answer to the first question.

If examination ratings are any indication of one's efficiency, it must be assumed that employees who have passed civil service examinations, and have been employed in the order of their rating on the eligible register, offer a more efficient personnel than employees selected through political pull or at random. Effort is always made to determine the honesty of an applicant for a civil service position before he is employed, but such a measure of honesty is not nearly as accurate comparatively as the measure of the applicant's fitness in other respects as determined by an examination designed especially to test such fitness.

It was assumed therefore that many more people would connect civil service with efficiency on the job than with honesty. The results of the survey justified that assumption for they show that 80 per cent believed that city government was likely to be more efficient if its employees were under civil service, an increase of 12 per cent over the number answering affirmatively to the preceding question concerning honesty. Ten per cent went on record as seeing no relationship between civil service and efficiency in city government, while the remaining 10 per cent preferred to refrain from expressing opinions. More than half the group who had signified that they could see no relationship between honesty in government and civil service changed over to an affirmative answer regarding the question of efficiency. Both in this and in the preceding question women were much more doubtful than men that such a relationship existed. Here, as in previous questions, more women than men refrained from expressing opinions.

Commission's Work Unknown

Whereas a majority seemed willing to express opinions on general questions pertaining to civil service, only a few had any notion of the work their own Civil Service Commission was trying to accomplish. In answer to the question: "In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the work that is being done by the Evanston Civil Service Commission?", 63 per cent of those interviewed were unable to express opinions because of their ignorance of the commission's work. Twenty-eight per cent expressed satisfaction, leaving only 9 per cent to go on record as dissatisfied. The smallness of this latter group is significant in light of the fact that such a large number had previously shown opposition to including common laborers under civil service. This serves to indicate that even today a large portion of the Evanston public does not know that common laborers have been so classified. It would seem advisable, therefore, for the Evanston Civil Service Commission to bring itself closer to the public eye through greater publicity as to the things it is trying to accomplish in its effort to improve the quality of the city government. Only in this way can it expect to gain the public coöperation that is so often a necessary factor in paving the way for its own progress.

What general conclusion can be drawn from this survey in addition to the specific results already discussed? It can be said, first of all, that civil service is understood primarily as a theoretical concept relating to efficiency in government as contrasted to administration based upon the spoils of patronage. But beyond that point the public knows little. The results of this survey show that opinion beyond that point was characterized by an element of inconsistency and misunderstanding which gradually developed as the questions asked became more specific in nature. When pinned down to facts concerning the effect and operation of civil service in their own city government the public readily acknowledged its lack of information necessary to form an opinion.

The importance of healthy public opinion in a democracy, opinion fostered by a keen awareness of the actions taken by government and an understanding of the reasons supporting such action, is a factor which cannot be overstressed. Its importance lies in the fact that in the last analysis it is the people who rule. No government has ever been permanently successful which has been persistent in defying the will of the people. Therefore any government, whether national, state, or local, if it is to be successful in carrying out its policies should see to it that the public is well informed. Lack of adequate governmental publicity can lead only to one thing—suspicion—and a suspicious public spells doom to any hope of permanent success regardless of the policy that is being administered.

Curiously enough, the principles of civil service based upon a merit system, in spite of their commendable characteristics, have not been brought sufficiently before the public eye. It is most discouraging to discover that in a city such as Evanston, where civil service does exist, the general public knows so little about the work of its own commission.

Thus it is the task of the proponents of civil service to continue to educate the public both in the theory and practice of administration based upon its principles. Thus far such education has been too meager. There must be far greater emphasis placed upon this factor in the future until the public is made alert and interested in the problem. Then, and only then, can the influence of the public be made the wholesome and vitalizing force it should be. Unless this end is accomplished there cannot be expected the public coöperation and support which is so necessary, not only for furnishing a basis of harmony in municipal administration, but also for the continued growth of civil service in municipalities throughout the country.

The Hatch Act—An Interpretation

United States Civil Service Commission compiles statements on principles to be followed in application of legislation.

By **JOSEPH R. STARR**
University of Minnesota

DURING the presidential campaign of 1940 there was much doubt and questioning among various groups of state and local employees as to whether or not they were subject to the prohibition against political activity contained in the Hatch Act. "Authorities" could be found to hold this or that group included or not included; memoranda flew from desk to desk; arguments arose wherever a few were gathered together. The situation has been clarified somewhat by the recent release of a compilation of extracts from letters in which the United States Civil Service Commission gives its interpretation of the provisions of the act.[1]

The original Hatch Act was passed in the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress and received executive approval on August 2, 1939.[2] It amended the existing corrupt practices legislation by enacting prohibitions against the intimidation and coercion of voters and against the promise of employment in return for political support, and it contained a series of clauses designed to protect persons on relief and work relief projects from improper political influences. Criminal penalties were provided for violators of these sections, as well as for the use of official authority in elections and nominations by persons employed in administrative posts by the federal government.

The act also prohibited all federal employees from having membership in any political party or other organization which advocates the overthrow of the constitutional form of government, and all federal employees in the executive branch, except a few at the top of the administrative hierarchy, from taking any active part in political management or political campaigns. The penalty provided for the violation of these provisions, or for the use of official authority in elections and nominations by employees of less than administrative rank in the executive branch, was immediate dismissal.

The first Hatch Act thus applied only to federal employees, and the prohibition against political activity applied in the main only to those federal employees who are not in the classified services, since members of the classified services have long been prohibited from political activity by Rule No. 1 of the Civil Service Commission. The provision of the Hatch Act was obviously patterned after the civil service rule. The civil service regulations, it should be noted, are stricter than the Hatch Act, particularly with reference to the expression of opinion on political issues and candidates.

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[1] *Interpretations by the United States Civil Service Commission of the Hatch Act and Regulations on Political Activity (As Developed to November, 1940)* Washington, U. S. Civil Service Commission, November 1940.

[2] Seventy-sixth Congress, 1st Session, Public Law No. 252 (S. 1871).

Act Extended

The scope of the Hatch Act was greatly extended by an amending statute passed in the third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress and approved on July 19, 1940.[3] This law made important additions to corrupt practices legislation by limiting individual contributions to national political campaigns to $5,000 in any calendar year, by prohibiting the purchase of things of value such as convention books from candidates or political committees, by prohibiting government contractors from making any political contributions, and by limiting the total fund of any national political committee to $3,000,000 in any calendar year. Criminal penalties were provided for violators of these sections, as well as for the use of official authority in elections and nominations by any person employed in an administrative capacity by a state or local agency in connection with an activity financed in whole or in part by federal grants or loans.

The second Hatch Act also extended the prohibition against political activity to the officers and employees of state and local agencies whose principal employment is in connection with any activity financed in whole or in part by federal grants or loans. Only governors, lieutenant-governors, mayors, and other elective officials are exempted from this provision.

The penalty provided for engaging in prohibited political activities, or for the use of official authority in elections and nominations by employees of less than administrative rank, is dismissal from the office or employment then held and suspension from re-employment in any other state or local agency that is similarly financed for a period of eighteen months. If the state or local agency concerned does not comply by dismissing the offender, the penalty takes the form of a deduction from the federal grant or loan of an amount double the annual salary of the offender.

Responsibility for enforcement of the Hatch Act is divided among a number of different agencies. With respect to any clause which provides a criminal penalty, including the provisions relating to political funds and contributions, manipulation of relief recipients for political purposes, and use of official authority for political purposes by administrators, responsibility falls upon the United States Department of Justice, acting through the usual channels of prosecution in the federal courts.

Responsibility for enforcement of the ban against political activity upon federal employees who are not members of the classified services falls upon the federal department or agency in which they are employed. There is no provision for a hearing. It may therefore be presumed that the facts relating to alleged violations by federal employees outside the classified civil service are to be determined administratively, and that it is the duty of the administrative head to realize the purpose of the act by immediately dismissing any person so determined to be a violator.

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[3] Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, Public Law No. 753 (S. 3046).

Federal employees who are members of the classified civil service remain subject to the disciplinary action of the Civil Service Commission, just as before the passage of the Hatch Act.

Enforcement of Act

Responsibility for enforcing the Hatch Act upon state and local employees falls in the first instance upon the federal agencies which have charge of the grants-in-aid or loans to the states and local units. When any such federal agency suspects that there has been a violation of the act by any state or local employee subject to its provisions, it has the duty to file a report to that effect with the United States Civil Service Commission. The commission has announced that it expects such reports to be "specific as to offenses, dates, names, places, and other matters essential to form a proper basis for investigation."[4]

While responsibility for initiating proceedings is clearly placed upon the federal agencies that have charge of the federal aid program, the statute, by authorizing the commission to act "upon the receipt of any other information which seems to the commission to warrant an investigation," just as clearly leaves the way open for the filing of complaints by private individuals or groups.[5] That the commission interprets the statute in this way is revealed by the fact that it advised one of its correspondents to furnish exact information concerning the alleged political activities of a local employee.[6]

Upon receipt of information which seems to the commission to warrant an investigation, it has the duty to fix a time and place for a hearing, at which the interested parties may appear with counsel. The commission has power to determine whether any prohibited political activity actually took place, and if so, whether the violation warrants dismissal. If it so decides, it has a duty to notify the parties involved, and responsibility for enforcement of the act is shifted for the time being to the state or local agency employing the offender.

A thirty-day waiting period intervenes, during which an appeal may be taken to the federal district court or the state or local agency may proceed to dismiss the offender. If, at the end of thirty days, the commission finds the offender has not been dismissed, it has a duty to notify the federal agency having jurisdiction over the federal funds involved. Thus, responsibility for enforcement is shifted back to where it started, and the federal agency is directed to withhold a sum amounting to double the annual salary of the offender.

While numerous agencies share in

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[4] *Political Activity and Political Assessments of Persons Employed by State and Local Agencies in Connection with Activities Financed in Whole or in Part by Loans or Grants Made by the United States or by Any Federal Agency,* U. S. Civil Service Commission Form 1236-A, September 22, 1940, p. 10.

[5] Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, Public Law No. 753, Sec. 12(b).

[6] See file CX:JQC:VB, dated October 30, 1940, in *Interpretations,* etc., as cited in Note 1.

the responsibility for enforcement of the Hatch Act, the authority of the United States Civil Service Commission is paramount in all cases involving state and local employees. The commission not only has power to determine the facts, but it is also designated as the authority for interpretation of the terms of the act. Its regulations on the political activities of officeholders are, for all practical purposes, incorporated into the act by reference, and it is granted a broad rule-making power in connection with its function as chief enforcing agency.

Scope of Provisions

The interpretations of the Hatch Act by the commission, as so far made public, are therefore of the greatest importance to state and local employees who are interested in knowing whether they are subject to the act, and if so, what they may and may not do in politics. The interpretations of the commission cannot, of course, be regarded as final, since its decisions are subject to review by the federal courts.

The Hatch Act contains some fairly definite indications as to its scope among state and local employees. For one thing, the prohibition against the use of official authority in elections and nominations by persons employed in administrative positions applies to employees in all branches of the state and local governments — executive, legislative, and judicial. The prohibition against the use of official authority by employees below the administrative grade and the general prohibition against political activity, however, apply only to employees in the executive branch.[7] The non-elective employees of state and local legislative bodies and courts are thus unaffected by the Hatch Act. Employees of state and local legislative bodies, clerks and stenographers of legislative committees and of individual legislators, and employees of courts such as clerks, reporters, secretaries, bailiffs, and deputies are thus not subject to the prohibition against political activity.[8]

There are indications that, for purposes of determining the scope of the act, the term "executive branch" will be interpreted broadly to include all departments and agencies that are not clearly parts of the legislative or judicial branches. The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, when reporting on the second Hatch Act, stated its opinion that educational and eleemosynary institutions were included within the executive branch within the meaning of the act.[9] The same interpretation has been adopted by the Civil Service Commission. If such institutions are part of the executive branch for purposes of the act, then it would appear that any and all administrative agencies which are not clearly legislative or judicial are also included.

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[7] Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, Public Law No. 753, Sec. 12(f)(1). The Attorney-General so ruled with reference to the first Hatch Act. See Seventy-sixth Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document* No. 135.

[8] U. S. Civil Service Commission Form 1236-A, p. 13(f). Compare the ruling of the Attorney-General on the first Hatch Act in Seventy-sixth Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document* No. 135.

[9] Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, *House of Representatives Report* No. 2376, p. 13, Sec. 9.

The Civil Service Commission has said: "A complete classification of state or local officers or employees within the scope of the statute is, of course, impossible."[10] To November 1940, the commission had announced that in its opinion the Hatch Act applied generally to the following state and local departments, agencies, and services: National Guard, unemployment department or unemployment compensation board or commission, commissioner of public works, highway commission or department, soldiers' home, tree distribution program, board or department of education, agricultural experiment station, agricultural extension service of a college of agriculture, land-grant college or university, county welfare board, local housing authority, city employees supervising WPA projects, conservancy district when some of its bonds were owned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, vocational education. It does not follow that all of the employees of these and other similar agencies are subject to the Hatch Act, as an examination of the terms of the statutes making the federal grants or loans may show that some of the employees of an agency are included while others are not.

The prohibition against political activity extends, in the language of the statute, to any "officer or employee of any state or local agency whose principal employment is in connection with any activity which is financed in whole or in part by loans or grants made by the United States or by any federal agency."[11] In this passage the key words, and those of greatest importance in determining the scope of the prohibitions that follow, are "principal employment" and "activity." The commission has announced some general principles which it proposes to follow in the interpretation of these words, but their application to any specific case depends upon the facts of that particular case.

"Principal Employment"

The commission interprets the words "principal employment" to apply to employment with the state or local agency, and not to employment that is private in character.[12] Persons whose public employment is only temporary, intermittent, or on a per diem basis, and not occupying a substantial portion of the working time and not affording the principal means of livelihood, are not subject to the act, except during the period of active duty.[13] The period of active duty embraces the whole period of status as a paid employee, and not just the working hours of the day. Temporary employees may continue to hold political offices or to be listed as candidates for elective office. Thus, members of state administrative boards who are appointed for an extended term but who are paid, if at all, only when actually occupied with the work of the board are subject to the Hatch Act only during periods of active duty. Persons who are employed from time to time on a fee basis to perform special services for state or local agencies that receive federal grants are not subject to the Hatch Act.[14]

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[10] U. S. Civil Service Commission Form 1236-A, p. 12.

[11] Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, Public Law No. 753, Sec. 12(a).

[12] U. S. Civil Service Commission Form 1236-A, p. 13(e).

[13] The Attorney-General so ruled with reference to the first Hatch Act. See Seventy-sixth Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document* No. 135.

When the part-time employment with a state or local agency is regular, so as to constitute a permanent arrangement, the situation is different. A regular part-time employee is ordinarily an employee within the meaning of the act. Thus, an attorney retained by a county welfare board for an annual fee would be subject to the act, unless he could show that he was paid only for the days upon which he was occupied with public business. The commission has expressed its opinion that a part-time member of the faculty of a land-grant college or university is subject to the act, because the connection with the state agency is permanent in character as distinct from occasional or intermittent. The employment with the state or local agency may occupy only a small part of the whole of an individual's working time; but if that employment be in connection with a federally-financed activity, then the individual must be considered subject to the act, unless there are other facts to dictate a contrary conclusion.

Other Acts Considered

The key to the interpretation of the word "activity" as used in the Hatch Act is to be found, not in that act, but in the other federal acts providing for grants-in-aid and loans to the states and local units.

In any particular case, the relevant statutes must be examined in order to determine exactly what activity of the state or local government is supported by federal money. Limitations upon the use of federal money are especially important in determining the scope of the act within any state or local department or agency. In this connection the commission has said, ". . . the meaning of the word 'activity' should be kept in close relationship to the terms of the federal grant providing funds for such activity. . . . The specific language or terms of the federal statute, regulation, or order making a grant to a state are considered basic in determining the 'activity.' "[15]

The Federal Highway Act provides for federal grants to states for the construction and reconstruction of roads, rather than for the maintenance and repair of roads. Construction is defined to exclude the locating, surveying, and mapping of roads, and the costs of right of way. A state highway department may have an organizational set-up which makes it possible to identify some employees as subject to the Hatch Act, while others are not. If a member of the staff is occupied exclusively with functions for which federal money may not be spent, such as maintenance work or the location of routes, then he is not affected by the Hatch Act. The commission has announced its intention of following the federal money as closely as possible in determining the scope of the law.

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[14] By analogy from the Attorney-General's opinion on the first Hatch Act. See *ibid.*

[15] Quotations are from letters in *Interpretations,* etc., as cited in Note 1, unless otherwise indicated.

If the employee's time is divided as between functions which may and may not be supported by federal money, the question of his status under the Hatch Act turns upon a matter of fact. If the major portion of his time is occupied with maintenance activities, and the lesser portion with construction activities, he is not subject to the act; if it were the other way around, he would be subject to it. "Principal employment" thus means that more than half of the total hours of one's employment with a state or local agency are devoted to an activity which receives financial support from the federal government.

These principles may also be illustrated in terms of federal grants in support of education. Upon examining the statutes making grants for the benefit of the land-grant colleges and universities, the original Morrill Act and its amendments and the Jones-Bankhead Act of 1935, the commission reached the conclusion that the grants are in the nature of a general endowment in support of the educational program of such institutions. The "activity" in this case is education, and any person whose "principal employment," that is to say, the major portion of his public employment, is in connection with the educational program of a land-grant college or university, is subject to the Hatch Act. But under the Morrill Acts, no part of the federal money can be spent for the purchase of land, or for the purchase, construction, repair, or maintenance of buildings; so an employee who gives most of his time to such functions, rather than to education, escapes liability under the Hatch Act.

The indications are that the words "in connection with" as used in the statute will play no great part in the determination of its scope. They may, it appears, be read in their natural meaning. Once the federally-financed "activity" is identified, it is relatively easy to determine whether a person is employed "in connection with" it. It is perhaps fair to say that the connection must be proximate, and understandable by a person of average intelligence, and not based upon some obscure statutory provision or technical point. The question of whether such employment constitutes the "principal employment," however, offers greater difficulty, and turns in specific cases upon the facts of institutional organization. A state or local employee whose only connection with the expenditure of federal funds is a contractual arrangement for the performance of services for the federal government is not subject to the act. Thus, a county jailer who keeps federal prisoners on a contract basis is not, in the opinion of the commission, within the terms of the act.

Size of Grant Immaterial

The commission has said: "The relationship of the amount of the federal grant to the amount of the contribution supplied by the state is not considered controlling." Thus, in the case of a land-grant college or university, the federal funds which it receives may be only a small percentage of its total budget, but this makes no difference in the application of the Hatch Act to its employees.

The commission has also said: "It should be pointed out that the commission does not construe the statute to make the question of the source of the employee's compensation controlling." That is to say, the Hatch Act was not drafted in terms of the source of salaries. It is not necessary to show that some part of the employee's salary is paid out of federal funds in order to make him subject to the law. Nor is it necessary to show that the federal grant makes the employment possible. It is irrelevant, but perhaps true in many cases, to say that the employment, or the agency itself, would not exist in the absence of the federal grant. An employee in a state highway department or a land-grant college or university receives his salary checks from the state, but he is nevertheless subject to the Hatch Act.

State and local employees who are subject to the act do not become free from its restrictions during vacations or when absent on leave, whether with or without pay.[16]

It will probably be held that a fully executed federal grant does not bring any state or local employees under the effect of the Hatch Act. This may be illustrated in terms of P.W.A. grants. A city might get a P.W.A. grant for the construction of a building, and some of its employees, not otherwise subject to the act, might be assigned to assist in the construction. It is clear that such employees would become subject to the act, provided their principal employment was for the time being in connection with the construction. Their liability would, however, cease upon the completion of the building.

It would be foolish to pretend that all questions relating to the scope of the Hatch Act among state and local employees can be resolved by reference to the authoritative materials so far available. The Civil Service Commission has, however, announced some pretty definite opinions of the key passages in the act and some principles which it intends to follow in making interpretations. Numerous groups of state and local employees may be regarded as analogous to those groups which have been said to be, in the opinion of the commission, subject to the Hatch Act. The principles of interpretation as announced by the commission may be applied to other statutes authorizing grants or loans to states or local units. By the use of these techniques many employees will be able to determine to their own satisfaction their status under this law.

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[16] By analogy from the Attorney-General's opinion on the first Hatch Act. See Seventy-sixth Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document* No. 135.

Contributors in Review

A MASTER'S thesis is the basis of **Robert S. Avery's** *Civil Service and Civic Opinion.* Mr. Avery was a teaching assistant in the Department of Political Science at Northwestern University and a research associate in the same department when the civil service poll was made. He has his B.A. from Baldwin-Wallace College, vintage 1939. He is now with the Tennessee Valley Authority as personnel assistant.

ART, planning and zoning, and civic service have gone hand in hand in the career of **Albert S. Bard** (*Winning the Billboard War*) who is, vocationally speaking, a practicing lawyer in New York City. From its creation in 1923 he has been active in the National Roadside Council. He holds or has held office in such organizations as the City Club and the Citizens Union of New York, the Honest Ballot Association, the Municipal Art Society of New York, and the Fine Arts Federation of New York. In 1940 Mr. Bard received the National Interfraternity Conference medal for his services in that direction as well.

CATAPULTED into the national scene by the spread of the observance of "Citizenship Day" which he fathered two years ago, **R. J. Colbert** (*In Recognition of the Native-Born New Voter*) is well qualified to write upon that subject. He has been chairman of the social science staff of the University of Wisconsin's progressive extension division for more than ten years, on the university faculty for twenty. Dr. Colbert, who studied at DePauw, Michigan, and Wisconsin and whose widespread experience includes municipal research bureau work, has counselled many local governments in Wisconsin and has been a leader in the development of community round tables on public administration in that state.

A NEW book on *Municipal Management* (1941) is the latest achievement in the varied career of **Thomas H. Reed** (*The Metropolitan Problem—1941*). Dr. Reed has been a lawyer for the Anti-Saloon League, a professor, executive secretary to a governor, a city manager, a field worker and consultant on problems of municipal government, a research executive for the Republican party, and author and translator, and a recipient of the Order of Leopold (Belgium). Apropos of the article in this issue, he has been director of research for the Pennsylvania Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation in Allegheny County and for the St. Louis City and County Metropolitan Development Commission, and director of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League.

ACTIVE in the movement to amend the Hatch Act so that teachers may be exempted, **Joseph R. Starr** (*The Hatch Act—An Interpretation*) has set forth his views in articles, speeches, and in a hearing before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. Dr. Starr is a member of the department of political science of the University of Minnesota and a contributor to numerous political science and public opinion journals.

National Defense and the Cities

Mayor LaGuardia on Civilian Defense; firefighters begin training courses; collection of aluminum scrap tested; nutrition conference sounds warning.

By **DANIEL W. HOAN**
United States Office of Civilian Defense

MAYOR LA GUARDIA, whom the President has appointed United States Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, is making personal visits to the various army corps areas throughout the country. By mid-June he had visited the first, third, and fifth corps areas, where he appeared before meetings of governors, mayors, defense council officials, and the responsible army officers in charge of each area. In each case Mayor La Guardia's purpose was to ascertain how far the program of civilian defense had been advanced and to obtain first-hand information to be utilized in framing and administering the program for the country as a whole.

Following are excerpts from the Mayor's speeches:

"The people of this country must be made to know that the entire technique of war has changed and that there is no such thing as holding an enemy from a given point at a front line trench. Heretofore there was always a war zone and within that zone armies fought. That has all disappeared. With the advent of new weapons of war and an improved art in flying we have seen that every coast city and every industrial city is a target for attack and that civilians are exposed and subjected to the danger of war which heretofore was limited to the army or the navy.

"You who come from large cities will recognize how easy it is to create disorder and panic in any center of congested population. There is one thing that is necessary and you leaders will have to bear it in mind constantly and impress it upon the people, and that is discipline. We have learned from England that enthusiasm and willingness to serve are by themselves not enough. We have plenty of enthusiasm in this country, plenty of willingness to serve; but just what to do and how and when to do it requires a great deal of preparatory training.

"Although England expected aerial bombing or attack from the air in the early days of the war, there wasn't very much preparatory training or preparatory effort, and a large number of lives were lost in the first months of the air attacks. Out of necessity England established and ordered disciplined and trained forces for the civilian defense of her people.

"We are not accustomed to discipline in this country. We like to do what we want, but at this time, when everything is changing, when for the first time entire cities and civilian populations are being subjected to attack from the air, it is necessary to adjust ourselves to protecting lives in the best way possible. In the event of an air attack on any of our cities we must prepare to have sufficient leaders—not in every city, not in every section, but in every block

—to train the people of that block and that particular building what to do. We must educate and train the residents of our cities where to go and how to go in the event of an attack.

"When we were dropping bombs twenty odd years ago, we carried in our type of bombing plane some twenty-four bombs. Perhaps twelve were high explosive and twelve were incendiary bombs, and it was very tame in comparison with what is going on now. We could not possibly cause very much damage assuming every bomb was a hit.

"All that is changed. Our reports and our observations in London showed that from two hundred to five hundred fires were started at different points in London and other English cities at the same time. Fire fighting, therefore, becomes a most important factor in the civilian defense program. Normal fire department personnel and equipment cannot cope with the situation under present conditions. We need to train auxiliary fire-fighting forces. We must organize and train medical units to go out if a city is attacked, and to give first aid to the injured. Women can contribute a great deal in this phase of defense work and also in serving as air wardens for individual buildings and blocks in order to keep the residents of that block or building under proper discipline and to guide them in accordance with a prearranged plan.

"I want to impress upon you the seriousness of this work. None will be compelled to render services, but those who do volunteer must understand fully that they are embarking upon very useful and patriotic work, but very serious work as well. The minute they enter any of these auxiliary forces, they must be willing to take the necessary training and they must be willing to subject themselves to discipline. They will be called into action only in the event of some internal disorder or catastrophe or in the event of attack by a foreign enemy. Proper training of our civilian forces can greatly reduce the dangers resulting from panic, disorder, and confusion.

"Let us hope and pray we are never called into action, but if the time does come, let us demonstrate that even in a democracy it is possible to discipline people; that it is possible to take care of our people; and that we will make a good job of it."

Many cities and states have contributed greatly to framing a general program of civilian defense. From now on, however, all such local endeavors must be tied in and coördinated with a well planned national program. Under Mayor La Guardia's leadership, the studies of civil defense problems which have been under way in the War Department and other federal agencies can now be coördinated with these local experiments, to fit into a great mosaic pattern, in order that the efforts of all individuals may accomplish the greatest possible good.

Special Training for Firefighters

A two weeks' special course to train firemen in the methods of combatting bombs and poison gas is to be conducted by the Chemical Warfare Service of the army, according to a recent announcement by Mayor La Guardia.

Training was scheduled to begin on June 30, at the Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, with the first group of fifty men from thirteen states and the District of Columbia. At the end of the first training period, another group of fifty men will begin instruction. This program will be conducted throughout the coming months.

The men who have received this special instruction are expected to go back to their own localities and organize local training courses. The objective is to make sure that the entire local fire department will know how to handle fires resulting from incendiary and other types of bombs used in modern warfare, as well as how to combat poisonous gases and other aspects of chemical warfare.

Aircraft Warning Service Registrations

Reports received in Washington from the state and local defense council organizations show that considerable progress has been made in the program of registration of volunteers for the aircraft warning service now being established by the army air force. It is vitally necessary that each locality take this problem of registration seriously. At the earliest possible moment, and as directed, each locality should be prepared to turn over the lists of registrants so that the army air force may organize the selected volunteers promptly into active service units.

Aluminum Scrap Collection Tested in Two Counties

An aluminum scrap collection test campaign, the forerunner of a national campaign, was held in Dane County, Wisconsin, and in Henrico County, Virginia, during the first part of June. The test was carried out by the Division of State and Local Coöperation at the request of the Office of Production Management.

Final results of the two tests will not be known definitely until all collected material has been processed and ready for the smelters, but scrap metal dealers in the two localities estimate that approximately 80,000 pounds net of scrap sheet and casting aluminum were collected. Since the combined population of these counties is about 1/260 of the total population of the United States, authorities have expressed the opinion that the national drive should reach the 20,000,000 pounds fixed as the goal.

On June 22 the Office of Production Management announced a nationwide campaign to collect used aluminum. The campaign will be conducted under the direction of the Office of Civilian Defense. In a radio address June 24, Mayor La Guardia, Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, asked the women of America to give the government all of their old, unused aluminum utensils. July 21 has been set as the date for the opening of the drive.

National Nutrition Conference Held at Washington

One who heard the final reports of the various committees at the National Nutrition Conference for

Defense held in Washington, May 26, 27, and 28, could not help feeling that we in the United States have done far too little to promote the health of our population.

Dr. Parran, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, pointed out that the life span has been lengthened only because of the elimination of deaths among infants and children, and that little has been done since the achievements of Pasteur actually to lengthen the span of life; that the life span after age forty could be extended by ten years through proper diet alone.

Those who read this may well ask themselves the question: What have the federal, state, and local governments done to solve this nutrition problem?

We have learned that during the World War approximately 44 per cent of the manhood of this nation was incapable of performing full military duties; thus we cannot claim lack of notice of the problem. Rejections amount to about the same proportion today. What are we going to do about it?

In calling the National Nutrition Conference, President Roosevelt said: "In recent years scientists have made outstanding discoveries as to the amounts and kinds of foods needed for maximum health and vigor. Yet every survey of nutrition, by whatever methods conducted, shows that here in the United States undernourishment is widespread and serious. The Department of Agriculture has estimated that many millions of men, women, and children do not get the foods that science considers essential."

Mrs. Roosevelt told the conference that if Germany and England can afford to do something about nutrition during war time, as they are doing, surely this country can afford to do something now.

Russell M. Wilder, of the Mayo Institute, stated that the evidence presented at the conference "should convince everyone that the nation is faced with a serious problem of malnutrition, and that despite a so-called surplus of foods a great many of our people are not receiving the fare they need for strength of mind and body."

It was brought out that in the training camps the army is employing the most recent information as well as the services of efficient dietitions in prescribing the diet for soldiers. Because of this care, says Clyde Davis of the Office of Production Management, "America has a much healthier soldier and a total absence of the epidemics that used to take a more severe toll of life in the army than did the enemy's guns."

Brigadier General Lewis B. Hershey, Deputy Director of Selective Service, said that out of a million men examined by Selective Service, about 400,000 have been found unfit for general military service under present standards. Probably one-third of these are suffering from disabilities directly or indirectly connected with nutrition. "America must be strong, but she cannot be strong when one-half of her sons are substandard physically. America needs whole men, not half men. She must develop vigorous and healthy youths; she must *pre*habilitate those whose defects are slight; she must *re*habilitate those examined and found deficient. The task before us, like all tasks in a democracy, is the duty and responsibility of each and every citizen."

In determining ways and means of utilizing this country's abundant food resources for national defense, the nine hundred leaders called together for the conference adopted recommendations to the President which can be summed up as follows:

1. The food an individual eats fundamentally affects his health, strength, stamina, nervous condition, and mental functioning.

2. Wars are won or lost according to the health, courage, and confidence of the whole population and the ability of the people to exert themselves to the utmost. Therefore, the newer knowledge of nutrition must be used not only for the armed forces and the workers in defense industries, but for the civilian population as a whole.

3. Experimentation proves that the condition resulting from undernourishment is serious enough to be a genuine cause of weakness in the present national emergency and to warrant national attention and concerted action.

In view of these recommendations, every municipality should organize a committee of citizens interested in the subject of nutrition, which will not only study and conduct experiments but will disseminate the results, and organize the entire population to the end that all may have proper information on how to purchase and prepare food so as to build health for every living soul.

RECOGNITION OF NATIVE-BORN NEW VOTER

(Continued from Page 399)

a clear understanding of the program and how to proceed in getting it established as a regular part of the education of their communities. In addition to doing valuable personal work, the members of this N.E.A. committee have now published *The American Citizen's Handbook*, explaining the program and giving much valuable information for local citizen organizations, and they have published in mimeograph form *The Annual County Convention of New Voters* and *The Guide for Discussion Leaders*.

Town Hall, Inc., also has recognized the value of the program as a basis for furthering free and frank discussion of American major issues and problems. In the leadership institute held during May of this year considerable attention was given to this program for citizenship training and induction of new voters.

The United States Office of Education has also recognized the importance of this program, and especially aided in the set-up of local forums and training of discussion leaders.

Several states have made considerable headway in establishing the program in connection with their state universities, particularly Illinois, Michigan, California, and Indiana. Other states have made a start. There is a real need for some national organization to help the various states set up the program on a sound educational basis.

The Researcher's Digest: July

Mobilizing police for the national emergency and other public safety problems; state defense councils; reports on financial problems from Texas, Minnesota, Maryland, and Michigan.

LEST the "God-sakers in our midst" have their way and cause the organization of volunteer and vigilante groups clothed with police authority to deal with the present emergency situation; lest the impatient have their way and cause the wholesale consolidation of policing areas with insufficient regard to particular local requirements, Bruce Smith of the **Institute of Public Administration** in New York City has prepared a plan for *Mobilizing Police for Emergency Duties—A Program for State and Local Governments* (December 1940, 19 pp.).

Distributed by the Division of State and Local Coöperation of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, for the information of state and local governmental officials, the monograph leans on the experience of three states—New York, New Jersey, Virginia—which have recently put into effect police mobilization programs. In picturesque language, both the volunteer and the consolidation methods are condemned: the first as a menace to the very liberties that are to be protected, the second as a threat to basic considerations of local autonomy.

The mobilization plan calls for the leadership of the state governors in designating police mobilization districts in the state, each of which is already adequately supplied with the necessary men and materials to cope with possible emergencies. The governor is to appoint a civil defense coördinator for the state as a whole, and a police mobilization coördinator for each district. Each district will comprise the entire police resources of state, city, county, town, and village as well as sheriffs within that area. Forms for inventory of police resources within the areas and plans for their concerted use are set forth.

Baltimore Police Survey

Reverting to the normal basic problems of police organization, Mr. Smith has also recently produced, with the assistance of L. S. Timmerman, under the auspices of the **Institute of Public Administration,** *The Baltimore Police Survey* (1941). This is a 155-page book which enters exhaustively into all phases of police administration in Baltimore, with criticisms and plans for improvement. The survey was the result of "a widely held belief . . . that the Baltimore Police Department is greatly undermanned"; of "a presentment by the grand jury to this general effect"; of "an exploratory study by the **Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission**"; and of the "desire of the police commissioner . . . for review by a disinterested agency."

The survey's conclusion: ". . . the real and pressing issue is not the quantity but the quality of police service. . . ."

Pensions in Akron

Also on the subject of public safety, but concentrated on one phase of the problem, is a thorough report on *Police Relief and Firemen's Pension Funds* (1941, 94 pp.) by the **Municipal Research Bureau of the Akron Chamber of Commerce**. Three main recommendations are advanced as a result of the conclusion that the Akron pension setup is not now organized along sound lines. "The Ohio statutes should be amended to require council approval of benefit rates and conditions under which pensions are granted; such rates and conditions should be made a matter of written contract between the city and its men; and accrued obligations for future pensions should be recognized as debt."

Defending California

A handy, brief summary of a public administration development of the present emergency situation is *State Defense Councils*, prepared by Russell Barthell of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (May 1941, mimeo., 21 pp.). While the emphasis is upon California, the monograph gives pertinent data on defense councils in all other states, (forty-three had been organized at the time of the report's publication) discussing organization, staff and allotment of funds, proposals for organization in states without councils, and relationship with other state agencies.

Texas Taxes

The current crop of research reports on matters of taxation and finance is impressively heavy. The **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas,** with the assistance of the WPA, is responsible for two weighty studies whose covers are appropriately decorated with a drawing of a female personification of Law holding a scales over the tax roll—*An Analysis of Ad Valorem Property Tax Bases in Dallas* and *in Fort Worth* (1941, 83 and 99 pp.). The reports are an outgrowth of an earlier work by the bureau on the general subject of the assessment of property in Texas cities, which found many deficiencies in the assessment process. These works are by way of copious illustration of that thesis. Tax assessment techniques in each city are described and evaluated, sale price data is advanced for purposes of comparison, distribution of the tax is ascertained, and tax and homestead exemptions are detailed.

Toward Fiscal Understanding

A different type of contribution to the literature of finance is *An Analysis of Minnesota State Fiscal Operations, 1932-1940,* subtitled *Dedication of Revenues and Erroneous Allocation of Accounting Functions as Obstacles to Sound Fiscal Operation.* This is a thirty-six-page bulletin of the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research** (No. 11, 1941). A vigorous foreword advances a highly practical reason for the study: "Every person, however intelligent, who sincerely seeks to gain an understanding of the fiscal condition of our state government and of its problems of expenditure and taxation, invariably finds that his efforts bog down in a slough of complicated statistics relating to interlocking funds and of the details and technicalities of accounting and of auditing requirements." Blame is laid upon the practice of dedication of revenues to specific purposes, and upon poor distribution of accounting duties. Reason for the report is to untangle state finances for the benefit of the confused layman.

Baltimore's Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy also brings forth *Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore, as at January 1, 1941,* (15 pp.) for the edification of citizens who take a serious interest in the affairs of the city government. These reports have been an annual event with the bureau since 1931.

"Michigan Pamphlets"

Two more of the attractive little "Michigan Pamphlets" have been brought forth by the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan,** on *Retail Sales Taxation in Michigan* and on *Federal Expenditures in Michigan* (1941, 20 and 36 pp.). Nos. 12 and 13 of the bureau's series conclude, respectively, that "Michigan's heterogeneous system of tax administration would be much improved by the adoption of a coördinated plan of centralized tax administration, such as the proposal [before the legislature] for a single department of revenue"; and that "conditions have developed under the existing governmental structure which appear to lead inevitably to a greater sharing in the cost and administration of certain functions by the federal, state, and local governments."

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Equalized Valuations. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Bulletin,* May 1941, 1 p.

Defense

State Defense Councils. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, May 1941. 21 pp.

About Preparedness. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just A Second,* June 7, 1941. 2 pp.

Elections

Name Candidates in Detroit Elections. By Maurice M. Ramsey. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., May 1941. 15 pp.

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News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Private Rehabilitation of Blighted Areas Encouraged

New York and Illinois legislatures enact permissive legislation

ENACTMENT of the Desmond-Mitchell "urban redevelopment corporations" law in New York has stimulated interest in rehabilitation of blighted areas by private capital in that state and elsewhere. A largely similar bill has passed the Illinois legislature. Both bills have aroused controversy as to the extent to which governmental powers should be employed in connection with private corporations.

The New York legislation, first of its kind in the nation, permits all municipalities in the state to offer private corporations special inducements to undertake large-scale development of such areas. Various controls are applied in the effort to safeguard the public interest.

The special privileges granted redevelopment corporations include ten years' immunity from the payment of real property taxes in excess of those assessed against the property used at the time redevelopment activities are begun. The corporations have the power of eminent domain when 51 per cent of the necessary property has been acquired, and the right to obtain public land by either sale or lease on consent of the governing body concerned.

The local planning body must approve the location of the project, which must conform to the master plan of the city. The developers must assure that there will be available for displaced families, either on the redevelopment site or elsewhere, dwellings of legally accepted standard, at substantially the same rentals that existed in the area before. Adequate public facilities, such as water and light, must be guaranteed. Operating plans and finances of the corporation must be approved by a local public supervising agency; and the corporation's distributable earnings are limited to 5 per cent during the ten-year period of partial tax immunity. No part of the redevelopment site may be sold or leased without consent of the supervising agency.

In the hope of spurring private capital into such redevelopment activity the Citizens Housing Council of New York made public the results of a survey graphically illustrating the economic losses resulting from the existence of blighted areas. Completed by the council's committee on investment housing after nearly two years' work, the report shows that almost half the tax-delinquent real estate in the borough of Manhattan is in the thirteen areas designated by the New York City Planning Commission as suitable for rebuilding and replanning.

Also in greater New York City, the Mayor's Committee on Property Improvement on June 16 issued its third report, which deals with four areas in downtown Brooklyn particularly suited for improvement under the redevelopment act.

The Committee on Urban Land Use of the American Institute of Architects urges the creation of redevelopment corporations. It also recommends that cities create, where legally possible, a city real estate corporation, to take title to properties with heavy tax delinquency. The operations of urban redevelopment corporations could be designed to dovetail into those of such a city corporation and of the city planning agency. Federal aid as to loans and loan insurance, for the city and possibly the private redevelopment corporations, was also suggested.

The Illinois "neighborhood redevelopment corporation law" authorizes the heads of municipalities to appoint "redevelopment commissions" to supervise and regulate such corporations, which may acquire property by condemnation if they own or have options on 60 per cent of an area authorized to be redeveloped. They are subject to the same taxation of their property as other private corporations, and are not limited as to dividends.

Council-Manager Plan News

The Connecticut legislature on June 4 passed an act providing for a special referendum on June 30 in the town of **Enfield**, which includes the communities of Thompsonville and Hazardville, on the adoption of council-manager government. The Thompsonville Chamber of Commerce and service clubs and the town Democratic organization favored the change, while many local officials were opposed to it. The plan was defeated by a vote of two to one.

Council-manager government was recommended for **Annapolis, Maryland**, in a report submitted to the Mayor by Public Administration Service of Chicago. The city's present form of government was described as complicated and lacking in effective administrative leadership. The council should be the sole policy-determining body and the city's executive officer should be either the mayor or a council-appointed manager—preferably the latter. Three major municipal departments were proposed—finance and records, public works, and utilities and public safety.

Upper Arlington, Ohio, which has recently attained the rank of city, may vote in November on its form of government. It now has the commission form. The manager plan is being considered by the government committee of the Civic Association.

In **Washington Court House, Ohio**, petitions have been filed for an election on abandonment of the manager plan which has been in force for five years.

The manager plan has been discussed in **Bowling Green, Kentucky**, before the Rotary Club. It was favored by speakers, but difficulties in obtaining it under the present law were emphasized; it was stated that it would be impossible to have a local vote on the subject before 1945. Mr. John B. Rodes was made chairman of a committee of the club to suggest new legislation at the next session of the legislature.

In **Illinois** an attempt to bring before the Senate the city manager bill, introduced therein after defeat of the House bill, failed for lack of a committee quorum, thus in effect killing the bill for the session.

The Governor of **North Dakota** has approved a county-manager enabling act passed by the legislature.

Ennis, Texas, has voted down a proposed manager plan.

In **Spokane, Washington**, the Junior Chamber of Commerce is investigating the manager plan.

In **Eugene, Oregon**, a survey by the School of Journalism of the University of Oregon indicates that 65 per cent of the people favor the manager plan.

On July 21 a special election on the manager plan will be held in **Tarpon Springs, Florida**, under provisions of a special act passed this year by the state legislature.

The **Arkansas** legislature has repealed Act 136 of 1939 authorizing cities of more than 50,000 population to adopt city manager government by popular vote. The state capital, **Little Rock**, which the bill affects, has rejected the manager plan at three special elections, the most recent being last November.

Interest in the manager plan is reported in **Baker, Oregon**; **Opelousas, Louisiana**; **Santa Cruz, California**; **Columbia, Missouri**; **Grand Island, Nebraska**; and the town of **Glastonbury, Connecticut.**

Strikes of City Employees

In New York City the threatened strike of municipal subway workers for recognition of the Transport Union Workers' Union and increased wages was averted on June 28 after city authorities had agreed to extend existing contracts, carried over from private operation, until a court determination, probably a year hence, of the city's powers in contracting with labor organizations in view of civil service regulations. The city's Board of Transportation has entered into negotiations with union representatives concerning wages of union workers.

A four-day strike of street and other service employees in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, for increased wages and union recognition ended on June 19 when CIO leaders advised the recently formed local of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America to accept the city's offer. Settlement is reported to include wage increases totaling about $30,000, as compared with demands that were said to total $350,000 if adopted in all departments. Present wages were given as ranging from $4.40 per day for second-class laborers to $6.75 for mechanics. The union was not recognized as such, but the council agreed to deal with a committee of city workers in handling grievances. Employees immediately began clearing up the accumulation of garbage and street debris.

In New Castle, Pennsylvania, a twenty-four-hour strike of sixty municipal service employees ended on June 24. Strikers returned to work on the promise of city councilmen to make every effort to find funds to grant a wage increase.

No Civil Service for Minneapolis Police Chief

A charter amendment that would have placed the superintendent of police in Minneapolis, Minnesota, under civil service, was defeated on June 9 through failure to obtain the necessary 60 per cent affirmative vote. It received a majority, but fell short of the requirement by a fraction of one per cent. Mayor-elect Marvin L. Kline stated that if the amendment was defeated he would consider selecting the new chief on a competitive or other merit basis.

Public Assistance Increased by States

The American Public Welfare Association on June 23 released the results of a survey of 1941 state legislation indicating that legislatures have increased the provisions for needy aged, dependent children, and the blind, and in general have taken steps to improve the administration of public assistance. Some three-quarters of the forty-three state legislatures meeting this year were covered, the others being still in session.

Maximum old-age monthly grants were raised from $30 to $40 in four states, another allowed supplementary aid of $10 above $30, two removed restrictions on a $30 maximum, and one eliminated a definite maximum other than twice the federal contribution.

Five states increased maximum monthly aid to the blind from $30 to $40, and two removed top limits. Aid to blind persons paid by all states is stated to average less than $25 at present.

Six states raised the age limit for aid to school children to eighteen. Another removed a sixteen-year top limit.

Idaho granted its department of public assistance authority to make reciprocal agreements with other states on welfare services and aid to residents and non-residents; Minnesota is to enter into reciprocal agreements with other states for payment to persons moving out of the state. Four other states made provision for coöperation.

North Dakota placed state and county personnel administering crippled children's services under a merit system. Montana removed residence requirements for state and county welfare department personnel when it is impossible to find qualified state residents. Indiana state agencies receiving federal social security aid come under the new state civil service agency.

New Jersey Election Difficulties

All bids for installation of voting machines in Jersey City and other parts of Hudson County, New Jersey, were rejected on June 17 by a vote of three to two of the State House Commission, which had been directed by legislation[1] in 1940 to buy 850 machines and pay for them by withholding from the county certain annual subsidies. Governor Edison called the bids unresponsive, as prescribing methods of payment or delivery not consistent with the legislation. He was joined in this opinion by two Republican members, one of whom said that new legislation would probably be required, and suggested that the legislature appropriate the necessary money and then withhold subsidies in that amount. The Attorney-General had ruled that the law was unconstitutional, as obligating the state to a debt of more than $100,000 without a referendum.

The New Jersey League of Women Voters has urged a new election law for the state, substituting nonpartisan, responsible, state control of elections for the present bipartisan, decentralized system of checks and balances.

New York Joint Committee Tackles Reapportionment

In New York State, where there has been no reapportionment of Congressional districts since 1911 or of legislative districts since 1917, appointment of a Joint Legislative Committee was announced on June 17 by Senator J. R. Hanley and Speaker O. D. Heck. The committee is to attempt to work out a plan of reapportionment for both congressional and legislative districts, for action by the 1942 legislature. There are five senators and five assemblymen on the committee; seven are Republicans and three Democrats. Assemblyman Harry A. Reoux of Warrensburg is chairman. William F. Bleakley, Westchester county executive and a former judge, is counsel.

Interstate Trade Barrier Trend Stopped

Opposition to the creation of legislative barriers to interstate commerce has succeeded to the point that almost all restrictive legislation of such character proposed this year has failed of passage, and various legislatures have repealed trade barrier laws antedating 1941. A few bills that passed the legislatures were vetoed, in harmony with the campaign of the State Commissions on Interstate Coöperation.

Legislative attention was directed chiefly at the prevention or elimination of discriminatory legislation concerning local preference, oleomargarine, liquor, taxation, and trucking, according to the Council of State Governments, which conducted a midwest conference early in June in Chicago, at which this subject was given emphasis.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1940, p. 687, and November 1940, p. 748.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

DEFENSE ON MAIN STREET, a new pamphlet just off the press, is the thing we've all been waiting for. It was prepared by the **Council for Democracy** and the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs,** and they describe it as a guidebook for local activities for defense and democracy.

Starting with the assumption that direct participation is the very essence of democracy, the pamphlet sets out to answer the questions heard at every turn today, "What can I do?" "How can I help?" And it proceeds to provide some answers not with vague generalities but with concrete, specific suggestions. Here are the stories of what real individuals have done in very real situations in their own communities. And here are plenty of ideas for existing organizations which are looking for a way to "do something for defense."

Almost as valuable as the extremely readable text are the appendices which include eighteen separate suggestions for community action, a list of national organizations which sponsor pro-democracy activities and which can provide information and advice to interested persons and groups, a section on the use of radio with a list of available scripts, a short discussion of movies, both commercial and non-commercial, and finally what appears to be a very adequate reading list.

This pamphlet strikes us as the most useful thing that has yet appeared in this field and we think no citizen organization will want to be without it. And what's more, it's good reading all the way. Single copies are twenty-five cents with special prices for quantity orders. Write the Council for Democracy, 285 Madison Avenue, New York.

Those few citizen organizations which shut up shop for the summer, on the theory they have no job to do, might well take a cue from the **League of Women Voters.** The bulletins of the state leagues show they are starting one of their most strenuous campaigns, an effort to rouse public sentiment based on the slogan "Win the Battle of Production," which was adopted at the meeting of the National Council of the league in Washington.

Other groups which have decided this is no time to call a halt or even a slight relaxation of their efforts are those which face local elections in the fall. . . . The **Yonkers City Manager League,** for example, is preparing for an intensive campaign to elect a majority of council members who favor the council-manager plan under which the city operates. The new form of government has been seriously handicapped in its first two years in Yonkers by the fact that three of the five council members have been openly opposed to it. . . . A new women's group has also recently been organized in Yonkers and is endeavoring to obtain the signatures of 20,000 women to the "Women's Clean-Up Yonkers Pledge."

Another November election of importance will take place in New York City, where, if the **Citizens Non-Partisan Committee** has anything to say about it, the citizens will finally have an opportunity to vote on reorganization of the five counties within the city. The **Citizens Union of New York,** the **New York City League of Women Voters,** and the **Women's City Club** have played an important part in the campaign to obtain the 92,500 petition signatures recently filed to place the proposal on the ballot.

Minneapolis had a municipal election on June 9 and again the **Minneapolis**

Research Bureau, affiliated with the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** prepared an excellent *Voters' Directory,* which contained, in addition to information about the candidates, a clear and simple ward map of the city, always a useful addition. Approximately 25,000 copies of the directory were distributed, about half through the coöperation of other organizations (luncheon clubs, women's organizations, parent-teacher associations, etc.), and as a result the vote on election day was much larger than had been expected. Some 7,000 copies of the directory were sent with a covering letter to the new citizens who had been inducted into citizenship at the recognition day ceremonies for twenty-one-year-olds held in Minneapolis last September.

The never-ceasing membership campaign of the **Municipal League of Seattle** continues unabated and each issue of the *Seattle Municipal News* contains another list of new members. We saw one of their recent promotion pieces which struck us as particularly effective. With appropriate illustrations it informed the person receiving the mailing that his head, heart, money, and feet were wanted by the Municipal League. . . . All of which goes to prove that persistent and original efforts are necessary to provide a steady stream of new organization members.

According to the June 9 issue of the **Chicago City Club** *Bulletin* the civic field has lost another man to the defense program. This time it's the club's civic director, Robert E. Garrigan, who has resigned to become assistant to the Regional Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities of the Federal Security Agency. Mr. Garrigan has been with the City Club for the past seven years and is well known in the citizen organization field.

The **Tennessee Taxpayers Association** has just released its ninth annual report for the year 1940 with a summary of the 1941 session of the state legislature. The report, attractively printed in red and blue, contains a summary of progress in state, city, and county government and an ambitious program of work for the next two-year period.

R. M. W.

Ann Arbor Citizen Council Stimulates Community Action

Six years ago a small group of Ann Arbor citizens organized the Ann Arbor Citizens' Council, and invited others to join them in devoting a little more time to active citizenship.

The founders of the council felt dissatisfied with the traditional, routine manifestations of citizenship. Goodwill toward government, occasional attendance at public meetings, and a vote at election time are the maximum activities for most citizens, even good citizens. Much, if not all, of this activity is passive.

Accordingly, the organizing group hoped, through the Citizens' Council, to develop procedures whereby more citizenship participation in community affairs might be encouraged. The experiments conducted by the council during the past six years have proved that the inertia of citizens is caused chiefly by the lack of specific procedures for initiating citizen action.

To overcome this inertia, four procedures have thus far been developed: intelligent assembling of information relating to community problems, regular attendance at meetings of public bodies, recommendation of specific solutions of community problems, and stimulation, through a publication organ, of an active participation in public affairs. Each of these provide logical steps toward effective united action whenever the membership, through referendum requiring a four-fifths majority vote, decides to act.

These experiments also supported the principle that organizations working for democracy should themselves be democratic. Too often citizens are invited into organizations in which principles and actions are not only already determined but are unalterable. A constructive program is thus not widely shared. Lacking participation in setting up a procedure, citizens are likely to lose their powers of initiative. Within the council's own organization democratic procedures are strictly followed in all the coördinating organizations which it undertakes to stimulate.

Information

More definite and authentic information on civic matters, particularly local issues, was needed at the very outset. The changing aspects of government require a constantly renewed flow of information, and a kind of information that could not be gleaned from the usual newspaper columns. To provide this information the *Citizen's News*, published biweekly, was founded. Needless to say, a sound editorial policy demanded that information be presented objectively and without bias. If an issue is controversial, the editors are obliged to select competent persons in the community, not necessarily members, to present the opposing points of view.

SAMPLE PROJECTS

1. State civil service
2. Establishment of a county health department
3. Teacher tenure
4. Publication of views of candidates for public office
5. City manager form of city government for Ann Arbor.
6. County welfare reorganization

An editorial board is commissioned to work out assignments, and members are asked to prepare reports on a variety of social and political interests—interviews with candidates for office, pending bills in the state legislature and Congress, special or regular meetings of the school board, the city council and the board of supervisors, and official and semi-official records.

Observation

Citizens, it would seem, often exclude themselves from participation in government. Democratic procedures, long ago established to give the citizen a share in government, are being lost through disuse. Members of special committees found it advantageous, therefore, to attend meetings of public bodies. Thus was instituted the system of observers.

In addition to obtaining information for the council as a whole, this practice has had a good effect upon public officials. Regular attendance of citizens at such meetings was so unusual that a few officeholders at first received council representatives with ill-covered suspicion. Now they are reconciled to visitors and even favor them. Sometimes observers are asked to express themselves on issues before the officials, at other times they are granted permission to speak on a pending question, and one board has discussed the desirability of making the presentation of citizen views a regular order of routine business. Through observation of how public business is done, members are acquainting themselves, first-hand, with procedures, personalities, tactics, and public interests.

Organization

To get things done in a democracy, citizens must organize themselves. Too many citizens, unfortunately, assume that government will take the initiative in promoting the public's interests. Government, however, is often handicapped by long-established practices and is reluctant to initiate more efficient methods. Members of the Citizens' Council concluded, therefore, that citizens could help by making independent studies of certain public problems. Accordingly, committees were appointed, and the information they obtained was presented to the executive board for discussion.

With the assistance of the executive board, the committees invited citizens and representatives of interested organizations to study the facts it had assembled, and the Citizens' Council, whenever practicable, encouraged these citizens to set up a temporary organization, distinct from the council, to take such action as the circumstances warranted. In no instance has the council advised what action the coöperating organizations should take.

In this way the council has encouraged many citizens who are not members of the council to take the initiative in dealing with public affairs. Such service, it was found, counteracts both the lethargy of government and the widespread indifference of citizens.

Participation

The end of all this activity is intelligent participation. A public official has power delegated to him by the citizens. In Fascism this power cannot be recalled by the people, but in a democracy the ultimate source of power lies with the people. If the citizens of a democracy, therefore, do not assert this authority, they will soon forfeit it to bureacrats or self-seekers. The one way to preserve this power is through continuous participation in public affairs and through constant contact with public officials and public bodies. The council fosters procedures for engaging all its members in various citizen tasks.

Through the citizens' action committee, which assigns certain duties to the membership organized within the respective wards, members are encouraged to participate in pre-election discussions. They are urged to take an active interest in the party organization of their choice. Through other activities of the council, members are aided in promoting civic projects within their own wards and in identifying themselves with community affairs generally.

Within the simple framework of obtaining information, making observations, developing organization, and stimulating participation, Ann Arbor citizens have exercised their democratic function and, perhaps, have indicated a way to make democracy work for the best common good.

Jersey Citizens Work for Constitutional Convention

The New Jersey constitution of 1844 is the oldest state constitution outside New England. President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University, in a statement endorsing the movement for a constitutional convention, has recently pointed out that this old document "has been amended only four times and has been changed in no fundamental way." This statement is one of many which have been obtained from leading citizens by the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention, organized February 24, 1941.

That meeting, called by the New Jersey League of Women Voters, was attended by two hundred men and women representative of a broad cross-section of the organized civic and economic interests in the state. It adopted a statement of principles and program of action, and authorized the organization which has been busy ever since starting a long-time drive to secure a well considered revision of the state constitution.

Governor Edison advocated a constitutional convention during his election campaign, and convention bills have been introduced by both Senator Hendrickson, the Governor's Republican opponent, and Democratic leaders.

In order to understand why the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention is digging in for a long campaign it is necessary to recall that six constitutional convention bills in previous years have passed the Assembly only to meet with an apparently immovable stumbling block in the Senate. The reason for this was brought into the open by the Governor in his inaugural address when he pointed out that the equal representation of the counties in the Senate permits 15 per cent of the people to elect a majority of that body, and referred to it as representative of "acres . . . rather than people."

Governor May Act

The revisionists hope to persuade enough Senators representing small counties that in the long run statesmanship and enlightened self-interest enjoin acquiescence in a popular demand for a convention. They are not, however, investing all their hope in an appeal to senatorial reason. Federal Judge William Clark and Arthur Vanderbilt, chairman of the New Jersey Judicial Council and recent president of the American Bar Association, have taken the lead in declaring that a valid revision of the constitution can be had through a convention called in behalf of the people by the Governor at the request of the more numerous branch of the legislature. The practical, legal, and theoretical arguments for this opinion are developed at length in an article by Messrs Bebout and Kass in the March 1941 number of the *University of Newark Law Review.*

The New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention, under the chairmanship of Mrs. L. H. Robbins, retired president of the New Jersey League of Women Voters, has office space at the headquarters of the League of Women Voters at Kresge's department store, Newark. It is working through subcommittees on education, speakers, publicity, and county organization. The education committee alone has already enlisted about seventy persons, qualified by education or professional or civic experience, who have agreed to accept assignments to do various kinds of research, writing, speaking, teaching, etc. It has just concluded a five weeks' seminar, meeting in afternoon and evening sections, for persons interested in preparing themselves for more effective work. The weekly attendance has averaged about forty busy men and women. The Speakers Bureau has been gradually assembling a panel of speakers which now includes some fifty names, and an active speaking campaign is under way.

Courses on Constitution

All of the adult schools of the state have been circularized, and a number of them, including the well known South Orange—Maplewood School, have agreed to include in their fall programs a ten weeks course on the state constitution. The courses will be conducted by a panel of lecturers drawn largely from the faculties of leading educational and research institutions. In the meantime, work is progressing on the adaptation of material on the present constitution to different types of audiences.

The adoption of an act for a constitutional convention is only the first objective of the committee. Once a convention has been assured, the committee has set itself the job of assisting "the civic organizations and the people of the state generally in: (1) securing the selection of competent and representative delegates to the convention; (2) securing a thorough consideration by the convention of all serious proposals emanating from any responsible person, group, or interest; (3) stimulating the full and informed discussion of all proposals submitted by the convention to the people."

Like the Committee on the New York State Constitution, organized by the National Municipal League in 1937, the New Jersey Committee expects to refrain from taking "a stand for or against specific proposals." It has stated its function to be "simply to serve the public interest as distinguished from special interests by seeing to it that the qualifications of all candidates for the convention be fully and fairly presented and that the issues of the convention be fully discussed."

One of the "principles" which the committee is emphasizing at every opportunity is expressed in the following statement, approved at its organization meeting in February: "A constitution is basic law, establishing the essential frame of government and guaranteeing essential rights and popular liberties. It should not be allowed to become a detailed code either of police regulations or of administrative organization and procedure. One of the first virtues of a constitution is to be brief."

It is too early to predict exactly when or how the old-fashioned New Jersey constitution will be revised, but it is certain that the people of the state are in the process of learning a great deal more about their basic law than they ever knew before. The members of the committee are confident that out of this learning, sooner or later, will come substantial improvements in the working constitution of the state.

JOHN BEBOUT, *Chairman*

Committee on Education
New Jersey Committee for
Constitutional Convention

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Westchester County Voters to Pass on Board Reform

Fall referendum to be held on the reduction of county supervisors from 44 to 12

BY A vote of thirty to ten the Westchester County, New York, Board of Supervisors decided to submit to popular referendum the question of reducing its own size from forty-four members to ten or twelve. The board defeated motions to submit also charter amendments creating a centralized county tax bureau and establishing a county debt commission. Thus it rejected in part the recommendations of its temporary committee on charter amendments which had reported unfavorably on all three proposals.

The Board of Supervisors ranks high as among the largest county governing bodies in the United States. The cumbersome nature of so large a body, diffusion of responsibility, and expense are the usual arguments directed against the present system. It is argued that a small body of ten or twelve members would be much superior. The Board of Supervisors has authorized its chairman to appoint a committee to divide the county into ten or twelve districts in order that the electorate may vote on a specific proposal next November.

The supervisors are, of course, vehemently opposed to the board reduction proposal. In its resolution ordering the referendum the board added a paragraph declaring the charter change to be unwise and asking for its defeat. It ordered the referendum only because the united efforts of the Westchester League of Women Voters, the

Westchester County Federation of Women, and the Federation of Westchester Taxpayers Associations, with a total membership of approximately 19,000, would have put the proposal on the ballot through initiative petitions. This admittedly would have been a "black eye" for the board. Individual board members already are making free use of such terms as totalitarian, demagogic, tyranny, Hitleristic, and un-American, while they declare themselves to be in favor of home rule, democracy, and the preservation of one's "soul and property."

Acceptance of the small board plan would mark the next logical step in the integration and centralization of government in Westchester County. The initial step was completed January 1, 1939, with the installation of a county charter[1] that provided among other things for an elective county executive.

Several steps of reorganization were completed by the executive within the one-year time limit specified by the charter. The department of the budget was organized and the director was made also director of personnel. A department of finance was established and the old office of county treasurer abolished. The department of public works merged the offices of county engineer, engineer to the park commission, and engineer of the sanitary sewer commission. Other departments newly organized include public welfare, health, law, and planning. The jurisdiction of the health department, in which participation is optional, was expanded in the past two years by adding two towns, one village, and one city. Playland, the county-owned amusement park, was removed from the jurisdiction of the park commission, and now is operated by the Playland Authority.

Consideration of the feasibility of a county debt commission apparently now has been deferred to some future date. The commission would have had supervisory authority over new indebtedness incurred by all governmental units in the county. Although 1940 marked the peak year of debt service requirements for both the county and its local units, the proposal was in no sense a curative of present difficulties. It was a preventive to avoid their recurrence. The highest total of overlapping debt was reached in the spring of 1935 when it amounted to $265,000,000. Five years later it had been reduced to $239,000,000. At its peak the county debt was $106,000,000, and it now has dropped to approximately $93,000,000. The following tables indicate the nature of the debt burden:

Overlapping Debt, Westchester County
January 1, 1940

County	$96,500,000
Cities	50,200,000
Schools	49,300,000
Towns	22,600,000
Villages	20,900,000
	$239,500,000

Westchester County Debt
October 1, 1940

Parks	$59,400,000
Sewers	22,800,000
Buildings	8,400,000
Highways and Bridges	2,000,000
Welfare and Relief	900,000
	$93,500,000

Now that marked reduction in gross debt has been accomplished, debt service charges also should begin to decline. Total debt service for all units in 1940 amounted to $25,000,000. It will be reduced gradually to half this amount by 1950 barring new loans or refunding issues. Debt service constitutes 34 per cent of the present cost of government in Westchester County, and it absorbs 46 per cent of the real estate taxes.

Although Westchester County appears to be emerging successfully from a fiscal condition that approached chaos, advocates of the county debt commission would create this body to remember the lessons of experience. It would seek to prevent unbearable burdens, prohibit unwarranted expenditures, provide reasonable amortization plans, etc. The example of the bond issue of almost thirty years ago that will mature in the year 2012 should not be soon forgotten.

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[1] Adopted by popular vote November 2, 1937.

The problem of county-wide assessment machinery was a third question that was considered by the Board of Supervisors. At present each town and city and many of the villages have their own assessment machinery. Thus both towns and villages assess the property within the villages, giving rise to much needless duplication. For the levy of the county property tax it is necessary to have a board of equalization to adjust the under-assessment of the towns and cities in order to secure an equitable distribution of the county tax burden. The proposed amendment would have eliminated the duplication, abolished the need for a county board of equalization, and brought about the use of trained men in the assessment of property for taxation purposes.

Because of huge debt and heavy taxes, Westchester has not kept pace with neighboring counties in private building construction. With due care to stimulate the more favorable fiscal condition now emerging and with a continuation in the modernization of county and local government, this situation should be remedied very shortly.

Although the county executive is sponsoring the continuation of administrative reform, many political officeholders remain bitterly opposed. Members of the Board of Supervisors naturally distrust any changes in a system they have succeeded in mastering. Furthermore since the eighteen members from the towns are primarily the towns' chief administrators they are opposed to any diminution of town powers. Hence centralizing the debt and assessment functions meets especially violent opposition from town supervisors as well as from other local officials.

Nebraska Legislation for Counties

Although the people of Nebraska rejected a county home rule amendment last November,[1] the 1941 legislature is resubmitting it to be voted on in the general election of November 1942. Other legislation for counties passed during this year's session includes:

Special tax levy authorization for relief purposes is continued;

Permission to county boards to use inheritance tax money for relief purposes or highways;

Requirement that county officers report fees collected on a monthly rather than a quarterly basis;

Permission to fund temporary debt, but only after referendum if requested by 30 per cent of the voters;

Authorization of special county commissions with power to issue revenue bonds in relation to inter-county bridges.

Arkansas Counties Collect Delinquent Personalty Taxes

An act passed by the 1941 Arkansas legislature establishes in each county a delinquent tax board composed of the county judge, mayor of county seat, and chief school officer of the county which will supervise the collection of delinquent personal property taxes. The board is required to appoint collectors who are allowed the following commissions: for collections amounting to $10 or less, 25 per cent of the amount collected; $10 to $25, a fee of $5; $25 to $100, a fee of $10; over $100, 10 per cent of the amount collected.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for January 1941, p. 52.

Arkansas Expands Use of Special Districts

The 1941 Arkansas legislature has permitted counties to establish and operate suburban improvement districts outside, but adjacent to, cities of 5,000 or more population authorizing such districts to build street car lines, waterworks, gas and electric lines, sewers, sidewalks, streets and highways. If part of the district should lie within an incorporated city, the majority of the property owners of such part must first give their approval of the proposed district.

New York City Again Tries for County Reform

The New York Citizens' Non-partisan Committee has once again filed a petition to bring the question of reform of the five counties within the city to a vote. The petition is a proposed amendment to the New York City charter "to reorganize county government by abolishing the county offices of sheriff, register, register of deeds, and registrar, creating the offices of city sheriff and city register and assigning the functions of the offices hereby abolished to the city sheriff, the city department of correction, and the city register." Employees of the newly created city office would be selected under the city's merit system.

Fifty thousand valid signatures are necessary to place the matter on the ballot. A total of 92,500 have been filed.

Just before the filing, the city council majority leader introduced three bills which would abolish the elective sheriffs and registers but make different disposition of their work and keep a considerable part of present patronage. The Citizens Non-Partisan Committee proceeded with the filing of its petitions, however, announcing that it would oppose the council proposals as unsatisfactory.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

California Returns Relief to Counties

No appropriation for next year made by legislature.

REFUSAL of the California state legislature to make an appropriation for the State Relief Administration before it adjourned in June automatically terminates the state's unemployment relief program when funds are exhausted this July and returns responsibility for all welfare and relief costs to the counties. It will also lead to the liquidation of the SRA.

The California setup for handling relief has been one of the most beneficial, in so far as local finances are concerned. Welfare is normally the responsibility of the counties in California, but for some years the state has assumed responsibility for the employable unemployed. Since this group accounts for the greater part of the emergency unemployment relief rolls, the counties have been relieved of the major financing cost. They have contributed to the fairly liberal scale of social security benefit payments and to steadily rising hospital and institutional budgets, of course, but the setup has relieved the local tax base of the heaviest part of the burden.

The legislature's action is due in part to the political friction between it and Democratic Governor Olson, and in part to recent rapid declines in the state relief rolls which many felt might have been swifter had relief been centered in the counties. Whether the counties can carry the burden alone without undue strain remains to be seen, but it is certain that the reductions in unemployment relief in recent months have been substantial.

According to the monthly statistical bulletins of the California State Relief Administration, the unemployment relief load carried by the state reached its low in the fall of 1936 with about 26,000 cases. From that time it fluctuated widely in accordance with seasonal influences (partly the seasonal demand for agricultural labor) but showed a steadily upward trend. The recent peak was reached in January 1940, when the load was nearly 115,000 cases. From January 1940 the case load declined to about 39,000 cases in the fall of 1940, rose to around 48,000 cases in January of this year, and dropped to 43,000 cases in February. Official figures for later months are not at hand, but the load was unofficially reported at less than 30,000 cases early in June.

Accelerating demands for workers in defense production, chiefly in the aircraft industry around San Diego and Los Angeles and more recently shipbuilding in Los Angeles and the San Francisco area, have contributed to the reduction in unemployment, as has a genuine revival of residential construction in Southern California.

The reduction in relief rolls has, of course, been paralleled by a decline in relief payments. For the first six months of 1939 direct relief payments by the SRA, exclusive of camp projects which care for a relatively few single men, amounted to just over $19,245,000. For the second half of that year they rose to $20,167,000. For the first half of 1940 they were $18,601,000, and for the last half of last year $10,664,000. January 1941 costs were $1,755,000 as compared with $4,196,000 for January 1940, and those for February 1941 were $1,607,000 as compared with $3,817,000 for the corresponding month last year.

The cumulative reduction for the period reported to date is even more striking: payments for the first eight months of the 1940-41 fiscal year at $14,025,000 are just 50 per cent of the payments for the first eight months of 1939-40. If during the fiscal year 1941-42 relief payments hold at the average shown for February 1941, they will be just over $19,000,000 or about half of the $38,768,000 shown for 1939-40. The legislature had been requested to appropriate $32,000,000 for the biennium beginning July 1, a figure which would probably have been closer to actual requirements than the original appropriation in any recent period, when supplementary appropriations have been required.

While the reduction in relief costs has been sharp, the amounts now to fall entirely to the counties will be substantial in many cases. The SRA direct relief payments in 1939-40 in Los Angeles County were just under $17,000,000, and while for the current year they are running about 40 per cent under this, or at about $10,000,000, the addition of this lower sum to the current county tax levy would entail an increase of about 27 per cent in the levy. In Alameda County, where Oakland and the East Bay industrial communities are located, outlays this year are running about 67 per cent behind last year, and about $1,000,000 will probably be spent this year, a sum equal to about 12 per cent of the county levy. In the city and county of San Francisco and San Diego County the outlays are much smaller proportionately, the current year's probable costs equalling only about 4 to 5 per cent of the current county tax levies.

In some of the rural counties where rising industrial employment is nonexistant as an offset, and local resources are more limited, the situation may be serious. This is especially true since in many instances the county solution to the problem may be to deny that need exists and simply refrain from making any additional outlays for relief.

Philadelphia Starts $131,000,000 Refunding

In mid-June Philadelphia launched a refunding plan which if carried to completion will result in a net interest saving to the city of about $32,000,000 over the next twenty-five years. The program, which involves the exchange of $131,064,000 of the city's outstanding bonds for new securities, is entirely dependent on the voluntary coöperation of present bondholders. By the end of the first week, however, the nationwide syndicate of thirty-nine bond houses handling the plan for the city had effected the exchange of over $36,000,000.

The city has about $347,000,000 bonds which are subject to call and redemption at its option. Of these, about $172,000,000 are callable from 1942 to 1947, and it is the greater part of these bonds which are involved in the refunding plan. Later this year the city plans to call and refund nearly $9,000,000 additional bonds which are callable in October.

A unique feature of the plan is that the interest rate on the new refunding bonds remains the same as on the old bonds to the first call date of the latter, after which it is reduced. The chief inducement offered to present bondholders is therefore that of exchanging their present tax-exempt bonds for new tax-exempt securities which conceivably might not be available if the outstanding bonds were called in the usual course of time. The advantage to the city will be a reduction in annual debt charges on the bonds affected while at the same time their average maturity will be advanced about six years. If all the bonds embraced in the plan are submitted for exchange by the holders, the city's annual requirement for bond interest and amortization will be reduced roughly $800,000 annually over the next ten years and by smaller amounts thereafter.

Gasless Sundays Threaten Few States

Announcement that gasolineless Sundays may be the order on the northeastern seaboard because of the shortage of transport from the Gulf oil fields to the northeast has raised some fears for public finances in the affected area. The argument runs that the lessened consumption of gasoline will mean a lesser volume of state gasoline taxes and a consequent stringency in the finances of the units involved. There is nothing to indicate, however, that any serious or widespread situation is likely to develop.

The affected area, provided week-end gasoline rationing proves necessary, is that of New England and the north Atlantic states. Fortunately, there has not been in this area the widespread dependence on gasoline and motor fuel taxes which characterize some sections of the south and west. Collections are largely earmarked for construction and grants-in-aid for improvements and maintenance, and there is a complete absence of the pledging of sizeable amounts of gasoline tax revenues for debt service such as occur in Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, etc.

Such hardship as may occur to governmental units because of gasoline rationing would probably not arise from declining gas tax receipts, but rather in the decline in tolls on highway facilities supported by such special charges. The Port of New York Authority, with its Hudson tunnels and George Washington Bridge, might be hit by a severe reduction in pleasure driving, as might New York's Triborough Bridge and the Harrisburg-

Pittsburgh toll highway of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. Obligations of these units all slumped on the market following announcement that gasoline rationing might be required, but it seems exceedingly doubtful if the week-end pleasure driving which might be affected by such a decree would actually have more than a temporary effect on their finances.

St. Louis Survey Ordered

St. Louis' Board of Aldermen has ordered a sweeping study by department heads to canvass possibilities for increased efficiency and operating economies. The administrators are to investigate the feasibility of installing mechanical equipment to cut corners in their work, and at the same time to examine existing city ordinances to see if revisions are necessary to increase operating efficiency. Their findings and recommendations must be reported to the board not later than September 19, 1941, says the Municipal Finance Officers' Association.

Twenty-one States Grant Defense Tax Concessions

The number of states which now grant special tax concessions to contractors with defense orders has reached twenty-one.[1] Recent additions include Colorado, Maryland, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Wisconsin.

A civilian board of review has recently been appointed to assist the War Department in making investigations to determine the issue of tax concession certificates. This board is composed of fourteen men chosen from the field of law, accounting, labor, business, and public administration.

Proportional Representation

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

P. R. Constitutional in Massachusetts

Interest in St. Louis Other P. R. News

IN a unanimous opinion handed down on June 24 the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts held proportional representation and the city manager plan of government to be constitutional. The court rejected arguments against "Plan E," the optional plan of government adopted by the city of Cambridge last fall under which the Cambridge city council will be elected by P. R. this November and a city manager chosen when the new council takes office in January. The exhaustive opinion, covering thirty-seven typewritten pages, was written by Chief Justice Fred T. Field.

P. R. to the Fore in St. Louis

As this is being written for the REVIEW deadline, St. Louis is in the midst of a peculiar and almost volcanic upsurge of interest in P. R.

The origins of this interest date back a full quarter of a century. Around 1915 St. Louis changed to a single-chamber legislature of twenty-eight members elected at large. This supplanted a bicameral legislature whose House of Delegates was elected from the twenty-eight wards. In November 1916 (the day of the exciting Wilson-Hughes presidential election) St. Louis defeated a proposal to elect its aldermen by the list system of proportional representation. This was one of the early efforts of an American city to get P. R. coming after the Ashtabula adoption, and was one of the very few instances, if not the only one, where the list system was seriously considered by an American city.

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[1] See also "States Grant Tax Concessions to Defense Contractors," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, p. 307.

Since that time there has always been in St. Louis a fitful interest in P. R. The present revival is due to several circumstances.

Last April, just before the Democratic party lost control of the Board of Aldermen, that body voted to submit to the people a proposal to elect aldermen by wards. The Republican-elect mayor, Judge William D. Becker, campaigned earnestly for ward elections. Except for occasional letters to the people there was no mention of P. R. On June 7 a speaker at the Summer School of Catholic Action, which included a course on P. R., said: "St. Louis on September 16 must choose between elections at large by the block system and the wards election, both historically discredited in St. Louis. This is a choice between liver and limburger when we could just as easily get caviar by including P. R. as one of the alternatives." On this day all three St. Louis newspapers and the Mayor were publicly committed to the ward election.

On June 11 Willard Shelton of the *Star-Times* said editorially: "No single action by Mayor Becker would more greatly advance the cause of good government in St. Louis than the adoption of the suggestion made last week, denouncing the proposal to elect the aldermen by wards, asking the Mayor to sponsor, as an alternative, the system of proportional representation."

On the same day as the *Star* editorial, the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis criticized ward elections in its periodical, praised P. R., and recalled the fact that the citizens' survey made by Griffenhagen and Associates, which was made public last February, had said: "No one feature of municipal government has contributed so much to the evils described by the general term ward politics as that of representation of wards instead of representation of the city as a whole. . . . P. R. merits consideration in this connection."

Somewhat like the 1912 Democratic National Convention in St. Louis, which burst into thunderous applause at the invocational "Lord's Prayer" because, as Chairman Olle James explained to the somewhat startled invocator, Archbishop Glennon, "they probably never heard it before," the Republican city administration, led by Mayor Becker—who got up at five o'clock in the morning to study P.R.—began an honest and earnest study of P.R.

An aldermanic committee of five was appointed to study the subject. In a spirit of fairness and open-mindedness they called before them on June 24 three known P.R. advocates—Ralph Blagden, managing editor of the *Star-Times*, Charleton Chute, director of the Governmental Research Institute, and Father Edward Dowling of the P.R. League.

On the morning of the hearing the *Globe-Democrat*, while praising P.R., said that it was too late now to get it on the September 16 ballot because of the impending recess of the aldermen and that July 15 would be the legal deadline. To counteract this the Governmental Research Institute's survey of national municipal experts, including Charles A. Beard, Arthur W. Bromage, Richard S. Childs, C. A. Dykstra, John A. Fairlie, Mayo Fesler, Harold F. Gosnell, Luther Gulick, Joseph P. Harris, Isidor Loeb, Norman MacDonald, Charles E. Merriam, W. E. Mosher, William B. Munro, Thomas H. Reed, Clarence E. Ridley, Lent D. Upson, Leonard D. White, and authorities of similar calibre, appeared just in time for the hearing.

The survey gave quotations from letters and said: "Probably the most important finding of this study . . . is the fact that not one of the specialists personally favored, as a first choice, the election of all a city's aldermen by wards. . . . The replies showed a marked preference for election of aldermen by P.R." Of the fifty-four answers received "twenty-seven . . . favored election by P.R., eighteen [others] indicated that they personally favored election at large, either with or without P.R."

At the hearing a suggestion was made that both the ward method and P.R. be submitted as was done in New York City in November 1936. It was also suggested that the fourteen aldermen who are to be elected in 1943 be chosen by P.R. for four-year terms at salaries of $4,800 a year, instead of the $1,800 now paid. The fourteen members whose terms will expire in 1945 would retain their seats at their present salaries until that time. After that the posts would cease to exist.

If any of the present members chose to run for one of the $4,800 posts, he could do so. If elected, he would start upon the new better-paid term and the seat he holds would be abolished. If he failed of election he would complete his present term without change.

As the REVIEW goes to press the aldermanic committee has announced a public hearing on P.R. for Tuesday, July 1.

The surprising open-mindedness of the city administration is almost the only asset the few P.R. advocates in St. Louis have. There is no popular grasp of or demand for P.R. here (although there is probably less of both for the alternatives to P.R.). Yet substantial values may well come out of the P.R. interest in St. Louis—the governmental research survey, the advertising of P.R. for the 1943 Missouri constitutional convention, and the lesson for P.R. advocates that a quiet, apparently ineffectual committee of P.R. folks should exist in every city to be ready for unexpected opportunities for P.R., such as developed one time in Wheeling, another time as a result of the Seabury investigation in New York City.

This is written on June 26, several days before the public hearing. The writer's guess is that P.R. will not get on the ballot in September. The hurdles of apathy, constitutional obscurity, statutory hazards look impossible, but the mood of the little handful of P.R. missionaries in St. Louis is that they would rather lose in a cause that must ultimately prevail than win in a cause that must ultimately lose.

REV. EDWARD DOWLING, S.J.
The Queen's Work, St. Louis

No Action in Illinois Senate

Although, following its defeat in the Illinois House of Representatives, legislation was introduced in the State Senate which would have permitted Illinois cities and villages to adopt P.R. and the manager plan by petition and popular vote, action was blocked by failure to secure attendance of a quorum at scheduled committee hearings. The proposal therefore died in committee.

This year's bills would have permitted the adoption of P.R. not only in connection with the city manager plan, as previously reported in this department, but also in connection with a mayor and small council plan of government. In the latter case the corresponding Hare system of preferential voting was provided for the election of the mayor. P.R. did not have to be proposed with either plan but could be proposed by petition, in which case it was provided that it should be submitted separately and take effect if both the plan of government submitted and the P.R. question were approved by the voters.

Among the organizations which supported the Illinois enabling legislation this year were the Illinois district of the American Legion, Illinois Chamber of Commerce, Illinois Congress of

Parents and Teachers, Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, Illinois League of Women Voters, Illinois and Eastern-Iowa District of Kiwanis International, Insurance Brokers Association of Illinois, Illinois organization of the National Council of Jewish Women, and more than two hundred organizations in the city of Chicago.

P. R. Taught in Catholic Summer School

The Summer School of Catholic Action, conducted in various cities since 1931 under the auspices of *The Queen's Work*, The Sodality of Our Lady, St. Louis, lists this year one full course and some individual sessions dealing with P. R. under the leadership of Father Edward Dowling, S.J., associate director of the summer school, who contributed the article on the St. Louis situation earlier in this department.

The first summer school sessions were held at St. Louis University, June 9–14; future sessions are scheduled for Hotel William Penn, Pittsburgh, August 4–9; Boston College, Boston, August 11–16; Fordham University, New York, August 18–23; and Morrison Hotel, Chicago, August 25–30.

Father Dowling's special course on P. R. is subdivided as follows:

Monday: What is Proportional Representation?

Tuesday: History and Status of Proportional Representation.

Wednesday: Panacea or Menace?

Thursday: Opinion Quota versus Geographic Districts or Occupational Groups.

Friday: Fighting Parties or Coöperating Parts?

Saturday: A New Plan of Proportional Representation.

The Friday session of Father Dowling's course on "Social Tools" is devoted to "Proportional Representation Elections" and the Saturday session to "Proxy Revision Elections," a flexible form of P. R.

Wm. Allen White, H. L. Shattuck Join P. R. Council

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League (now functioning as a department of the National Municipal League) announce with satisfaction the acceptances of two distinguished citizens to fill vacancies on the League's advisory council, which serves as a group of official sponsors for the P. R. movement in the United States:

William Allen White of Emporia, Kansas, who holds a unique place of esteem among American publicists and who has long regarded proportional representation as one of the fundamental improvements needed to strengthen democracy; and

Henry L. Shattuck, member of the Boston city council, vice president of the National Municipal League, and acting president of Harvard University during the recent absence of President Conant on an official mission to England, a staunch supporter of P. R. who helped to secure the right of Boston citizens to adopt it for their council from this year's Massachusetts legislature.

Lord Parmoor

The Rt. Hon. Lord Parmoor, Lord President of the Council in the first British Labor party government in 1924, who died July 1 in Buckinghamshire at the age of eighty-eight, had been since 1925 an honorary vice-president of the American P. R. League. Starting as a Conservative member of the House of Commons and later elevated to the peerage with Liberal endorsement, Lord Parmoor had a long and influential career as a statesman and internationalist. He was the father of Sir Stafford Cripps, the present British ambassador to Russia. For many years he was chairman of the Executive Council of the British P. R. Society, in which capacity his honorary position with the American P. R. League signified the cordial coöperation that has always marked the relations between those working for P. R. in the two countries.

A Free Invitation from the P. R. League

This is a reminder of the invitation announced in our May issue for any member of the National Municipal League to become a member of the Proportional Representation League, Incorporated, without payment of additional dues, simply by sending a request to Elsie S. Parker, assistant secretary of the P.R. League, at the office of the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York City.

The P.R. work is being carried on, under an amalgamation agreement, as part of the regular work of the National Municipal League; but certain P.R. policies are determined from time to time by P.R. League members, and the trustees of the P.R. League would like to have all members of the National Municipal League who are interested in P.R. in a position to participate.

The P.R. League holds an annual membership meeting each fall, at which the progress of P.R. during the year is reported and discussed, at the time and place of the National Municipal League's Annual Conference on Government.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 396)

signed the constitution smugly or carelessly omitted any provision for the calling of another convention to revise it. So some "leaders" argue that it just simply can never be done.

Others urge Governor Edison, as the elected representative of all the people, to call a convention, leaving the legislature to continue its customary circumlocution.

It is difficult, of course, to convince the people of a state that their government costs more than it should largely because it has not, in its basic organization, kept pace with progress. They can drive around and see for themselves that they have roads, police and fire protection, many public offices and employees, and all the other customary appurtenances. The good that is being accomplished under government auspices is there for them to see every day, so it is easier for them to dismiss the recurrent scandals with a tolerant shrug.

But the people are, at last, learning something about the inadequacy of the old system. Speakers and publicity from the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention,[1] which has been established by civic and economic interests of the state, are beginning to penetrate indifference. They may yet be able to unfreeze Jersey's "democracy."

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[1] See also "Jersey Citizens Work for Constitutional Convention," p. 442 this issue.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Public Personnel Administration (Revised Edition). By William E. Mosher and J. Donald Kingsley. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1941. x, 671 pp. $5.

Through this reviewer, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW gave to the first edition of this book an enthusiastic welcome.[1] The book at that time filled a real gap in the literature on public administration. No less welcome is this revision which adds to the richness of the original volume the wealth of experience acquired in the field of public personnel administration in the period from 1934 to 1940.

All students of personnel administration recognize the trend that has been taking place over a long period of years in public personnel agencies, changing such agencies from mere devices to keep the spoilsmen out of government to arms of the administration exercising vital positive functions urgently required by operating departments, fiscal control agencies, and appropriating authorities.

Take the single function of classification of positions to which the authors devote a modest thirty-four pages. Without an adequate classification plan, it is impossible for the chief executive, the budget authority, the legislature, or citizen organization to see the governmental organization whole. Without such a plan, it is equally impossible for a career system to be devised which will provide for promotional opportunities within the service. Without such a plan, including job specifications, it is impossible to carry out an intelligent recruitment program. In brief, it is not going too far to say that position classification is the foundation of the public administrative structure. Yet it is within comparatively recent years that the real importance of classification as a personnel function has been recognized.

The flow of progress in the public personnel field has been tremendously rapid in the last few years—indeed, the publishers are willing to venture the statement that there have been more advances within these few years (since the issuance of the first edition) than in the preceding fifty. The new edition records these advances and provides the reader with a living textbook on the subject of public personnel administration.

H. P. J.

Leaders for Adult Education. By Harry A. Overstreet and Bonaro W. Overstreet. New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. ix, 202 pp. $1.50.

Whether civic work is your vocation or your avocation this handbook by the Overstreets will give new meaning to your civic job.

The book is much more than a treatise on techniques in the adult education movement. The authors feel as well as think. They recognize a community when they see one—they also feel it. They know community leadership when they see it—and they feel that too.

From this keen sense of human values they weave into this little book the philosophy behind the job of welding a group of adults into a community.

Yes, there are chapters about specific steps adult education leaders ought to take. But those chapters start from the assumption that the leaders are human beings working among human beings. The Overstreets keep the forest in full view at all times, even when they're talking about the trees.

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[1] See issue for December 1936, p. 753.

Against the background of a well rounded philosophy on the function of adult education the authors sketch specific programs of action in the latter half of the book.

Of course the qualifications of the authors to deal with their subject need no comment.

E. N. T.

The Municipal Year Book, 1941. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1941. x, 662 pp. $5.00.

The *Municipal Year Book for 1941* continues the reputation of its predecessors, published each year since 1934, as being the outstanding single authoritative source of vital information about American cities. Carefully edited and with its vast fund of information arranged for ready reference, the volume contains more than 100,000 statistical facts about the 2,042 cities of over 5,000 population.

Besides the usual accounts of developments in the various fields of municipal activity, new sections this year include debt and retirement plans, credit unions, electric plants, airports, health departments, and sewer rentals.

The *Year Book* is an indispensable source of information for students of government, governmental researchers, and public officials. It answers almost every conceivable question about the administration of American municipalities—information which a few years ago was spottily available and then only as the result of individual researches. The information was contributed by four thousand public officials and two hundred other authorities.

A. W.

Black Belt County—Rural Government in the Cotton Country of Alabama. By Karl A. Bosworth. University, Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1941. vii, 114 pp.

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama is initiating a series of case studies of typical Alabama county governments. *Black Belt County*, the first of the series, is believed to reveal the picture as found in approximately ten counties in the state.

Because of the intimate nature of the study, the names of persons and places are fictitious, and even the many photographs come from outside the county, although they have been selected as being illustrative of local conditions.

Although the farm population of the black belt section is 95 per cent colored, the significance of the title lies in the color of the soil and not in that of the county's residents. Mr. Bosworth gives an intimate, informative, and very readable account of the problems and processes of county government in an area that is attempting to bridge the transition from a collapsed cotton aristocracy to some new form of social order based on diversified agriculture.

E. A. M.

Urban Planning and Land Policies. (Volume II of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee.) Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1939. v, 366 pp. $1.

Belatedly there is now published a compilation of the results of three basically important studies by consultants who assisted in the work of the Urbanism Committee, headed by Clarence A. Dykstra, leading to the transmittal in 1937 to President Roosevelt by the National Resources Committee of its report on *Our Cities—Their*

Role in the National Economy. Volume I of the supplementary report on *Urban Government*, was published in 1939. The present volume also carries that date, but appeared only this year. It is in three parts, distinct in subject-matter, but mutually related.

The first portion, somewhat longer than either of the others, is a storehouse of information on practical planning achievements in 144 communities where comprehensive planning has been possible; twenty-nine of these are described in some detail including communities developed by governmental, industrial, real estate, philanthropic, and other agencies. This part of the volume is by Arthur C. Comey and Max S. Wehrly, with the coöperation of the Department of Regional Planning of Harvard University.

A relatively brief division of the entire volume is devoted to "Urban Living Conditions," prepared by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, with research assistance by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago and clerical aid by the NYA and the WPA. It deals with economic and sociological aspects of housing, and the physical characteristics of existing urban dwellings throughout the nation.

The third division, on "Urban Land Policies," embodies a far-reaching investigation and presentation of fundamentals of public policy, reflected in law and in practice, which have conditioned and continue to affect urban development in the United States, with proposals for progress. It has been prepared with painstaking and discerning care by Harold S. Buttenheim, assisted by four other experts in planning, housing, and taxation. This concluding portion deals with the obstacles, and their possible remedies, to the comprehensive achievement of orderliness, efficiency, and practical beauty in existing cities. The obstacles and remedies include liberty, license, and control in the use of land; the system of land ownership, private and public; blight, slums, neighborhood planning and other rehabilitation; and the role of taxation of real estate or land values in hindering or helping effective city planning.

H. M. O.

Caravans to the Northwest. By John Blanchard (under the direction of the Northwest Regional Council). Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. 123 pp. illus. $1.90.

The author of *Caravans to the Northwest* is awake to the fact that all the lore of the advertising man, industriously garnered these many years by the commercial researchers in order to devise better ways to sell stockings, soap, refrigerators, and deodorants, has lain till now neglected by those who have to sell research and knowledge. Mr. Blanchard has taken steps to remedy the neglect. His book is a collection of economic, political, and sociological facts, vital in the future development of the great Pacific Northwest. He addresses himself to the layman, to whom he deems these facts important. And he does it well by means of pictures and drawings, charts and graphs, trick layouts, slick paper, dramatic color combinations, and vivid words in big type. In short, he has unwrapped the whole bag of tricks of the commercial salesman.

Traditionally-minded researchers are sure to be shocked by *Caravans to the Northwest.* There are no footnotes, nor does Mr. Blanchard go out of his way to cite chapter and verse in appendices or by any other scholarly means. He believes documentation belongs in the files when the man in the street is to be approached.

One thing is certain. Some may disapprove of *Caravans to the Northwest,* but no one will be bored.

M. R.

Additional Books and Reports

Defense

Defense on Main Street. A Guidebook for Local Activities for Defense and Democracy. By Council for Democracy and National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc. New York City, 1941. 88 pp. 25 cents.[1]

Interstate Trade Barriers

Interstate Trade Barriers. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. (The Reference Shelf, Vol. 14, No. 2.) New York City, H. W. Wilson Co., 1940. 215 pp. $1.25.

Interstate Trade Barriers. By Roy V. Peel. Berkeley, California, United States Department of Agriculture, Division of Program Study and Discussion, 1940. 12 pp. mimeo.

What Can Be Done About Trade Barriers. Excerpts from Addresses before Tax Institute Symposium on "Tax Barriers to Trade." Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 16 pp. 25 cents.

Legislation

Committee System of the Illinois General Assembly. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. ii, 23 pp. mimeo.

Current Ideas in 1939 State Legislatures. A Review of Bills Introduced and Laws Enacted During the Year. Compiled by Margaret W. Stewart. Washington, D. C., United States Superintendent of Documents, 1941. 86 pp. 10 cents.

Second Biennial Report of the Illinois Legislative Council. Submitted to The Legislature December 1940. Compiled by William F. Gibbs. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 37 pp.

Payroll Systems

A Centralized Payroll System for Our State Government. By Alvin A. Burger and G. G. Tegnell. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1941. 24 pp. mimeo.

Personnel

Changes in State and National Government and Their Significance for the Civil Service. By Roy V. Peel. Berkeley, California, United States Department of Agriculture, Division of Program Study and Discussion, 1940. 13 pp. mimeo.

Civil Service in Massachusetts. By Mrs. Fritz J. Roethlisberger. Amherst, Bureau of Public Administration, Massachusetts State College, 1940. 6 pp. mimeo.

The Human Element in Personnel Management. By Lawrence A. Appley. Washington, D. C., Society for Personnel Administration, 1941. 34 pp. 35 cents.

Planning

Federal Aids to Local Planning. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. vii, 151 pp. 30 cents.

Primers, Manuals, and Elementary Works on Planning. A Selected Bibliography. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo. 10 cents.

Politics

Negro Political Behavior. A Bibliography. Compiled by George Snowden. Bloomington, The Institute of Politics, Indiana University, 1941. 19 pp. mimeo. 10 cents.

Political Action Groups in New Hampshire. Summary of the Proceedings of the Third Institute of Public Affairs of the University of New Hampshire. Edited by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi. Durham, University of New Hampshire, 1940. 48 pp.

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[1] For a review of this publication see p.

Political Polls. A New Power in Politics. By Roberts Chickering and Douglas Clack. Bloomington, Institute of Politics, Indiana University, 1941. 7 pp. mimeo.

The Old Deal and the New. By Charles A. Beard and George H. E. Smith. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940. 294 pp. $2.

Purchasing

Centralized Purchasing in New York. By Stanley W. Zeitlin. New York City, Department of Investigation, 1940. iii, 35 pp. mimeo.

Recall

Recall: A Bibliography of Material in the John R. Haynes Collection. Compiled by Josephine Ver Brugge Zeitlin. Los Angeles, California, The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, 1941. 41 pp. 50 cents.

Recreation

Development of Public Recreation in Metropolitan Chicago. By Elizabeth Halsey. Chicago, Chicago Recreation Commission, 1940. xii, 334 pp. $1. (Apply to Municipal Reference Bureau, City Hall, Chicago.)

Safety

Committee on Tests for Intoxication, 1940 Report. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1940. 35 pp.

Bicycle Safety. Final Report of Committee on Bicycle Problems. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1941. 31 pp.

Taxation and Finance

A Basic Financial and Improvement Plan for the City of Dallas, Texas. By James W. Aston, City Manager, Dallas, 1940. ix, 56 pp.

Debt Limits. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Exemption of Food under Sales Tax Statutes. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. ii, 29 pp. mimeo.

Functions and Duties of Town Finance Committees (Massachusetts). By Danforth W. Comins. Amherst, Bureau of Public Administration, Massachusetts State College, 1941. 10 pp. mimeo.

Income Tax Productivity. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Minnesota Taxes. St. Paul, Minnesota Taxpayers Association, 1941. 26 pp.

Over-All Tax Limitation. The Problem of Application in Kansas, and a Summary of the Laws of Other States. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1941. 45 pp. mimeo.

Real Estate Tax Delinquency and Tax Foreclosure Suits. Report of the Taxation Committee. Chicago, City Club, 1941. 11 pp.

Reorganization of Kansas State Financial Administration. Possible Plans for Revision of Present System, Structural and Procedural Changes Involved, and Problems for Legislative Consideration. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1940. 70 pp. mimeo.

Revenue Bonds. By Frederick L. Bird. Los Angeles, Calif., The Haynes Foundation, 1941. 45 pp. Fifteen cents.

State Fiscal Capacity of Maryland and Other Selected States. By V. J. Wyckoff and Wm. Paul Walker. College Park, University of Maryland, 1940. 40 pp.

Tax-Rate Limits and Assessment Ratios, 1925-1940. Chicago, Illinois Tax Commission, 1940. 180 pp.

The Shape of Taxes to Come. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 16 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930-1940, Cities of over 50,000 Population.[1] By

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[1] For further description of this publication see this REVIEW for May 1941, p. 306.

Frederick L. Bird. New York City, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1941. 38 pp. $2.00.

Unemployment Relief

The Administration of Federal Work Relief. By Arthur W. Macmahon, John D. Millett, and Gladys Ogden. Chicago, Public Administration Service (for the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council), 1941. x, 407 pp. $3.75.

Youth Work Programs. Problems and Policies. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1941. xi, 195 pp. $1.75.

Voting

Absentee Voting. Types of Absent Voting Laws and Summary of Present Procedures in the Various States. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1941. iii, 21 pp.

Zoning

Municipalities and Airport Zoning. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1941. 15 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

Twenty Years Zoning in Kansas (1921-1941). Reporting Kansas' zoning experiences and achievements, the state zoning laws with court decisions thereon, together with the author's observations. By Albert B. Martin. Lawrence, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1941. 35 pp. $2.50.

WINNING THE BILLBOARD WAR

(Continued from Page 411)

duced in your own state legislature, and support it all the way through. If no such bill has been introduced, get a copy of the model drawn up by the American Automobile Association and endorsed by the National Roadside Council, and have a reliable and friendly legislator introduce that. Get it out of committee, and voted upon in open session. If your state is fortunate and this has been done, look over your regulatory laws and see where they can be strengthened. It is much easier to amend an old law than to pass a new one.

In sum, hit them where it hurts most.

THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

(Continued from Page 408)

explain to their constituents, especially where a saving in local taxes is indicated.

Functional consolidation has not much attraction for the crusader. It is no white charger on which one can ride triumphantly to a resounding victory. It works like the mole, undermining the small and incompetent units. The time will come when, the mining and sapping having been carried far enough, our anachronistic and unwieldy system of local government areas will quietly collapse and a more rational system emerge.

Editor's Note:—Dr. Reed's article above is the last of a series on metropolitan problems. All of the articles will be available shortly in a volume entitled *City Growing Pains—A Series of Discussions of Metropolitan Area Problems.*

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Boss Hague's Dictatorship Challenge

Editorial

A Researcher in Politics

Miriam Roher

Letters from Men in Action II

J. T. Salter

Power Projects Pay Tax Losses

Alex T. Edelmann

Philadelphia's Income Tax

Edward W. Carter and Edward B. Shils

Maine's Political Chickens Come Home to Roost

Edward F. Dow

August 1941 Vol. XXX, No.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

President Winant Appoints Nominating Committee

On his recent brief visit to this country President Winant, now U. S. Ambassador to Great Britain, appointed the following committee for nomination of League officers to be voted upon at the League's annual meeting this fall: Carl H. Pforzheimer, the League's Treasurer, *Chairman;* E. A. Cottrell, Stanford University; Clarence Francis, president of General Foods Corporation and formerly commissioner of finance of Bronxville, New York; George H. Gallup, founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion; and H. C. Loeffler, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D. C. The committee has recently had one meeting and another will be held within a short time.

Russell Watson New Council Member

President Winant and the League's Executive Committee announce the election of one additional member to the League's Council, **Russell E. Watson** of New Brunswick, New Jersey, attorney and civic leader, who has been actively identified with the Princeton Local Government Survey and other improvement efforts in his state.

Death Takes Two League Members

Two prominent members of the National Municipal League have been taken by death recently. Theron McCampbell, farmer, former assemblyman, newspaper columnist, and aggressive advocate of governmental improvement in New Jersey, died August 5 as a result of injuries received in an automobile accident. Cyrus Kehr, veteran patent lawyer and pioneer in national planning, died July 14 in Washington, D. C., at the age of eighty-five. Mr. Kehr was one of the earliest advocates of a network of super-highways connecting large centers by the shortest routes.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

May I protest against the omission of college citizenship training from the program of the Conference on American Self-government. The induction year for citizenship is age twenty-one, when the most intelligent, most energetic, and most ambitious youth are in college. How pathetic that this conference, which was 50 per cent a university group, should tell the high school and the non-collegiate adult groups how to train for citizenship, but neglect to scrutinize their own classroom program to see if they are really teaching anything that could be called a "final course in citizenship training for college students."

Fortunately, at the mid-western meeting of political scientists at Pokagon Park, Indiana, in May James K. Pollock and Paul H. Douglas pointed out the seriousness of our neglect to teach practical politics as the most vital part of political science instruction.

Looking back over more than twenty years, I can see a steady trend in the direction of appreciation of the need for a final practical course in citizenship training for college students, but the trend is so slow as to be almost glacial in its velocity.

Just as Russell Forbes is reported to be spending all of his energy to run a great purchasing department the way he said in his books that it should be run, so am I spending all my energy in seeing to it that the seventeen sections of our "Effective Citizenship" course are conducted so as to accomplish the objectives worked out during the past two decades. Laboratory instruction involves a lot of work, about the same amount of work whether it be in chemistry, biology, or citizenship training. However, the question is not how much does it cost—or how much extra work is involved? Rather, is it worth as much to achieve insight into the political processes and to learn certain essential techniques for effective citizenship in a democracy as it is to achieve insight into the biological processes and to learn certain techniques essential to effective personal hygiene and sanitation? Categorically we all answer "Yes!" But practically we say "No!" because there are not a dozen colleges or universities in the United States that provide what may legitimately be called "a final course in citizenship" for all students, whereas nearly every college and university does offer a final course in personal hygiene for all students.

I was asked to be chairman of the Citizenship Day program which was held recently in the University Field House for the Toledo area. I wished this job onto others both because I did not have the time to do it justice (being already on a draft board) and also because I was already sold on the program and I thought it desirable to have other citizens of Toledo sold on it by the process of participation.

I insist, however, that this one big annual Citizenship Day, with its very brief training for new citizens, is no contribution to the citizenship training of college students! Isn't it about time that we stop trying to teach citizenship by mere "manipulation of words" and rely on more thorough and more effective methods of training! Self-government is much more than an idea and a set of principles, it is a habit of doing things day in and day out. This can never be taught by mere "manipulation of words."

The future of democratic government for the next hundred years, perhaps for the next thousand years, depends on the effectiveness of democratic government in the United States in this generation. University political scientists are meeting this challenge so far as research in and training for public administration are concerned. Are we meeting this challenge as regards training every college student for effective participation in a democratic society under a constitutional government?

O. Garfield Jones
University of Toledo

GRA to Meet in September

The Governmental Research Association will hold its annual conference at the Princeton Inn, Princeton, New Jersey, on September 3, 4, and 5. The program is being arranged by the executive committee of the association of which William C. Beyer, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, is chairman. It will include a symposium on probable future developments in citizen research agencies, a "quiz program" session on the problems of such agencies, and sessions on the rehabilitation of blighted areas, improvements in the process of budgeting, and possible improvements in forms of municipal government.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Boss Hague's Dictatorship Challenged

AT LAST the "impossible" has happened in New Jersey. A strong man, so prominent he can't be beaten by thugs and thrown into jail, so clean his character cannot be besmirched, and so firmly implanted in a position of power that he cannot be run out of the state, has challenged the rule of Boss "I Am the Law" Hague.

Charles Edison is the first governor of recent memory who has been bold enough to declare his independence of the ruthless ruler who holds the destinies of debt-burdened, overtaxed but contented Jersey City in his hands and who seems able always to deliver in Hudson County such votes as are needed to determine the results of either a local or state-wide election. The Governor himself was, it is fair to say, elected by Hague. Without the thumping plurality from Hagueland, Edison would have lost.

But now the Governor appears to have embarked on a total war to stamp out Hagueism; and all those who abhor boss rule are applauding and lining up for ringside seats. Even many of those who oppose Edison's party label feel much the same as the remaining democratic world does about the war—that it doesn't matter who licks Hitler, everybody's welcome. Hague, himself, probably smiled out of the corner of his mouth over Edison's campaign promise that he would, if elected, take orders only from his own conscience. Everyone knew it was within Hague's power to decide who would be governor. So it was a momentous surprise, even an outright challenge, when the new governor, instead of inquiring whether the Jersey City boss had another son or friend who wanted to be a judge, quietly appointed a man who was anathema to Hague. In the open war which followed, the Governor defeated the Hague forces in a legislative fight on the ten-year-old railroad tax issue, with the result, if Hague's state-wide advertising campaign is to be believed, that Jersey City will lose a big chunk of tax revenue; and even Jersey City couldn't very well continue to love Hague if the real property tax went higher than its present staggering 52.18.

Hague and his henchmen stormed, and threatened Edison with political oblivion. The Governor, a successful business man who scarcely could be interested in the kind of financial gain peculiar to Hague's methods and who has an honored name to live up to, calmly replied that he believed local governments must, because they are closest to the people, be the truest examples of honest, democratic government and that they should be led by the highest type of citizen. Hague, he added, fails to measure up as a leader for any governmental division of a democracy and therefore should be liquidated.

Now it shouldn't be assumed that

Hague is so much of a "dese and dose guy" that the significance of this utterance was lost on him. With a grand—and insincere—gesture, he offered to "bestow" the party leadership on Edison, who calmly replied that such leadership was not Hague's but the people's to give. So Hague promptly decided he needed another vacation and headed west although it hasn't been very long since he returned from wintering at his verdant estate in Florida and he hadn't much more than dusted off his lush New Jersey seashore estate for the summer. Meanwhile, a fellow commissioner (one of the four who give the appearance, at least, of tending to business) issued a pledge of fealty which closed touchingly, "We are true blue to Frank Hague."

Although the New Jersey battle is somewhat reminiscent of the 1939 Missouri episode in that a governor was one of those who initiated the unseating and imprisonment of Boss Pendergast of Kansas City, there is no indication of possible court action in connection with Frank Hague's admitted great wealth. Rather, it seems probable that Governor Edison will seek in the autumn legislative elections to advance the issues of boss rule and the holding of a convention to revise the state's century-old constitution. The struggle more nearly recalls Woodrow Wilson's renunciation of the dominant bosses during his service as governor of New Jersey just prior to his reaching national prominence.

Comparisons are superfluous, however; it would be glory enough for any man and reason enough for his people to be everlastingly grateful if he should simply be able to hang Hague's bald scalp to his belt.

Improvement in Atlantic City

AT THE risk of devoting too much attention to one state, it should be mentioned that Enoch L. Johnson, Atlantic City and southern New Jersey political boss for the last thirty years, has been convicted of income tax fraud. Johnson, although theoretically of the opposing political party, was reputed to work harmoniously with Frank Hague in arranging the state's destinies. It is small credit to the perspicacity of the voters of Atlantic City that, despite the prodigious debt, the amazingly high taxes, and the fact that Johnson's questionable activities were common knowledge, they left to a federal jury the task of dealing with the man who openly admitted that in two years he collected $124,000 to protect the numbers racket.

In sentencing Johnson to pay a $20,000 fine and serve ten years in prison, Judge Albert B. Maris took cognizance of the plea that the prisoner had "helped many people" by saying he did it "for selfish motives, to perpetuate himself in power out of funds which cost him nothing." He added: "The jury has found, and I think quite properly that the defendant has set an example of cheating and defrauding his government which is to say the least, a shocking one."

A Researcher in Politics

Being the story of a practical political scientist who believes that "politics should be the highest calling there is."

By **MIRIAM ROHER**
National Municipal Review

ARTHUR HARRIS' story sounds like an extremely modern version of the old newsboy-to-industrial magnate epic that used to sell paper-covered books for Horatio Alger and Frank L. Patten. He did not exactly rise from rags and there may be no fabulous riches in the picture, now or ever, but there is the germ of the spectacular in the tale of the young political scientist who, without organized political backing, and without money for that matter, rose up to do battle with a heretofore invincible group of "city fathers"—and came out victorious.

Harris is the youngest man ever elected to the city council of Berkeley, California, a community that likes to call itself, and with considerable reason, the best governed in the United States. He is also the first man in twelve years to beat out an incumbent running for re-election there. He is also a governmental researcher of standing, for three years the legislative representative of the University of California's Bureau of Public Administration. And finally, he happens to be, to coin a phrase, tall, dark, and handsome.

The subject objects to the tag, "Boy Politico Makes Good"—he is well under thirty and his age was bandied about in an abortive whispering campaign during the late election—but he does not mind being headlined a "Practical Political Scientist." He believes in practical political science.

"Politics should be the highest calling there is," he thinks. "Politicians are doing a job for the people. Why should we feel that a politician is someone who could never make good at anything else? These days, to do his work properly, a legislator has to know more than the art of dealing out political plums. The trouble is that the American people have usually thought of a politician as a guy in a derby hat and a checkered suit going around kissing babies. That hasn't been true in Berkeley and in plenty of other cities as well."

Perhaps it was these ideas that caused Mr. Harris to heed the call which came to him last spring. He doesn't know just when he did get the notion of going into politics (there is a family legend that Grandpa almost ran for mayor of San Francisco once, so maybe it is in the blood). In any event, when the lightning struck it found a readily ignitable young man.

The Berkeley situation was ripe for a new face, this spring of 1941. It might be said that it was a case of good government with hardening of the arteries. Berkeley is a comfortable residential city, 85,000 in population, near San Francisco, and is considerably influenced by the University of California whose campus it harbors. There has been little vice, crime, or graft in this eminently superior community, and even when the manager plan was adopted, way back in 1923, it was not a question of good government but of still better government.

By 1941 Berkeley's good government was not only habitual but was showing signs of being habit-forming. Not since 1929 had the people exercised their democratic franchise in local elections—which is, at least, the way Arthur Harris put it in his campaign talks and releases. Berkeley's elected officials are eight city councilmen plus a ninth separately elected as mayor. Every biennium half the incumbents come up for reelection. But strangely, after 1929, there was never a new face among those victorious.

Not that the same council served Berkeley for twelve years. There were changes but they were made in the privacy of the family, as it were. Each tiring councilman resigned either before or after election, then was replaced—as per the city charter—by vote of the council, and being an old familiar name to the voters by the time the next election came around, he had an unbeatable advantage over brash newcomers without councilmanic experience. Harris made no charges as to the honesty or ability of any of the incumbents. He simply said they were a closed corporation, ergo, undemocratic.

The 1941 election was, as has been said, a natural for one who would break the spell of the office-holding group. There was no mayoralty campaign this time, making for less heat and perhaps more light to be shed on new talents. There was also a noticeable weakening of the lines of the Berkeley City Manager League, a civic organization whose chief function had been to re-elect the councilmanic incumbents in years past. Hardening of the arteries there, too, perhaps. There were other signs and portents, not apparent to those without political science in their blood but somehow clear enough to the young man who didn't want to "just sit back on the sidelines" in his university research office.

(In 1939 Arthur Harris had, from the researcher's sidelines, written a study of the working of city manager government in Berkeley for the Social Science Research Council which had called down on his head the wrath of city officials restless under the scrutiny of so youthful a critic.

Wears No Man's Collar

When in April friends called up from various parts of the city and suggested to Arthur Harris that he make a run for it in May, he was ready, with only one proviso. It was a strange proviso for a man much in need of campaign money and campaign backing. "I will run as an independent," said he, "without tying myself to any organization."

The theory back of this was sound, in the light of what happened later. Harris remembered that Berkeley, even as other communities, is a city with railroad tracks splitting it clean in two. On one side of the tracks is West Berkeley, industrial, working class, low income. In 1923, when the manager plan was up for adoption, most of West Berkeley voted it down because it was "one o' them hifalutin' schemes of the long haircuts." Straddling the tracks, which are the commuters' lifeline, is the business community, the group which, generally speaking, stood behind the incumbent councilmen via the aforementioned Berkeley City Manager League. On the east side of the tracks is the university community and the well-to-do people who live in Berkeley's beautiful hills. A newcomer, reasoned Arthur Harris, had better draw votes from every section of the city rather than rely on one area, for each economic layer already had its favorites. Any organized group would be sure to represent one area only. Therefore, he would "wear no man's collar." Rather, he offered himself for the approval of all, even venturing inside the ranks of the Berkeley City Manager League.

This was one political campaign in which the young and the "scientific" had their say instead of remaining wistfully in the ivory tower. Harris' board of strategy was made up of the people who write treatises for the Bureau of Public Administration on such subjects as probation, fiscal procedure, and defense councils. (The candidate himself had to his credit monographs on labor relations, self-help coöperatives, mediation and arbitration, direct primaries, low-cost housing, and administrative decisions and judicial review.)

They conducted themselves as political scientists should, i.e., they used in practice what they had learned in study. They started a chain telephoning system, each one calling up all his friends and asking each friend to call up all *his* friends. The day before election they called once more, made each friend promise to be responsible for getting to the polls twenty-five of those who had been called earlier. They went to everyone they knew and asked for campaign contributions. They addressed postcards to five thousand people drawn from lists supplied, in turn, by certain key individuals in the city who wanted Arthur Harris to win. They helped write newspaper releases and they gave advice on speeches. And when the time came to count the votes they acted as watchers at the polls.

Leaders Support Him

Harris didn't rely alone on the "University Committee to Elect Arthur Harris," as the researchers were jocularly known in private. In 1940 he had happened to make certain acquaintances who stood him in good stead in 1941. In 1940 it had been a question of a bond issue for a Berkeley civic center in which leaders from every part of the city had been interested. Harris helped with publicity and promotion for this campaign and in 1941 certain of those he met in the course of the work were glad to help a young man of his stamp. A pillar of the Chamber of Commerce turned out to be a pillar of the Arthur Harris campaign, contributing money and support in the right area. A prominent attorney who lived in the hills was also interested. A popular leader in West Berkeley was taken with the young man. And so it happened that each of these local lights was advising his friends to vote for so-and-so and for Arthur Harris. The first mentioned names were different in the case of each leader. But the name Arthur Harris was included by all.

A happening the day before the election is said to have been the decisive factor in Harris' victory. He still gets a proud gleam in his eye as he tells about it. A sudden telephone call came from the publisher of the *Berkeley Gazette,* the city's only daily. "Come on over here, I want to show you something," said the publisher. What he showed him was the lead editorial for that day's *Gazette,* which read as follows:

> *Arthur Harris*
>
> Included in the *Gazette's* recommendations for the election tomorrow is the name of Arthur Harris, an independent candidate.
>
> The *Gazette's* considered recommendation springs from these factors:
>
> 1. His public and private statements have been sane and constructive.
> 2. He has had the courage to campaign vigorously under discouraging circumstances.
> 3. His attitude and experience will make him a valuable addition to the Council.
> 4. He considers the post important enough to work earnestly for it.
> 5. He wears no other man's collar.
> 6. He has won high praise from university officers for his work in the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California.
> 7. It is high time that members of the Council be elected initially by the people rather than placed therein by appointment.

Never before had the *Berkeley Gazette* endorsed an untried candidate. There are many who attribute the victory to that editorial alone.

In other respects it was no different from any other municipal campaign. Like runners of the electoral treadmill from time immemorial, Harris made a glad-handing appearance at innumerable clambakes, teas, luncheons, meetings, and perhaps even a sewing circle or two. He made speeches on the two issues of his campaign: the "closed corporation" argument and the matter of a new pension system for city employees, a question which he treated with a subtle combination of learning and common sense, thus managing to please civil servants and the taxpaying economy bloc alike (toward the end of the campaign he made the front page of the *Gazette* on both issues).

A Plea with Every Suit

He had humorous encounters with his supporters. Once he dropped into a tailor shop at which one of his cohorts had left a batch of "Harris for Councilman" cards for distribution to the customers. The little tailor had never met Harris before, but he was a "friend of a friend" and that was enough for him.

"Just thought I'd see if you need any more cards," Harris suggested.

"Sure, sure!" said the tailor enthusiastically, "I could use plenty more. See what I do? Every suit which goes out of here cleaned or pressed, one of your cards goes in the breast pocket." He beamed proudly, "You see this suit here? It belongs to xxx"—he mentioned the name of one of the spark plugs of the Berkeley City Manager League.

"Well," said Harris uneasily, "you know he's working against me—maybe you'd better not."

The little tailor banged his fist emphatically on the counter. "He's working against you? I put two cards in his pocket!"

When the votes were counted Arthur Harris had beaten out one of the four incumbents running for reelection, as well as a woman from the "hill" district, a business man, an attorney, a Negro janitor, and two Communists. He got 8,800 of the 18,600 votes cast, 600 ahead of the incumbent he beat, 1,000 less than the next highest successful candidate. To celebrate, the newly elected councilman opened a law book—in addition to holding down a full time job at the Bureau of Public Administration he goes to law school at night and exams were coming up.

What makes Arthur Harris tick? That question, perhaps, is even more interesting than the story of a good government town in middle age, or the tale of a spectacular political campaign. What is it that brings a young man who is a scientist rather than a politician to political prominence at—sh—such a tender age?

Perhaps the recipe is in the earlier life of the subject in question. He was born in San Francisco—not of a pioneer family, however—on April 18 of a year which he does not care to specify, the anniversary of Paul Revere's ride and of the San Francisco fire.

By the age of eleven he had his first job, as store delivery boy for the swank San Francisco jewelry shop of Shreve, Treat and Eacret where, by fifteen, being exceptionally tall for his age, he was a salesman. His chief *faux pas* in this latter position, he recalls, was selling a silver spoon for a shoehorn. How did he happen to land at Shreve's, of all places? "I figured out that most of the kids would be trying the department stores; there was less competition at a store like that." An interesting deduction for an eleven-year-old.

The councilmanic job is not the first time Harris has been on the public payroll, either. After hours, as a high school boy, he worked for the city of San Francisco as a shelver in the public library; Berkeley took him on in the same capacity after he came to college there.

During college he continued, in a variety of curious jobs, to aid in his mother's support, his father having died when he was a small child. One of these positions was as a matcher and polisher of football shoes in the students' training quarters. While earning money Harris found time also to earn A's and student offices. He emerged from the undergraduate four years in 1936 with the student body presidency, a public administration major, and a Phi Beta Kappa Key. He made the commencement address.

After a year of graduate work and an M.A. in consequence, Harris embarked upon his career in the Bureau of Public Administration, which involves not only research and the writing of technical reports on governmental matters, but also time spent in Sacramento buttonholing state legislators to find out what subjects they want the bureau to write about next. On the side he does consulting work for various California cities, his last such job hav-

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Letters from Men in Action II

"While the Republican party organization man seems to roost on the voter's doorstep, the amazing Roosevelt has become one of the family."

By **J. T. SALTER**
University of Wisconsin

I HAVE given my politician friends an injunction that Lincoln once used when he asked a friend to report a convention to him: "Write just what you would talk, but wouldn't print." I have received many spot letters since the last presidential election that throw light on the democratic process of today. The letters[1] I am using are as real as talk; they are from Republican division leaders, and one Democratic ward leader, in Philadelphia. They indicate that the voter is no longer the obedient servant of the modern heirs to the political power of James M'Manes, Israel Durham, Boies Penrose, and Bill Vare. Where in the old past they would trade their vote for a hand clasp or a favor, now they use it to protect a way of life dear to them.

The laboring people, for example, along with the authentic members of the Union League Club, always voted Republican before the Depression. Now the workers and poor people generally are interested in the party of Franklin Roosevelt, because they are convinced that he and his administration are interested in them. And their Republican division leader—the very one who used "to domesticate the universal" for them, could not tell them differently. Now the voters have their eyes set on something far beyond the boundaries of their division and ward. Maybe there is politics in politics after all.

Several years ago, when I wrote *Boss Rule: Portraits in City Politics,* I said: "The powerful division leader's part in the formulation of public opinion . . . is similar to the action of neutralizers in chemistry or of insulators in electricity." My point was that the division leader gained the support of voters because he did favors for them throughout the year, but he usually refrained from discussing public questions with them. And in the past—before Roosevelt—it was often possible to do this because the public question, or the opposition candidate, was way off there—too far away to be meaningful to the lone voter. His division leader—Tony Nicollo—was near at hand, but a John W. Davis and a James M. Cox were shadowy figures, or just names without individual significance. More often than not the metropolitan voter in congested districts saw the issue of the campaign in this fashion—Tony Nicollo vs. X (the unknown).

But it was different in 1940. I quote a bright energetic law school graduate who has been actively working for the Republican ticket in Philadelphia since 1930.

"As you must know, the results of the election were quite a disappointment. The defeat of Mr. Willkie was bad enough, but losing the state really hurt. The auditor-general's and the state treasurer's offices were at stake, and believe me, I do mean "steak" or should I have said "pork." These offices were won by the Democrats four years ago when the Great White Father ran for his second term, and if we Republicans could have recaptured them now (as we hoped to), we would have really won something. Patronage has been pretty scarce for the Democrats since they lost the state two years ago and the loss of these two offices would have completely demoralized the local organization. That's that!

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[1] For a further discussion of these and other letters see my article, "American Politics: Reports from Men in Action," *University of Toronto Quarterly,* July 1941.

"As far as arguments from voters are concerned, there weren't any, at least downtown.

They Knew What They Wanted

"The voters wanted Roosevelt. They wouldn't listen to arguments or reasons which might dissuade them from their fealty to Mr. Big. We weren't dealing with voters who might be influenced by reasoning, we were confronted by an '*emotion.*' I don't think Roosevelt could have done *anything* prior to the election which would have swerved them from their determination to vote for him. Their's was the blind, unyielding belief that 'the King can do no wrong.'

"Conscription, alien fingerprinting and registration, and suggested mass calisthenics—all smacking of a foreign flavor—in no way concerned them [the voters]. The same policies, suggested by anyone else, would have caused an outcry of 'Hitlerism.' But anything Mr. Big did or does is O. K. They just have no fear where he is concerned. And this went too, so far as the 'third term' question was concerned."

The next letter is from Jim Terral, a Republican ward politician in a section of Philadelphia known as the tenderloin. Jim is the graduate of a grade B university, has an alert brain, a quick eye, and an indefinite number of constituents who believe with Emerson that a good man must not obey the law too well. Since Mr. Terral knows that "the law is only a memorandum" he and his people work well together. He is prepared to do what it takes to win, but he found Hitler and Willkie too big a liability in his Jewish division. Past favors counted not at all in face of present fear.

"While on the whole it is believed the Republican presidential candidate of 1940 made a better run than the like candidate of 1936, to us along the waterfront area in Philadelphia it was much worse, more uncontrollable, more disastrous, more bitter, and more humiliating.

"In 1936 Hitler had not yet taken over Czechoslovakia, Poland, or any of the other countries from which hail the dwellers in our area. Roosevelt in that year had not yet incurred the full hatred of the Dictators. Landon had innuendos of backing by the Nazis and Fascists, but compared to what was here blasted at Willkie the 1936 tone was merely a whisper.

"Also we had to deal with the 'reliefers' who were afraid they would have to again sell apples. Too, the defense boom gave jobs to some in the Navy Yard and Arsenal, let alone the promises the Democrats made to get these jobs. This meant whole families switched to protect their 'good fortune.' Even the fact that Willkie promised to continue the defense measures was unavailing because the people believed 'Republicans always economize in wages paid to the public.'

"Finally, in the closing days of the campaign, Roosevelt had his 'Martin, Barton and Fish,' while we had our 'McCracken and Johnson.' You can realize what effect the McCracken 'bloomer' that 'only paupers will vote for Roosevelt' and General Johnson's Major Ginsburgh's 'Vy not?' had in our precincts. Really, in some divisions it was theatrical—the Democrats had shabbily dressed men wearing 'stove-pipe' hats with very large buttons announcing 'I am a pauper for Roosevelt.' Others had boxes of apples, not selling them, but giving them away.

"In my first canvass almost a month before the election I could readily see I would be beaten by 200, so set and bitter were the constituency. Therefore I worked on this angle with those doubtful ones I thought owed me some obligation. I told them I would lose the division by 200. I assured them I couldn't carry the division. Then I tried to impress upon them their vote for the Republican ticket would not affect the results in this division—Roosevelt would carry it—so deep in the hole am I. 'Now forget that Roosevelt or Willkie is running. I alone am running and I must put up some kind of a front.' Then I asked them if there was any reason why *I* should be humiliated by a 200 beating in view of the services and favors I had rendered and have been rendering. 'No' was the answer always. So I asked these to promise to pull the Republican lever for my sake only. 'In this way I shall be able to put up a respectable appearance—a beating by 150 or at best by 100.'

No Consideration

"These people, too, agreed that an outsider would look upon a 200 beating as a rebuke to a committeeman for not serving his people—a reflection upon the political worker—which wasn't true in my case. Nevertheless, I was beaten by 195 on the presidential end and by 186 on the state ticket. I knew all along that some of my 'friends' were lying in their word, but I never thought I wouldn't get any consideration. I admire a person who would tell me his convictions won't let him swerve, but to promise and think he has fooled me and has gotten away with it makes me uncontrollably 'mad.'

"Five hundred votes were cast in our precinct. Virtually all came out without being called. As I told you in 1936 when voters flock to the polls right away at the opening and continue all day, we know we are in for a trouncing. Nineteen thirty-six was mild compared to 1940's nightmare.

"I never saw the 'kids' take such an interest in an election as in this one. They were even more rabid in their partisanship than their parents. They even stood outside the polls all day hollering 'Roosevelt!'

Jim

"P. S. Big Mike R lost by three again—the same as in 1936."

Tom Cole, one of the nine characters in my book *Boss Rule: Por-*

traits in City Politics, has never gone to any university, but he often speaks of religion and has been the leader of his division for about fifty years. He tells me that F. D. R. is the only candidate who has ever beaten him.

"I must apologize for this belated reply, but I have been very busy cleaning up post-election details.

"The last two elections I carried the district for the Republican candidates from top to the bottom, but this man Roosevelt could win against the Lord in my division. The people tell me they will vote for anyone for me except any opponent of Roosevelt.

"I found I could talk to the American born people and the intelligent voters about Willkie and in fact they supported him, but the foreigners, and uneducated voters it was impossible to discuss the issues of the campaign. They wanted Roosevelt whether it meant war, or what have you.

"They seemed to think he gives you even the air we breathe and it would be a desecration to vote against him.

"If you ever come to Philadelphia, I would be glad to have you come down some evening and we could have a talk about the campaign and some interesting things that happened before and after election."

Tony Nicollo, another character in *Boss Rule,* is a superior Italian-American, around forty, and he has unmistakable standards. He is a detective for the county, an assistant to the ward leader, a successful leader of a division—many of whose people are of Italian descent. He does not mention this fact, but I am told that it had a bearing on the final vote.

"Another election is over and so is another headache.

"These elections of today are terrific and in my humble opinion, I think that if a committeeman goes through with ten of these campaigns, and take them to heart the way I do, what I mean is the spirit to win, not just kid around and whatever happens let it happen, I am sure he won't be in good health, being even lucky if he does not drop dead, as you often read these days another 'Committeeman dropped dead.'

"You know there used to be a time when the voter went to the polls with no other reason in mind but to help the committeeman, now it's just the other way around, they go to the polls, to help themselves.

His Strategy Succeeds

"Well getting down to this last campaign, I can assure you it was no pudding, but it was good real honest to goodness hard work, and strategy. Now to begin with the people were silent, not expressing themselves to anyone, if we called on them they would very nicely let us in and then state well you don't have to worry about us we're for you, but then I knew that the other side was getting the same reception, and in my own division, the other side were very confident about carrying the division.

"I then formed a committee of two women in each street, and I had them cover same, and I made sure that the two women in every case were the most capable, and came from families who are highly respected in the street, they live in, I then called a meeting of these women only, and asked them to take care of their own street, by canvassing every house, and reporting back to me, and at the same time I put two men on every street, and their job was to do nothing except watch where and in what houses the Democrats would get in, then go right in back of them and cover up and find out what progress was made, and knock down whatever progress was made, so you see it was a case of dog eat dog, but I can say right here that nothing the committeeman could say or do on the other side was worth anything, they had the greatest committeeman of all time, in the hidden person of Franklin D. 'Boy what a man,' to a lot of people he is their God. Well we had to get around this great man, so I used the old story that regardless of who was to win he could do so without our division, that it meant a lot for me to carry the division, and in the event of them needing a favor they could go neither to the President or to Willkie, but that I was on the job ready to serve them at any hour or place. So it worked pretty good, as a great number of the voters felt well I'm for the President but I'll vote for Tony Nicollo, so as you already know I carried the division by 196 majority."

The Irish division leader, Timothy Flanahan, also in *Boss Rule,* and living in a section of Philadelphia that he once knew as a farm, and peopled almost entirely by native-born Americans, about 25 per cent of whom are Roman Catholics, had this to say:

"Your letter received and glad to hear from you. Well the election is over and again it is President Franklin Roosevelt, or should I say Franklin 1st.

"It seems as though the American people have forgotten the principles on which the country was founded and wish to go back to European government by dictatorship.

"It was a hard fight in some sections but I was lucky to a certain extent with divisions around the ward losing by as high as 500 per cent we lost by 51 majority out of over 500 votes cast.

"The people seemed to think that Willkie represented the money interests and would favor the so-called big fellows of Wall Street and that Roosevelt was more for the poor on account of WPA relief.

"In our division we have a large number of hosiery workers who belong to the unions and of course it was labor for Franklin and again others who had been out of work for a long time give Roosevelt credit of the work on National Defense again starting and some of them being machinists and shipyard mechanics and are again working felt as though they owed him a vote.

"I had one fellow tell me he was voting Democrat because they put the country on the rocks and now it was up to them to take us off the rocks, which he doubts they can do without bursting the United States Treasury and then put high taxes on the people and then they would wake up to their own mistakes."

A Democratic congressman and ward leader who once was a Republican division leader wrote:

"As you know, the make-up of the XYZ Congressional District is about 60 per cent Italian, 25 per cent Jewish, and the balance Irish, Lithuanian, Polish, Negro, etc.

"After the Philadelphia convention when Wendell Willkie was nominated, the people seemed to consider him as a 'Great Crusader.' The campaign really did not get started until the first of October when both organizations, Democrat and Republican, had their committeemen start canvassing the people. At that time the reaction I received was varied. For example, some committeemen in the Italian sections would come back and tell me that they were receiving information from voters to the effect that they were opposed to President Roosevelt's re-election on the third term issue. But from the vast majority no comment could be had. The same situation existed within the other groups, except those of Jewish faith which seemed to be inclined toward the President.

"In my opinion the real change in the swing toward President Roosevelt came right after his first visit to Philadelphia, when he rode through my district and was greeted by thousands of people. This was during his inspection tour of the Navy Yard, Quartermaster's Depot, Naval Hospital, etc.

100 Per Cent Americans

"By this time, the Republican committeemen in the Italian sections had played up the President's 'stab in the back' speech, and my committeemen found that a vast majority of Italian people resented the attempt to instill these hatreds into the campaign.

"For instance, I discussed the situation with a man about 50 years old, who is a laborer. He came to this country some 30 years ago and had been opposed to President Roosevelt. He told me he was not interested in what was happening outside of America; he was an American and his children were all born in this country. He further said that in 1932 he was working 60 hours a week and receiving $8.00 and $10.00 for his work; now he works 40 hours a week and receives $20.00 to $25.00 for his work. His standard of living has been raised and he felt that because of that he should vote for Mr. Roosevelt as he was the candidate for the common people. He believed that Mr. Willkie, surrounded by industrialists was the candidate of the wealthy and reactionary groups. This type of answer was received from hundreds of Italian-American citizens who seemed to want to lean over backwards to prove that their main interest was not as much in foreign affairs as in domestic security.

"In my opinion American citizens of Italian descent are 100 per cent American and voted as Americans on the basis of what they thought would be best for them in our existing domestic policy. Propaganda of the Republican party was stronger than it had ever been, in an effort to create a picture of President Roosevelt as a war-monger. As you know, this was an utter failure.

"Furthermore, when Robert McCracken, corporation lawyer in Philadelphia, and who handled the Wendell Willkie campaign under J. Cooke, made a statement that only paupers were voting for Roosevelt, he seemed to amplify and corroborate what was in the minds of the working men and women of the XYZ Congressional District.

"The people of my district were enjoying many social benefits under the program inaugurated by President Roosevelt and were assured of no change in these advancements should they vote for him."

And so end these letters, a few from many.

Shortly before his death Lord Bryce wrote: "It is facts that are needed; facts, facts, facts. When facts have been supplied, each of us can try to reason from them." I offer these letters as a pertinent fact on our governing process of today. (An opinion, or attitude, as well as the number five, may be taken as a fact.) What these letters indicate, or for that matter what was indicated by the election of Roosevelt is for each one to conclude. My conclusions will be briefly put.

The most interesting one revolves around the defeat of the party organization at the very point where for a long generation it was invincible. In 1930 Howard P. Jones, editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, asked me to write an article on how to defeat the boss and his organization. Here, Mr. Editor, is your article. The answer to your question is found in each of the letters given above.

Roosevelt and Hitler made the issue so unmistakably clear that the voter, thinking of his very skin and bones, went his own way on November 5, and was not swerved from his true purpose by the most intimate and compelling argument of his Republican ward politician.

The moral is this: the voter is selfish rather than dumb—and because he cannot see far, unless the issue is made very bright and unmistakable, he ordinarily votes for his division leader, who smiles on him in an immediate sort of way. This is basically why an organization is usually so very powerful. It is the corporeal embodiment of things seen and felt. It is still powerful in primaries, but its influence in elections is problematical.

But President Roosevelt has been able to go the neighborhood politician one better. He has been able to give the dependent citizen more goods and services and more spiritual encouragement, to do more to make the lone individual feel that he belongs than has any other candidate. While the Republican party organization man seems to roost on the voter's doorstep, the amazing Roosevelt has become one of the family.

A RESEARCHER IN POLITICS

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ing been the writing of a manager plan ordinance for the city of Mill Valley. At the moment he is on leave of absence from the bureau in order to make a study of the California state legislature for the Commonwealth Club. One final office: he is executive secretary of the Western Governmental Research Association, the second and youngest man ever to hold that office too.

Arthur Harris isn't sure what he wants to do next. His outlook is almost abnormally level-headed, and he is not the kind of person who will turn down an interesting job just because it doesn't fit in with a preconceived plan. His law school degree, to be forthcoming in 1942, he may put to use in public administration, in governmental research, or in practical politics. Considering his well distributed potentialities, his friends wouldn't be surprised if he finished by doing all three at once. He's got a head start on two already.

Power Projects Pay Tax Losses

Congress provides for replacement of revenues lost to states and counties because of hydro-electric projects.

By ALEX T. EDELMANN
University of Tennessee

THE entry of the national government into the field of public ownership of power has given rise to various problems, one of the most interesting of which is the dislocation of taxes formerly collected or that might in the future be collected by state and local governments. This dislocation, varying considerably in kind and amount among the several national hydro-electric projects constructed to date, has resulted in many requests to the national government for assistance. To meet these situations Congress has provided relief in the form of payments in lieu of taxes. The several measures applying to the federal power projects differ widely in scope and detail.

The problem came up early in connection with the Boulder Canyon Project, authorized in 1928, and the act creating it provided for payments to two states, Arizona and Nevada, of the seven in the Colorado River Basin. It is significant that the payments were not requested by the two states for the purpose of replacing taxes actually lost by the construction of the project. On the contrary, the land used for the reservoir was owned by the United States, and had not previously paid taxes. Because of the construction of the dam by the national government, however, the states were declared to have lost for the future any possibility of collecting revenue from the land or site. Since the states owned and controlled the water, bed, and banks of navigable streams, according to their contention, they maintained that "something was being taken in the nature of a resource from Arizona and from Nevada by the construction of the dam in the Colorado River, and that there should be some recompense to those states, or some revenue should be derived by them from that construction."[1]

This contention was accepted by Congress, and the Boulder Canyon Project Act stated that if revenues during the period of amortization exceeded the periodical payments to the United States, the states of Arizona and Nevada would each receive during this period 18¾ per cent of the excess revenue. Since the $165,000,000 advanced by the United States for the undertaking, with the exception of the costs of the All-American Canal and appurtenant structures, was to be repaid within fifty years at 4 per cent interest from the generation of power alone, the basis of payment later encountered much opposition. The amount of excess revenues, if any, was declared to be very indefinite and uncertain.

Accordingly, to meet this criticism, an amendment to the original act in

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[1] The justification of this view and its relation to the general tax replacement policy of the national government were ably presented by Senator Key Pittman, here quoted. See the Congressional Record, 70th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 7250, 7390-92, and 9886-87.

1940, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the application of revenues from power, basically changed the payments made to the two states. In commutation of the percentage payments formerly provided, $300,000 was authorized to be paid to Arizona and to Nevada for each year of operation, beginning with the fiscal year 1939 and including the fiscal year 1988. These sums would be paid from revenues received by the Colorado River Dam fund. If the revenues for any year were insufficient to provide for the payments, however, after the costs of operation, maintenance, and replacement were deducted, due to "any act of God, or of the public enemy, or any major catastrophe, or any other unforeseen and unavoidable cause," the payments would be reduced in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.[2]

The amendment declared that the payments to the two states were contractual obligations of the United States. However, if taxes were levied and collected on the project, the electrical power generated, or the privilege of generating or transmitting power, the payments made to each state would be reduced by the amount of the taxes. Moreover, while its provisions in no way restricted the right of Arizona or Nevada or a "lawful taxing political subdivision" thereof to collect nondiscriminatory taxes levied on the transmission lines and other physical properties located therein and belonging to the lessees or allottees, the sums so collected would be deducted from the payments to the states, and adjustments in the nature of credits or otherwise would be made with those so taxed. These provisions constitute the present basis for payments in lieu of taxes to the states affected by the Boulder project.

Tennessee Valley Plan

The situation at Boulder was very different from the dislocation that later arose as a result of activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Provision was made in the act of 1933 for payments by the Authority to Tennessee and Alabama, in which states electricity was to be generated. This was incorporated as in the case of Boulder because of the states' claim to ownership of the water, bed, and banks of the Tennessee River. Five per cent of the gross proceeds from the sale of power generated at hydro-electric plants existing or afterwards constructed in each state would be paid to that state. In the case of the sale of additional power, 2½ per cent of the gross proceeds therefrom would be paid each state. The percentages specified in the act might be reviewed and changed by the board, subject to presidential approval, but no change could be made more often than once in five years.

This provision remained in effect from 1933 to 1940, during which time the payments increased proportionately with the production of power. Meanwhile a serious situation had developed due to the dislocation of $3,221,000 in taxes formerly collected by state and local governments on dams and other electric utility property.[3] These taxes, 91.6 per cent of which related to Tennessee alone, were displaced when the Authority, municipalities, coöperatives, and county-owned systems purchased the properties formerly owned by private companies. Approximately $800,000 consisted of gross receipts, franchise, and other taxes collected by the state of Tennessee, for which the Authority admitted responsibility for 42.2 per cent, since it acquired that proportion of the properties purchased from the companies. The largest item, $2,261,239, consisted of ad valorem property taxes, only $822,316 of which was on property acquired by the TVA. The balance was on property acquired by the distribution systems, which were already making in-lieu-of-tax payments to the cities. Since the systems are under state control, they are also either making similar payments to the counties and states or may be required by simple statute to do so.

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[2] Another criticism of the original act, the provision for payments to two states only, was also remedied. Five hundred thousand dollars annually was to be paid into a special fund to be used in the states of the Colorado River Basin for the investigation and construction of projects for irrigation, power, and related purposes.

The only really serious part of the situation was the tax dislocation experienced by the counties on power facilities acquired by the TVA and therefore tax exempt. The losses were critical in the case of ten counties, nine in Tennessee and one in Georgia, which lost more than 10 per cent of their revenues. The counties were among the poorest, most sparsely populated in the Tennessee Valley, and because of the loss of taxes were facing bankruptcy, curtailment of services, or exorbitant taxes.

Norris-Sparkman Act

The existing provision whereby 5 per cent of the gross power revenues was paid to Alabama and Tennessee was meanwhile widely criticized as inadequate for relieving the situation. Losses were occurring in four other states besides the two mentioned, but these were beyond the scope of the act. Moreover, although the payments would increase as the production of power increased, they were insufficient for replacing a loss that was severe, even though temporary.

A number of bills were introduced in Congress to increase the payments and include the other valley states in the benefits. Pleas for tax replacement encountered vigorous opposition in the House of Representatives, especially in the hearings of the Military Affairs Committee on the Norris-Sparkman amendment, proposed as a solution.[4] The majority of the committee and many others opposed tax replacement, contending that those benefiting from a federal power program should bear the cost of taxes that were lost. This was a wide divergence from the original theory that the states should be paid because of their rights in rivers used by the federal government for such programs.

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[3] The dislocation for Tennessee is well analyzed in the *Report on Tax Replacement Requirements in Tennessee, Necessitated by Sale of Private Electric Utility Property to Various Public Agencies,* Tennessee Tax Replacement Commission, by Stanley J. White and E. H. Eakle; and for the Tennessee Valley as a whole, in the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill for 1941, *Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations,* House of Representatives, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, Part 2.

[4] The chairman was Representative May of Kentucky, for many years a bitter foe of the TVA and throughout the hearings there was little semblance of impartiality on the part of the chairman and most of the members.

To relieve the situation Congress finally yielded to pleas for increased payments to replace the ad valorem property taxes lost by the states and counties by passing the Norris-Sparkman amendment in 1940. The amendment provided that the states and counties losing taxes from the power activities of the TVA would receive payments in lieu of taxes from the Authority. These payments, based on the gross proceeds from the sale of power, would begin at 10 per cent for the fiscal year 1941 and decrease as follows: 9 per cent, 1942; 8 per cent, 1943; 7½ per cent, 1944; 7 per cent, 1945; 6½ per cent, 1946; 6 per cent, 1947; 5½ per cent, 1948; and 5 per cent for 1949 and each succeeding year. The annual sums would be substantially the same, since the increasing production of power would yield greater revenues as the rate of payment declined. One half of the payment would be apportioned among the states on the basis of the amount of power consumed in each state, and the other half on the basis of the value of the power property located therein. The minimum annual payments to the states and counties would not be less than the state and county ad valorem property taxes formerly levied on the power properties of TVA, and on the portion of the reservoir lands allocable to the production of power.

It is estimated that the payments in lieu of taxes by the Authority for the fiscal year 1941 will be $1,499,417, which is $495,630 more than the property tax loss allocable to the Authority. Moreover, the distribution systems will collect $1,800,000 for the purpose of replacing state and local property taxes. The combined sums almost equal all the taxes dislocated, including even state income, franchise, and other taxes, and the problem threatening very serious consequences is practically solved.

Bonneville Project

The controversy over the dislocation of taxes in the Tennessee Valley and the resulting difference of opinion as to the utility of public power projects were feared to possibly react unfavorably on the Bonneville Project, authorized by Congress in 1937 and still in its initial stages. No provision was made in the Bonneville Act for payments to the state and local governments in lieu of taxes. Attention is now being given the problem, however, and several bills have been introduced in Congress for this purpose. One of the most recent provided that the administrator be authorized to make payments in lieu of taxes that might be displaced due to the acquisition of generating, transmission, or distribution facilities. The amount of payment to each state or political subdivision would be determined by the administrator, but could not exceed the average annual amount of real

(Continued on Page 500)

Philadelphia's First Year of Earned Income Tax

From viewpoint of fiscal adequacy and low administrative costs new taxes prove sound; city in much improved financial condition.

By **EDWARD W. CARTER**, *University of Pennsylvania*
and **EDWARD B. SHILS**, *Pennsylvania Economy League*

PHILADELPHIA entered the year 1941 with the brightest prospects for municipal financing since 1927. Not only could the city visualize a balanced budget but it anticipated the purchase of new equipment heretofore impossible because of a diminished revenue base.

The chief cause of distress in Philadelphia finance has been a 25 per cent loss in the assessed valuation of real estate during the past decade. This shrinkage of the revenue base and attendant misfortunes were common occurrences in many large cities. For some years no realistic analysis of Philadelphia's problems had been developed, and loose fiscal practices characterized the city's history in the depression period. These practices consisted of inflated revenue estimates, curtailment of vital services and personnel, over-valuation of sinking fund assets, and the accumulation of large current deficits carried from year to year by means of short term loans.

Coming to the end of such financial expedients, the city was fortunate in having, as its chief executive, Acting Mayor George Connell. During his short tenure of less than a year Mayor Connell determined to reorganize the city's finances thoroughly. To accomplish this he designated a committee of twenty-five representative citizens known as the Mayor's Revenue Committee. He asked the committee to make a thorough study of the city's fiscal problem and announced that he would forward its recommendations to City Council with his full support.

After a survey of the situation, the committee suggested that a municipal earned income tax be adopted, at a rate sufficient to balance the budget after making all possible operating economies.

The writers were requested to determine yields to the city from various revenue sources for the year 1940. In so doing, they were instructed to give special attention to possible returns from a municipal income tax. After investigation it was estimated that, at a rate of 1½ per cent, an income tax on salaries, wages, and commissions would yield from $13,850,000 to $17,022,500 for the year; and that a tax on net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions at the same rate would produce an additional $1,474,180. The total from these taxable sources was estimated therefore to yield $15,324,180 to $18,496,680 for the year.

These estimates were based on such information as was provided by state unemployment compensation yields for Philadelphia, the United

States Department of Commerce census of business, federal income tax payments, and the business census of the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs.

The validity of these estimates was established as yields were reported from month to month. With the closing of the city's books for the year 1940, receipts from salaries, wages, and commissions amounted to $14,-483,820 while those from unincorporated businesses and professions were $1,800,000, a total of $16,283, 820. The yields by months for the year were as follows:

	Monthly
January	$ 1,020,271
February	1,933,575
March	1,270,633
April	1,172,470
May	1,456,675
June	1,227,582
July	1,134,915
August	1,417,753
September	1,239,212
October	1,322,054
November	1,606,860
December	1,481,820
	$16,283,820

Change in Fiscal Policy

The first year (1940) of Mayor Robert E. Lamberton's administration was marked by a complete change in the fiscal policy of the city. Its government embarked on a program of balanced budgets, a true pay-as-you-go policy, new budget controls through a monthly allotment system, and strict economy to a point where budget cuts totaling $1,388,000 were immediately effected without reduction in essential services.

Some services were expanded. The changes met with widespread public approval. For example, the Bureau of Police was reorganized. The number of patrolmen on the force was increased. Police precincts were decreased in number, modern police practices were adopted, and patrol activities were fully motorized. Cruiser cars were increased from sixty obsolete vehicles to 175 new cars. This program is being further developed in 1941 with the purchase of an additional 105 cars, some of these vehicles to be equipped with two-way radios. As a result of better enforcement procedures in 1940, police arrests increased 33 per cent over the previous year.

The morale of the Fire Bureau was bettered by the purchase of $450,000 of modern fire-fighting equipment. Forty-five pieces of this equipment were delivered by October 1940. In addition, plans were evolved for redistricting fire houses on a basis of modern mechanized needs. Plans were also developed for the construction of a new fire alarm system.

In the Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning, new container-tractor-trailer units were instituted, replacing the old-fashioned ash wagon method of collection. This change resulted in more efficient collections and a reduced unit cost per cubic yard of ash collected.

The Mayor was instrumental in developing a program for water and sewage rehabilitation. Consulting engineers have formulated the plans and a bond issue of $18,000,000 is authorized for a new water system. The Law Department of the city is presently engaged in drafting a self-liquidating sewage rental plan to provide $42,000,000 for extension of sewage facilities and the development of a new system for sewage disposal and treatment.

Lastly, the fiscal authorities are looking to a series of annual reductions in municipal operating expenditures to be secured by: (*a*) calling bonds and refunding them at lower interest rates, and (*b*) financing future capital improvements with current funds.

Receipts from the Philadelphia earned income tax made these changes in city operations possible.

Who Must Pay?

In reality two separate taxes are collected from residents and non-residents: a tax on salaries and wages and a tax on net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions. Both taxes are levied at the rate of 1½ per cent and are payable to the Receiver of Taxes. The salary tax and the net profits tax are levied upon wages, commissions, and compensation earned by residents regardless of where their place of employment may be situated. In the case of non-residents only the work done, services performed, and business and professional activities conducted within the city limits are subject to taxation.

The return for net profits of unincorporated businesses and professions must be made on or before March 15. It should show the amount of tax due, the sources of income, and should itemize such deductions as may be claimed. This tax may be paid in four quarterly installments, the first of which is due at the filing of the first return. Other installments become payable by June 15, September 15, and December 15.

An important feature of the tax on salaries and wages is its collection at the source, i.e., from employers who are required to deduct monthly 1½ per cent of salaries, wages, commissions, and compensation paid. These deductions are forwarded to the Receiver of Taxes on or before the 15th day of the following month. Employers' returns show the names and the amounts earned during the preceding month by each employee.

An effort to exempt small incomes was unsuccessful in the first earned income tax attempted in November 1938 (ordinance of November 26, 1938) and later repealed. Each taxpayer was allowed a $15 deduction to cover the cost of filing a return. This was in effect an exemption of incomes below $1,000. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court[1] decided that an exemption did not meet the constitutional requirement of tax uniformity.[2] Thus the court sustained the taxing ordinance and invalidated the exemption.

With adoption of the income tax ordinance, the administrative problem of collecting the tax and auditing returns remained to be solved. Responsibility for collection of the tax and auditing returns was placed upon the office of the Receiver of Taxes of the city.

Since the tax was enacted December 13, 1939, and the first payments were due February 15, 1940, there was but a short period in which to prepare for its operation. In addition to defense of the ordinance in litigation before the courts, it was necessary to issue regulations, hold meetings to train a staff of employees and arrange public sessions to explain provisions of the tax to corporation accountants and treasurers. The Receiver of Taxes was also hurried in the preparation of tax forms, making rulings on doubtful questions, rental of machinery and office space. All in all the first months spent in establishing the new tax machinery were a period of strain.

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[1] *Butcher* v. *City of Philadelphia,* 333 Pa. 497.

[2] Constitution of Pennsylvania, Art. 9, Sec. 1.

Administrative Costs

The tax which yielded $16,283,820 during 1940 required an appropriation of approximately $200,000 for administration. Principal expenditures were as follows:

I.B.M. tabulating machinery	$ 18,000
Rent	12,000
Postage	12,000
Printing and supplies	25,000
Sixty-eight employees	113,600
Total	$180,600

The personnel required for collection of the tax consisted of twenty-two accountants, fourteen key punch operators, three machine operators, and five investigators. The five investigators comprise a field force for making inquiries into delinquent wage taxes. The machinery rented for administrative work in connection with the tax included two sorters, two collators, one reproducer, one interpreter, six verifiers, six numerical punch machines, five alphabetical punch machines, and two tabulators.

During September the office of the Receiver of Taxes carefully reviewed its collection methods of previous months. As a result much larger numbers of letters and delinquency notices were sent out. On file were a vast number of accounts, more than 150,000 names and addresses. Of these there were approximately 43,000 employers' accounts paying the tax on wages and salaries and 63,000 individual accounts liable for the tax on net profits of businesses and professions. With this number of accounts to be handled during the first year it is not surprising that mistakes occurred. For example, it was found that the taxpayer who operated a business under a trade or store name frequently filed his return as an individual from his home address. In such cases the office of the Receiver of Taxes, finding no return from the store under its name and address as reported in the telephone directory, city business directory, or state mercantile license tax list, sends a delinquent notice to the business address. In the case of partnerships the tax is often paid on the entire partnership without designating all of the partners. These may later receive delinquent notices as individuals.

Among the 43,000 accounts of employers liable for the wage and salary tax of their employees, the margin of error in the office of the Receiver of Taxes was only 3 per cent. It is estimated that approximately one year will be required to weed out duplicate accounts, incorrect addresses, and similar errors. Final collection of the tax in the case of recalcitrant employers or employees require several afternoons per week in the City Department of Law. Two assistant city solicitors are designated to handle this work. A series of letters were framed, the first of which requested payment and the last, sent by registered mail, threatened immediate prosecution.

Problems of Enforcement

New problems are constantly arising in enforcement of the tax. Perhaps one or two of these will serve to illustrate difficulties that are encountered. Some confusion is attributable to overlapping of employee and professional status. All persons having an employer-employee relationship within the city of Philadelphia are required to deduct 1½ per cent of wages or salaries paid. The employer under the ordinance must make the deduction whether he is an individual, a partnership, a corporation, or a trust estate. For example, a real estate broker, or brokerage house dealing in stocks and bonds, operates in the selling of property on a commission basis. It is clear that the contract between the firm and the owner relative to the sale of property places the commissions paid in the status of receipts of a business or profession, and as such they are subject to the tax. However, real estate and stock and bond brokerage houses employing a sales organization pay their employees a percentage of the gross commission for their services. In such cases, wherein salesmen are not operating an individual business enterprise or profession, the amounts paid are taxable as compensation of employees. This becomes important for the employer to understand, since he must pay the tax at the rate of 1½ per cent on the salaries earned by his employees and in addition he must make an annual or quarterly return on the net profits of his business. This overlapping of employee and professional status has been the cause of many inquiries.

Another source of confusion has been the problem of how to treat losses and gains in a collateral activity. Suppose the owner of stocks, bonds, or real estate increases his activities so that he becomes a trader. In such a case he has created a business or professional status by extending his operations into the class of persons upon whom the tax has been levied. Since he is engaged in a business activity for profit he is liable for the tax in the same manner as other business enterprises. Too often it is felt that there is no responsibility for the tax under such conditions because it is erroneously viewed as a direct tax on the securities levied upon by the state in the state personal property tax. The mere investment of capital and profits therefrom are of course not taxable. The commonwealth[3] now taxes income from stocks, bonds, and securities in the hands of ordinary investors and, under Pennsylvania legislation known as the Sterling Act, the city may not tax a subject which is levied upon by the state.[4] Of course, where the owner of stocks, bonds, or real estate may be treated as a trader because of the frequency of his operations, he should deduct business expenses just as any person engaged in business might do.

Notwithstanding the problems arising from the collection and administration of a new tax, it appears evident that from the viewpoint of fiscal adequacy and low cost of administration this tax is a sound one. Municipalities looking for income which will increase in direct proportion to the acceleration of business activity will find that receipts from municipal income taxation will increase rapidly while real estate tax receipts will rise more slowly.

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[3] 1913 P.S. 507.

[4] 1932 P.L. 45.

An examination of the trend in Philadelphia attributable to the defense boom is enlightening. During the last few months of 1940 it became apparent that preparations for national defense in the Philadelphia area was increasing payrolls and tax payments, as well as swelling the net profits of unincorporated businesses.

The establishment in the local area of such a concern as Bendix Aviation Corporation, with an expected $10,000,000 annual payroll, will add at least $150,000 per year in payroll taxes. Furthermore, substantial revenues will be derived from the newly reorganized Cramps Shipyard, the reopened Pencoyd Steel Plant and the activity of the Empire Ordnance Company. Increased labor forces at many other large plants and at hundreds of smaller ones, including those with subcontracts on defense, seem certain to augment receipts during the second year of the tax. Wage tax receipts for the first month in 1941 were $1,516,010, approximately $200,000 greater than the average monthly return in 1940.

Aside from tax receipts originating in growing national defense payrolls, there will be additional income to the city from other sources in 1941. Employees earning wages outside the city and living within Philadelphia have not been taxed at the source. Under a legal opinion rendered by the City Solicitor such taxpayers are obligated to file individual returns in 1941 on 1940 income. The problem for the city in finding out who these taxpayers are and where they reside is not an easy one. There are at least two methods for accomplishing this. The first is to obtain such names and addresses by interviewing the larger industrial establishments in the Philadelphia area but located outside the city. The second is to consult suburban municipal directories, and to compare the names therein with employee and individual return data already assembled.

Also, state and federal employees living in Philadelphia have not had the tax on their salaries collected at the source. They likewise are required to file individual returns in 1941. A recent act of Congress makes federal employees liable for local taxes which are not discriminatory.

The combination of receipts from new taxables and increased payrolls because of the national defense program should augment the present income by approximately 10 per cent and yield an amount in excess of $18,000,000 during 1941.

The Philadelphia Receiver of Taxes has been requested to supply information concerning the earned income tax to officials and civic organizations in other cities. Municipalities interested in new sources of revenue, either because of expanding needs or the desire for fiscal adequacy, are studying income taxation as a means to replace shrinking real estate values. The inquiries from communities in other states have increased rather than diminished in recent months.

Maine's Political Chickens Come Home to Roost

Creation of legislative research committee most promising result of inquiry into state affairs; fiscal code and structural reorganization needed.

By **EDWARD F. DOW**
University of Maine

MUSSOLINI stated bluntly in 1924 that the Italian constitution was merely a "point of departure." A prominent Maine politician told the writer that the constitution of Maine is "something for you fellows to discuss at the university." Ample demonstrations of widespread ignorance of the constitution and disregard for the laws were uncovered by the state legislature and its investigating committee during 1940.

After the state controller put two shots into his body on April 1 of last year, while a private auditing firm was preparing a report disclosing shortages in state funds, various state officials resigned on request, or were investigated and given a more or less clean bill of health. The most spectacular investigations centered around the treasury department. During the three-day legislative hearing to determine whether the treasurer should be removed for alleged inefficiency, a lack of clear concepts was manifest.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article follows "Maine's Political Chickens," published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for June 1940. For earlier REVIEW articles on the same subject see: "Administrative Reorganization in Maine," by O. C. Hormell, March 1931; "Maine's Administrative Code," by E. F. Dow, September 1931; "Maine Reorganizes and Saves Money," by William Tudor Gardiner, February 1933.

The treasurer is chosen biennially by the legislature to serve for not more than six years successively. He is not allowed to "engage in any business of trade or commerce."[1] His salary is fixed by the governor and council, and his duties by statute. Since the adoption of the Code Act of 1931 the work of the treasury has been little more than custodial. The department receives funds, disburses them only on warrants approved by the governor and council, deposits funds in approved banks, and invests certain trust funds. Ample evidence was presented to show that treasury officials had been lax in the performance of their legal duties.

In spite of the fact that the controller was not bonded and was specifically forbidden to handle state funds, the deputy treasurer had cashed state checks for him aggregating many thousands of dollars. The excuse given by the deputy treasurer was that Controller Runnells' word was law around the State House, and that the Code Act had taken power away from the treasury. Although the deputy had been forced to resign, the treasurer refused to quit. He disclaimed all responsibility for what his deputy had done, or omitted to do, on the score that he himself did not know of the improper transactions and was guiltless of any wrongdoing.

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[1] Constitution of Maine, art. v, part four, as amended by art. XXVII.

When the question of removal came to a vote the legislators were in a quandary. Should the treasurer be held strictly accountable for his department, or should the political customs and traditions and the lack of clear-cut lines of authority and responsibility outweigh the accusations? Some members felt that the Governor was trying to evade his own responsibility and make the treasurer the scapegoat, thus reflecting on the legislature which had made the selection. Others felt that the treasurer's position, known to be a political sinecure of uncertain duration, should not carry any real responsibility. Testimony had been given that the treasurer spent perhaps two days a week in his office.

The Senate turned down the ouster resolve fifteen to fourteen. Shortly after the Senate had voted, the House sustained the Senate by a fourteen-vote margin. The treasurer thus retained office, but vital questions of responsibility and authority remained unsettled. All doubt as to responsibility in such cases could be resolved by a proper administrative setup. The investigators of state administration in Maine in 1930 recommended as follows:

> The Bureau of the Treasury should be set up under the Department of Finance as soon as the constitution can be amended. It is necessary that the treasury be an integral part of this department [of finance] and it cannot be made so without eliminating the treasurer from the constitution. The treasurer should be a permanent, full-time employee. No deputy treasurer is necessary.[2]

Investigation disclosed an almost complete lack of coördination, integration, and control within the existing finance department. The commissioner of finance, who resigned when shortages of funds indicated that the controller was guilty of embezzlement, exercised little or no control over the bureaus in his department. He had no real power of appointment or removal, except in theory, due to the practice of allowing the governor and council to act as job brokers for many state positions.

Controller Usurps Power

The controller, a bureau head under the finance commissioner, had acquired power far beyond his own jurisdiction. He used his power of controlling accounts to dominate and terrorize, and since no one else understood the machine accounting system installed in 1932 when the state reorganization plan went into effect, it was assumed that he understood its ramifications. Before his appointment he had been a bookkeeper in the Highway Commission, and, as controller, he continued to keep highway accounts, and later took over Liquor Commission accounts. Further than that, he received state money from the highway garage and cashed state checks for large sums, although the law specified that the controller was not to handle any state funds, and he was not required to be bonded.

The Code Act says that the finance

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[2] *State Administrative Consolidation in Maine,* 1930, p. 52.

commissioner "may" act as budget officer; but from the first the budget officer, who has since resigned, was a separate person; and the finance commissioner, having nothing to do in his official capacity, took over active management of the Bureau of Purchasing.

Since the resignation of the controller, finance commissioner, and budget officer, there has been a change in functions. The new commissioner is budget officer, and the new purchasing agent and controller are theoretically under his control, as is the tax assessor, who was the only finance officer to retain his position through the 1940 scandals, but who resigned in May 1941.

Old habits and traditions will not be broken down easily, and efficient and responsible state government awaits further administrative and fiscal reform. With the transfer of the treasurer to the finance department, and the concentration in the finance department of scattered tax-collecting functions now widely separated, such as motor vehicle taxes from the secretary of state, the essential prerequisites for financial planning and administration would be centered in the Department of Finance. Thus the budget officer, who is finance commissioner, would have a strategic position for general oversight of state finances. Three other changes, even more vital, would be needed to carry out the program.

1. The budget system should be reorganized. In place of the hybrid, partial budget system now in vogue, there should be an executive budget including all items of debt, revenue, and expenditure. At present the governor, governor's council, budget officer, department heads, and a committee of the legislature all have a finger in the budget pie. Furthermore, large sums of money, notably highway funds, are not budgeted in any real sense; for, while automobile fees and gas taxes are segregated, their expenditure is controlled jointly by the legislature, the highway commission, and the governor and council. Neither the governor by himself nor the budget officer can give unity and direction to the state's fiscal program under existing handicaps.

Abolish Council

2. The governor's council should be abolished. Article V of the Maine constitution of 1819 provides for a governor's council modeled on that of Massachusetts, the parent state. It consists of seven persons chosen biennially by the legislature "to advise the governor in the executive part of government." By custom and statute it has become a quasi-executive-legislative branch of the government. For many years the Republican party has controlled the Maine legislature, and has selected all members of the council. Democrats in the legislature have often proposed a constitutional amendment to eliminate the council but their efforts have been jeered at as partisan politics. Since the council is not accountable to the legislature, the illusory character of legislative influence on the executive via the council is self-evident.

For a good many years a scattering of persons outside of active politics have urged council abolition. Three leading newspapers and many citizens of Maine rallied to the cause in 1940.

The *Portland Press Herald, Bangor Daily News,* and *Lewiston Evening Journal* attacked the council editorially. Quoting the *Journal,* the *News* said on October 8: "It is not representative. . . . The council has become a political employment agency dealing in hundreds of state jobs. . . . The council exercises control of the highway department through funds. . . . It dips into everything that it has a notion to, and sometimes is a decided embarrassment to the governor. At best it divides the executive responsibility. . . . It is expensive. It is a bad influence on good government."

Governor Sewall pledged himself before election to restrict the council to its constitutional prerogatives. So long as there is a council, both council and legislature will be tempted to use it against the governor, or in cahoots with the governor, as a patronage tool and a fiscal weapon. The legislature would serve itself, the governor, and the people, by proposing a constitutional amendment abolishing the council.

3. The tax laws should be revised. Maine's tax program is near collapse because of its burdensome features and its inadequacy to meet new needs such as old-age assistance. A thorough revision of the general property tax, liquor taxes, and other tax laws is urgent. In spite of surveys, bills galore, and much debate, no real changes have been made.

Because of the confusion and profusion of laws on the subjects of taxation and fiscal administration, it would be well to have these laws revamped and placed in a fiscal code. The legislative research committee authorized in 1940 might well undertake the drafting of a fiscal code as its first major work and report to a special legislative session of 1942 or to the regular session of 1943.

The wrong governor will find opportunity for mischief even in a good system, but a good governor would find a well drawn fiscal code the key to harmony, balance, and control of the state's affairs.

These suggested constitutional and legal changes would restore the legislature to its proper position of dignity and control of legislative policy. Freed from the need for haggling over the election of a council and a treasurer, freed from responsibility for the deeds or misdeeds of these officials, and freed from their meddlings in legislative matters, the legislature would be able to devote itself to important legislative problems.

Investigation of 1940

The special joint legislative investigating committee of eleven members appointed in May of 1940 engaged two lawyers to do much of the catechizing of witnesses and report writing. One hundred thirty-five witnesses were examined, and 3,336 pages of testimony taken. From this mass of evidence the committee published two documents of fifty pages each, a *Partial Report* and a *Final Report,* and another *Final Report* of eleven pages.

Part of the testimony was turned over to grand juries and extensive selections from the remainder were published serially in the *Bangor Daily News.* Certain prominent critics have pointed out that the July *Par-*

tial Report is much more critical and vigorous than the October *Final Report*. Indeed the latter is more laudatory than critical.

Whether the committee was investigating the highway commission, liquor commission, personnel board, or secretary of state's department, all critical elements in the testimony can be sifted into two parts: (1) structural or organizational faults, (2) incompetent personnel. Examples of structural faults were numerous in highway and liquor commissions, and arose largely from the archaic three-man commission organization, which naturally tends toward vagueness and confusion of lines of authority and responsibility. It was not uncommon for the investigators to find employees almost completely at sea as to their powers and duties. Departmental rules and procedures were sketchy and inadequate, partly as the result of gaps in the laws, but also because of the lack of competent administrative talent. The heavy hand of the spoils system had left its mark in every agency investigated.

Concerning the Highway Commission the *Partial Report* recommended: "That the Highway Commission in conjunction with the personnel board shall readjust all wages and conditions of employment in that department, having regard to efficiency, length of service, and the like.

"That hiring, firing, and fixing of salaries be done hereafter without interference from or approval by the governor and council."

Concerning the superintendent of buildings, the committee said: "This position has always been considered as a purely political one and the duties have never been arduous."

The private auditors discovered a gasoline shortage in the highway garage amounting to several thousands of gallons. The supervisor of motor vehicles, who had been the governor's college roommate, resigned the day before he was to appear before the committee.

Graft Uncovered

One official testified that he had been active in securing a $500 campaign contribution from a trucking firm for his department head to be used to promote that official's gubernatorial campaign. Another department head was given a state-owned camp on Moosehead Lake by order of the governor and council. He testified that he refused the gift.

One of the most interesting committee inquiries concerned Brooklawn Memorial Park, described in the *Final Report* as a "cemetery racket along the usual lines." The inquiry was the result of public and newspaper criticism of the attorney-general, who had served as a director, stockholder, and legal counsel for the cemetery corporation. His name was used as bait by unscrupulous salesmen. "The company had gross sales of lots of $601,029.33. The gross selling expense . . . was $386,334.53, or approximately 64 per cent of the gross receipts. . . ." The company went into receivership and the investors, hopeful of large profits, lost most of their money. The attorney-general is absolved by the committee of anything more than "an error of judgment."

The most promising immediate result of the investigation was the passage of Legislative Document No. 1265, being *An Act to Create a Legislative Research Committee.* The act sets up a ten-member joint committee much like the Kansas Legislative Council. The committee must meet at least once every three months, and is designed: "To collect information concerning the government and general welfare of the state . . . to study the possibilities for consolidation . . . [and make] recommendations, in the form of bills or otherwise. . . ." The board may investigate, require studies made in its behalf, and employ research agencies. The governor may send messages to the committee recommending legislation and explaining his policies.

The bill has possibilities for good or ill. The committee may prove to be another politically-minded spoils group competing with the governor's council, or it may fall quietly into disuse. Ideally, it should serve as a liaison agency between governor and legislature. As a source of information for the legislature it can do the spade work on major bills and save the legislators time which is wasted, especially at the beginning of a session. To make this phase of its work successful, the committee should set up a research staff headed by a social scientist as director of research.

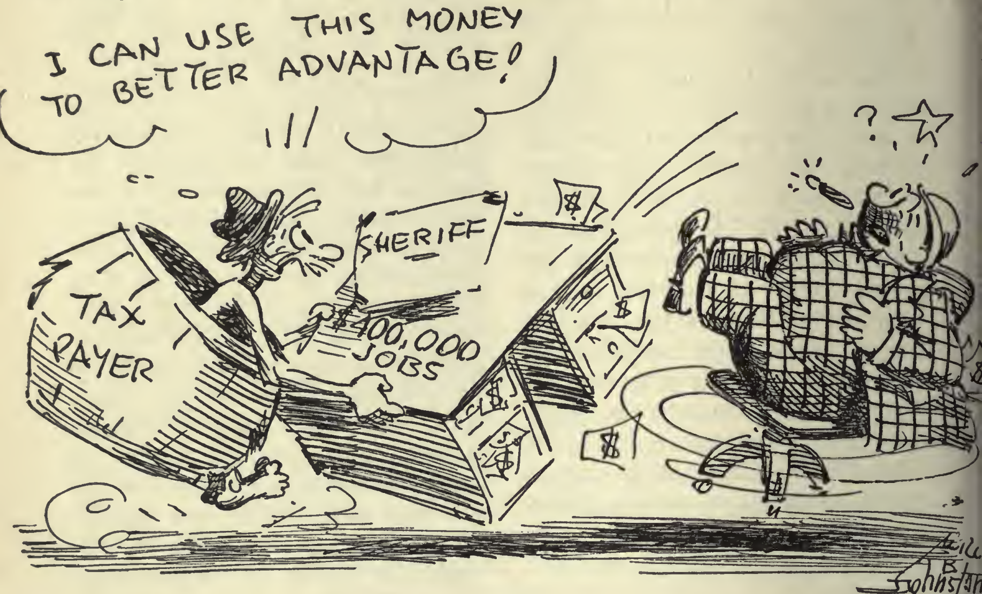
Structural faults in Maine's government indicate need for thorough reorganization which might well follow the adoption of the fiscal code as a second part of a long-range plan. The spoils system is not easily eradicated, but work should start at once, and continue endlessly. More vital, however, is the need for courageous leadership, from the governor, through the legislature, down to plain John Doe and Mrs. Doe.

Maine people may have been willing to admit privately that not all officeholders were as energetic as possible, but their pride in the integrity and economy of Maine's government knew no bounds. The two shots fired by Mr. Runnells (at himself) on April 1, 1940, were heard throughout the state, and their echoes are still bouncing from hill to hill all the way from Kittery to Fort Kent. With disclosure and insinuation crowding fast upon one another in rapid succession, public bewilderment has been both intense and painful.

Neither the Maine public nor the legislature has as yet decided what to do about Maine's political chickens, although a year and a half of startling, amusing, and serious developments in state affairs have furnished ample evidence of need for action. A few political chickens have felt the axe, some others made decidedly sick, and a few rats have been trapped or driven away from the chicken feed. A board of expert investigators sprayed a bit of disinfectant here, applied a dab of whitewash there. The 1940 special legislative session enlarged a few of the hen house windows, placed the roosts higher and more inaccessible, and made a few recommendations regarding diet and care. Some of the members were accused of building fences of their own, or of having "an axe to grind." Political chickens have done more scratching around, less crowing or "setting," but they are still able to come home to roost.

COUNTY REFORM

Why We Need It and How to Get It



(Illustration by Will B. Johnstone of the N. Y. World-Telegram)

"The Sheriff is a man with feet
Who sits upon the county seat.
If we should take his desk away
His feet would have no place to stay."
Paul Blanshard

"Why leave the Sheriff? As far as the City of New York is concerned, the Sheriff's office is just all finished. I was Sheriff myself and I was busy looking for something to do, and if it had not been for the war and the time I put in selling liberty bonds and war-savings stamps and seeing the boys off, I would have had nothing to do." *Former Governor Alfred E. Smith.*

"Too long, in my opinion, the taxpayers have been made to bear an unjustified burden." *Governor Herbert H. Lehman.*

"I can think of no greater, better public service than to get this petition on the ballot. . . . I ask all persons interested in good government to apply for petitions."
Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia in signing the first
1941 county reform petition, February 28, 1941.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is page one of about the best campaign pamphlet we've seen recently. The New York Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee is circulating it to help put across county reform by abolishing obsolete patronage-giving county offices. Petitions bearing nearly 93,000 signatures have been filed requesting a vote on the matter. The pamphlet, which helped get the signatures, is four pages with eye-catching pen pictures by New York's top newspaper cartoonists heading each page. Brief comments give the essential facts and issues in the campaign.

Contributors in Review

A SCHOLARLY pursuit of "political chickens" has taken **Edward F. Dow** (*Maine's Political Chickens Come Home To Roost*) intermittently afield from his post as head of the Department of History and Government at the University of Maine. Most recently, he was a member of the Maine staff of the Brookings Institution to survey local relief administration. Professor Dow has served also as special research agent for the Department of Commerce and has collaborated with the Social Science Research Council in a study of city manager government in Portland.

LOCATED in the midst of TVA activities since 1938 as assistant professor of political science at the University of Tennessee, **Alex T. Edelmann** (*Power Projects Pay Tax Losses*) has had good opportunity to observe the effect of public ownership on local governments. Thus he has completed several studies on the problem of displacement of taxes. Dr. Edelmann has also taught at the University of Mississippi, while his doctoral degree comes from the University of still another state, Illinois.

ONE member of the class of '36 interviewed another when **Miriam Roher** (*A Researcher in Politics*) went to work on Berkeley's new councilman. Her '36 is an eastern brand, however, bearing the seal of Columbia University's Barnard College. Formerly publications editor of the National Municipal League, Miss Roher has spent the past year in California, where as National Women's Public Service Fellow she has been doing field experimentation on the effectiveness of various methods of municipal reporting to citizens.

ACCORDING to his publishers, **J. T. Salter** (*Letters from Men in Action II*) "knows literally hundreds of politicians of all sorts and conditions and keeps in touch with them." Material for his books and articles on the political animal in action (*Boss Rule: Portraits in City Politics, The Pattern of Politics,* etc.) was collected as a sideline to his various teaching jobs in Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, and the University of Wisconsin, where he is now associate professor of political science. Part of Dr. Salter's education in human nature was derived some twenty-five years ago when he "rode the freights" during college vacations.

BOTH **Edward B. Shils** and **Edward W. Carter** (*Philadelphia's First Year of Earned Income Tax*) have been intimately associated in a research capacity with Philadelphia finance. A research associate at the Philadelphia Committee of the Pennsylvania Economy League, Dr. Shils devotes most of his time to city finance and police administration; he is author of *Finances and Financial Administration of the of the School District of Philadelphia.* Dr. Carter, an associate professor of political science in the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, was a member of the commission appointed by Philadelphia's mayor to study municipal finances. He has done considerable writing on the subject of the city's income tax.

Recent Books Reviewed

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

The Pattern of Politics. By J. T. Salter. New York City, The Macmillan Company, 1940. xv, 246 pp. $2.25.

The Pattern of Politics can serve at once as a primer for political hopefuls, a series of case histories for dissection by the expert, or fine hot-weather diversion for those who like to read about politics for the fun of it.

Which is another way of saying this newest of Mr. Salter's pen pictures of politics is true to his sprightly style and also to his keen sense of politics as a science.

As his readers well know, Mr. Salter starts from the premise that politics is a human process, not a course of study to be pursued in a vacuum. So he begins with the voter and his home town politician as the hub of the political scene and expands from there into the fields of political behavior, public morality, voter characteristics, techniques of politicians, and the place of leadership itself.

His experience and observations range the political scene from the backroom of the local party clubhouse to the halls of the U. S. Senate.

His illustrations of successful and unsuccessful political methods would make handy reference material for any candidate. These same illustrations portray for the political scientist the strange and complex electorate which runs our democracy. And withal there is not a dull page in the book.

One of the most interesting sections deals with leadership and the techniques of great leaders. Mr. Salter does a fascinating job of analyzing great leaders, religious and political, beginning with Christ and the apparent failure of his leadership until after his death.

A large amount of space is devoted to Franklin Roosevelt whom Mr. Salter regards as the outstanding leader of the day. Mr. Willkie also comes in for some observations that seem somewhat like afterthoughts.

On the final page Mr. Salter draws his conclusions in one paragraph. Only the people, says he, can draw conclusions that matter in a democracy. Mr. Salter is simply presenting the political process as it actually works in a free country.

E. N. T.

The Book of the States 1941-42 (Vol. IV). Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1941. xii, 423 pp. $3.50.

This, the fourth issue of the recognized reference manual on the forty-eight states, reports important developments during the last biennium. It also presents routine information on state organization, personnel, and dates of legislative sessions, together with one hundred tables showing the occurrence of certain state laws, dates of adoption of major state taxes, assessed valuations of property, qualifications for voting, and other important facts.

There are brief articles on such subjects as state defense councils, developments in social security legislation and administration, merit system adoptions, state debts and finances, and state advertising. The book also reports the activities of the Council of State Governments, which was established in 1935, as an information center to assist states in solving legislative and administrative problems and to bring about interstate coöperation in many fields.

Carefully indexed, it is highly useful as a reference volume.

A. W.

To the Editor of "Recent Books Reviewed."

Mr. Sayre's review of my pamphlet, *Democracy and Proportional Representation,* constitutes such an elementary violation of the rules which should govern the game of reviewing books that a reply is in order.

No reviewer should ever criticize a publication without fairly stating the opinions expressed in it, and whenever he tries to refute a specific argument he should go to the trouble of making a specific reply. Mr. Sayre says: "In his zeal to support this argument (that the majority system is an instrument of integration), Mr. Hermens would evidently have us reappraise Tammany Hall, for example, as a mechanism of integration." The word "evidently" is specious; it indicates what Mr. Sayre would have *wanted* me to write in order to make the task of refutation easy for him! Actually, I tried to show that in the 1937 elections in New York (and in all probability in the 1939 elections as well) the majority system would have demonstrated its integrating effections by defeating Tammany and electing a Fusion majority to the Council—an opinion which, incidentally, Mayor LaGuardia has also expressed.

Then comes my "wide excursion into recent European experience." Mr. Sayre finds it unconvincing, but fails to give us the benefit of any concrete argument in favor of his opinion.

My "fantastic figure for the cost of the first proportional representation election in New York City" was based upon two considerations. First, the actual cost of the 1937 election was slightly above $700,000. I assumed that if elections had been held under the majority system they could not have cost more than $100,000; in fact, an expert whom I consulted placed the probable cost between $65,000 and $75,000. Second, the annual cost of maintaining unnecessary county offices was given at $450,000 by Mayor LaGuardia. A Fusion-controlled council (which, as I have tried to show—in spite of Mr. Sayre's arguments to the contrary, which I have answered point for point in the issue of *Social Research* of September 1939—could have been expected under the majority system) would have abolished these offices immediately, and saved the money. That does make a total cost of P. R. for the first two years of $1,500,000—and, of course, new expense has been incurred since!

P. R. and the decline in votes: So far as New York is concerned, I referred to the elections of 1939, not to those of 1937. The rather interesting figures for Toledo will be found on page 390 of my book, *Democracy or Anarchy?* and those for Cleveland on page 374 of the same volume. The Cleveland figure for 1925 was pitiful; the figures for 1927 and 1931 are better, but compare badly with the increase in Cleveland's voting population; again, the popular participation in the last P. R. election (1931) is miserable when compared with the vote cast in the first election under the reestablished majority system (1933).

May I express the hope that the reader who is interested in the subject will read my pamphlet and form his own opinion on the matter, rather than be guided by a reviewer whose bias is evident from the first sentence to the last?

F. A. Hermens
University of Notre Dame

Note. Dr. Hermens seems to work on the theory that inaccurate statements made often enough will finally be accepted as fact. It is impossible, within the confines of this department, to discuss all the points he raises. Perhaps two will suffice:

In this letter, as well as in many of his recent writings, Dr. Hermens claims that in the 1937 P. R. councilmanic election in New York City use of the majority system would have defeated Tammany and elected a Fusion majority to the council. He refuses to face the fact that at the *same election,* with the *same voters,* under the majority system which Dr. Hermens loves so well, the Democratic organization in New York City elected 80 per cent of the city's legislators at Albany although it actually polled less than 50 per cent of the vote for legislators, and 87 per cent of the city's representatives to the constitutional convention elected that year.

Dr. Hermens makes much of the fact that the 1937 P. R. election in New York cost $700,000, a figure which both those for and those against the system agree was wasteful, unnecessary, and generally considered to be due in part to a desire of those in control of the city under the old charter to discredit P. R. as well as make jobs for their followers. He fails to mention, either in this letter or in his pamphlet, that the cost of the second P. R. election in 1939 was $260,000. As to his inclusion in the cost of P. R. of $450,000 per year for unnecessary county offices, which he claims would have been abolished by the council if it had not been elected by P. R., we can only agree with Dr. Sayre and say "fantastic!"

E. S. P.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Defense

Cities and the National Defense Program. By Arnold Miles and Roy H. Owsley. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1941. vi, 73 pp. $1.

Discussing Your Defense; Health of the Nation; Planning for Living; What Shall We Defend; Women in Defense; Your Town and Defense. New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. 20, 20, 16, 16, 24, 18 pp. respectively. 10 cents each.

Financing Defense. How shall We Pay the Bill? New York City, Council for Democracy, 1941. 41 pp. 10 cents.

Handbook for Consumer Representatives of State and Local Defense Councils or Local Consumer Interest Committees. By Consumer Division, Office of Price Administrator and Civilian Supply and Office of Civilian Defense. Washington, D. C., Office for Emergency Management, 1941. 27 pp.

Labor in the Defense Crisis. By T. R. Carskadon. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1941. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Labor Speeds Defense. Report of Progress. Washington, D. C., Labor Division, National Defense Advisory Commission, 1941. 39 pp.

The Negro and Defense. A Test of Democracy. New York City, Council for Democracy, 1941. 42 pp. 10 cents.

Education

American Schools in Transition. How Our Schools Adapt Their Practices to Changing Needs. A Study of Pennsylvania. By Paul R. Mort and Francis G. Cornell. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. xxviii, 546 pp. $4.25.

What the Schools Can Do to Strengthen Democracy. The Viewpoint of the Taxpaying Business Man. By Alvin A. Burger. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1941. 8 pp. mimeo.

Elections

Election Costs in Indiana. By George Snowden. Bloomington, The Institute of Politics, Indiana University, 1941. iii, 35 pp. 25 cents.

Government Text Books

American City Government and Administration (Third Edition). By Austin F. Macdonald. New York City, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1941. x, 661 pp. $3.75.

The People, Politics, and the Politi-

cian. Readings in American Government. By A. N. Christensen and E. M. Kirkpatrick. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1941. x, 1001 pp. $3.25.

Home Rule

The Number 1 Municipal Law Problem: Home Rule. Report of the City of Chicago Law Department for 1940, Including Bibliography on Home Rule and Texts of Pertinent Provisions in All Home Rule States. By Barnet Hodes, Corporation Counsel. Chicago, Department of Law, 1941. 150 pp.

Interstate Cooperation

A Survey and Report to the Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin Relating to Rules Governing the Operation of Water Supply Projects which Involve the Diversion of Delaware River Waters. Presented by The Commission's Advisory Committee on Quantity of Water in the Delaware River Basin. Philadelphia, Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, 1941. vi, 59 pp. mimeo.

Incodel: An Analysis of Its Organization, Operations, Future Programs. By Carl A. Bock. Philadelphia, the Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin, 1941. 42 pp. mimeo.

Land

Land Classification in the United States. Report of the Land Committee to the National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. viii, 151 pp. 60 cents.

Premature Land Subdivision a Luxury. A Problem of Local Government in New Jersey. Trenton, New Jersey State Planning Board, 1941. 58 pp. 50 cents.

Public Land Acquisition (Part II: Urban Lands). Report of the Land Committee to the National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. vii, 38 pp. 20 cents.

Subdivision Regulations. An analysis of Land Subdivision Control Practices. By Harold W. Lautner. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. xvii, 346 pp. $3.75.

Planning and Zoning

A Consultative Service for Planning, Zoning and Traffic Engineering on a Cost Basis. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, 1941. 13 pp. mimeo.

The Planning Function in Urban Government. By Robert A. Walker. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. xxi, 376 pp. $3.

Public Administration

Adjusting the Sights for Public Administration. By William E. Mosher. Chicago, American Society for Public Administration, 1941. 8 pp.

Education for Public Administration, Graduate Preparation in the Social Sciences at American Universities. By George A. Graham. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. x, 366 pp. $3.50.

Public Relations

The Relations of Political Scientists with Public Officials: Report of a Committee to the American Political Science Association. 44 pp. mimeo. 10 cents. (Apply to Kenneth Colegrove, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.)

Taxation and Finance

Electric Utility Taxes Paid to State and Local Government in Washington. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, 1941. 9 pp. mimeo.

Financial Statistics of Cities: 1938 (Vol. 2: Summary Bulletin). Prepared by the Bureau of the Census under the Supervision of C. E. Rightor. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. 30 pp. 10 cents.

Financial Statistics of States: 1938. (Vol. 3: Detailed Report). Prepared by the Bureau of the Census under the Supervision of C. E. Rightor. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. viii, 169 pp. 25 cents.

An Income Tax for Illinois. Answers to Questions often Asked. Report of the Taxation Committee. Chicago, City Club, 1941. 10 pp.

A Municipal Credit Rating Scale. By James E. McCabe. Syracuse, New York, Maxwell Graduate School, University of Syracuse, 1941. 13 pp. mimeo.

State Tax Collections: 1940. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1941. 33 pp.

Six-Year Capital Improvement Program for Maryland. By Thomas F. Hubbard assisted by the Consultant Staff of the National Resources Planning Board. Baltimore, Maryland State Planning Commission, 1941. x, 169 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Three Decades of Federal Taxes. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1941. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Miscellaneous

Analysis of State Printing Costs. A Study of the State Printing Plant, Covering Volume and Cost of State Printing and Efficiency of Production Methods. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1941. xv, 82 pp. mimeo.

Criminal Youth and the Borstal System. By William Healy and Benedict S. Alper. New York City, The Commonwealth Fund, 1941. vii, 251 pp. $1.50.

Library Costs and Budgets. A Study of Cost Accounting in Public Libraries. By Emma V. Baldwin and William E. Marcus. New York City, R. R. Bowker Co., 1941. xii, 201 pp. $3.

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook 1941. Including the Proceedings of the 1940 Public Works Congress at Detroit, Michigan, and the Western Regional Conference at Los Angeles, California. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1941. viii, 424 pp. $3.50.

Revision of Illinois Aviation Laws. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1941. 38 pp. mimeo.

State Registration and Licensing of Architects. Survey of General Types and Salient Features of Laws of Other States; and Fundamentals of Registration Procedure. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1941. 21 pp. mimeo.

Statutes and Decisions Relating to Control of the Dairy Industry, Including a Supplement on Labor Relations in the Dairy Industry. By Edward Fisher Brown and Benjamin Werne. New York City, Milk Research Council, 1941. 59 pp. mimeo.

Suggested Basic Building Code for Washington Cities. By Alfred L. Miller and Joshua H. Vogel. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, 1941. 30 pp.

What the New Census Means. By Stuart Chase. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1941. 30 pp. 10 cents.

POWER PROJECTS

(Continued from Page 481)

and personal property taxes levied during the preceding three years. Although the terms may be considerably changed before enactment, it is expected that they will remedy the omission of the original act.

A provision for payments in replacement of taxes was also included in the bill recently introduced in Congress to create an Arkansas Valley Authority for purposes similar to the projects herein described, and such payments in lieu of taxes are apparently becoming an established policy of the national government.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

To Cushion the "Shock" of Peace

Editorial

Wave of the Future for Local Government

William E. Mosher

Nebraska's One-House Legislature

Harry T. Dobbins

Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?

"Yes" — Roger N. Baldwin *"No" — H. Eliot Kaplan*
"Maybe" — Sterling D. Spero

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

The National Municipal League Announces Its

47th Annual

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GOVERNMENT

November 17, 18, and 19

St. Louis, Missouri

***Headquarters:* Hotel Statler**

It Can Be Done

"The outstanding success achieved by East Cleveland's city government is revealed again by its annual report.

"For thirteen consecutive years the municipality has reduced its bonded debt, cutting it from $3,000,000 to $676,000. For twenty-three years our little neighbor has lived within her income. In all that time she has discounted bills, has paid all salaries and other obligations on time. The per capita fire loss in 1940 was 67 cents as compared with a national average of $2.10. Traffic safety was a city cause last year and not a fatal accident occurred.

"The economy and efficiency in striking evidence in all activities of the government are the products of a non-political manager plan. The commissioners are elected on a nonpartisan ballot. Thus party rivalry does not exist, so there is no need of expensive spoils for party rewards.

"East Cleveland was settled as early as Cleveland. The first church was built in 1807, and John Shaw built his school in 1835, but the village was not carved out of Euclid Township until 1895.

"The present form of government was adopted in 1918, and its accomplishments are due in large measure to one man, Manager Charles A. Carran, who served as finance director from 1918 to 1923, then was elevated to his present position."

Editorial, *Cleveland Plain Dealer.*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Subtle Benefit of Smoke Abatement

IN THE midst of wars and alarms several cities are making more progress than ever in smoke abatement efforts. One of these is St. Louis where people had come to feel that their ever-present pall of smoke was in the same class as the weather, about which, as Mark Twain once said, everybody talks but no one does anything.

St. Louis adopted *and enforced* an anti-smoke ordinance, with results so numerous it would take quite a survey to list them all.

While most St. Louisans were adding up the reported savings on drapery cleaning bills, laundry, house cleaning, health, soap, and dispositions, a philosophical professor surveyed the scene and was struck by what he saw in minds and attitudes.

"I think the greatest gain," he said, "is in the fact that the people have discovered they can accomplish something. They complained about the smoke for two generations or more and everybody agreed 'there ought to be a law'; but, in their hearts most people thought it was inevitable, like taxes. I believe this accomplishment will bolster the people's confidence in their ability to make things happen. Just as the air has been made clearer, so will be the path to other progress."

Planning to Cushion the "Shock" of Peace

IT IS encouraging that, in the midst of defense preparations, we are finding it possible to plan for the future without self-consciously fearing it is weak to think of anything apart from the tools of war. Long-range programs are in preparation, some of them conscious and deliberate, some instinctive and involuntary.

One program which promises much is the National Resources Planning Board's many-sided plan for the post-war period: to demobilize the armed forces and return them to peace-time work, to help defense industry readjust itself, to save national income from a disastrous slump, to finance post-war relief work, to help rehabilitate devastated nations, and, above all, to compile a reservoir of worthwhile, carefully thought-out projects so that, if "made work" becomes necessary, they will result in worthwhile capital assets rather than mere excuses to put money into circulation.

There is a cue for cities in this reservoir idea. Spending for non-essentials by cities, counties, and states will be frowned upon more and more as the cost of the defense program begins to be felt by the average taxpayer. City administrations will be wiser, practically and politically, if they learn to say "later" instead of "no" to public works proposed now. This will make it easier to subject proposals to careful scrutiny, to classify them in the order of their importance, and to insure careful and detailed planning.

A few cities already have been doing this as a matter of good business; others will do it out of necessity. Pressure groups will be hampered in their technique of rushing ill-considered projects through. Worthy projects which lack emotional appeal and the support of special-interest groups will, on the other hand, have a better than usual opportunity to succeed on their merits.

And finally, those cities which neglected long-term plans during the lush third decade of this century may still remember how they were left at the post during the depression when federal aid was offered first to cities which were ready with mature, soundly-planned projects.

Trained Men in Local Defense Groups

GOOD horse sense is being demonstrated by some cities which, in organizing to handle defense problems, provide cohesion and professional leadership by using regular department officials as the core of the new arrangement.

This is no criticism of many local defense councils made up largely of prominent private citizens. It is simply practical recognition of the fact that actual defense will be a matter of ability to do specific jobs rather than a matter of patriotism or of the esteem with which a community holds certain persons.

"No workable civil defense program is possible," insists the *United States Municipal News*, "unless it has for its foundation the existing municipal fire, police, health, public works, utilities, and other related departments."

This seems logical enough but it does not tell the whole story. There is still the paramount need of unifying public opinion. This usually is accomplished better by the non-expert civic leader than by the technician, a truth which was pithily stated some years ago by an acknowledged expert when he said, "An expert should be on tap, not on top."

Nevertheless, many cities will tend to rely more on experts as problems in connection with the defense emergency become difficult.

Recently a Municipal Defense Council, with the mayor as ex-officio chairman and the city manager as executive secretary, was established in Sacramento, California; and in Schenectady, New York, which already had a local citizen Defense Advisory Council, there was created a Municipal Emergency Advisory Board with the city manager as chairman and with other municipal officials as members.

These two cities, which already have good records of peacetime accomplishment, probably are setting a pattern which will be widely followed, especially if the emergency becomes more acute and our cities face war conditions. There will, of course, be civilian auxiliaries, as there are in England; but recognized municipal officials will finally have to take control. This fact might just as well be faced early as late.

The Wave of the Future for Local Government

"At a time when the public debt and tax rates are rising to unheard of heights can we afford the waste incidental to the present conduct of public affairs?"

By **WILLIAM E. MOSHER**
Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs
Syracuse University

DUE TO our unshakable faith in the impregnability of ocean barriers and our deep-seated confidence in American destiny which teaches us that never having been invaded we never can be invaded, national defense is at the present writing not much more than a resounding slogan. It carries no mandate. It demands no sacrifices. For the great majority of American citizens "business as usual" is descriptive of their day by day behaviors. Even such agencies as the local defense councils, which have been established to meet the crisis that is upon us, are for the most part casting about for worthwhile projects. They are all dressed up with no place to go.

But the wave of the future is about to become the wave of the present in this land of ours. In Europe it is the wave of the present as nation after nation, almost month by month, is engulfed in it. Those who know their history appreciate that this so-called wave of the future is a recurrent wave that rises whenever a powerful chauvinistic nation or tribe finds the requisite leadership. Alexander, Attila, Caesar, and Napoleon each rode on this self-same wave. Their achievements, however, pale into insignificance as compared with those of the present leader of the German people. Their rate of motion was determined by the speed of a horse; their communications were far from instantaneous; their most destructive missiles were small cannon balls. Some of them dreamed of world conquest, but none of them could reckon practically with such a possibility. Hitler has not alone dreamed and reckoned with it, but he has also made substantial strides toward achieving it.

It is of primary importance that we school ourselves to believe that the pace and possible scope of conquest have been revolutionized by the mechanical inventions of the past two decades. A modern Germany cannot alone take the "best army in the world" into camp within three short weeks, but it can hold a former world power in subjugation to such a degree that French factories and French workmen produce a third of the munitions used by the German armed forces. The present recurrent wave of conquest differs from those of the past, not in spirit or purpose, but in methods employed and potential scope. For such reasons this wave is a present, yes even an immediate, menace to American independence.

If this is understood, it behooves us to become aware of the imperatives of national defense. It is my personal belief that these imperatives should now and inevitably will affect everyone, whatever his walk in life. The mandate of the near future may not be "guns instead of butter," but it will approximate it. Slackness, wastes and inefficiencies should not be tolerated today anywhere in the name of national well-being; they cannot be tolerated tomorrow under the pressures of national defense. The former consideration makes it desirable and the latter makes it imperative that we review organizations, methods of management, and procedures of all major institutions both private and public. This paper has to do with the public sphere, particularly that of local government.

Local Government Costly

Taken all together local governments constitute one of the most essential and one of the most costly enterprises in American society. If the services performed by them should suddenly be suspended for even a month, a chaotic situation would result throughout the land. On the cost side, expenditures approximated in 1938 some seven billions of dollars or over one-tenth of the national income. If service standards can be improved or even a small percentage of this huge amount saved by the adoption of feasible economies, those responsible for or interested in local government might contribute their bit to national well-being and national defense. This suggestion is advanced not alone as something which might well be done, but as something mandated by the "national total emergency."

Anyone acquainted with the changes that have taken place in local government in the past two decades is aware of the material advances that have been made in certain jurisdictions through the adoption of better integrated organizations, improved personnel standards, and more up-to-date methods and procedures in operations. There has been an increasing professionalization of local government services, as witness the seventeen or eighteen organizations of local officials having their headquarters under the roof of the Public Administration Clearing House at Chicago.

But the majority of local governments has remained almost untouched by these advances. They are still moving along in the traditional ruts. Departmental heads, often a group of floaters, are qualified politically rather than professionally. Even the local civil service commission is often tied in with the dominant political party.

In nearly all localities local residence is a prerequisite to appointment. This makes for amateurism in positions calling for technical proficiency. It is notorious that amateurs usually stick close to traditional and often outmoded methods; they lack imagination and ingenuity and the initiative necessary to modify established procedures. It has been estimated that if progressive administrative policies and measures, thoroughly approved in experience, were adopted in such backward municipalities and other local jurisdictions, from 10 to 20 per cent of the operating budget might be saved. There are hundreds of local governments to which this observation applies.

If local defense councils are looking for a man-sized job worthy of their mettle, they will find it ready to hand. Their first step would be to engineer an administrative survey by a competent agency. With recommendations for changes as suggested through surveys of this sort, members of the defense council can then take the second step which would be to bring their influence to bear on politicians, officials and citizens to the end that such recommendations are adopted.

California Investigates

In this connection attention may well be called to a state-wide investigation of the organization, personnel, and operating methods of some 230 municipalities in California. This program was recently launched by the League of California Cities. Local investigations are to be made on the basis of questionnaires set up by the California league with the aid of the National Youth Administration. The former organization will then compile the data, set up comparisons and generalizations, and propose such recommendations for improvements as sound practice dictates.

If the State Councils of National Defense should sponsor a program of this sort, using the aid of local councils and the coöperation of competent agencies specializing in governmental matters, constructive programs might be formulated that would apply to many, if not all, jurisdictions in a given state. The test of this pudding would be in the willingness of local councils to do something about it, each in its own area. Here is something of a very practical sort that might conceivably result in increased citizen satisfactions and the saving of tens of millions of dollars.

One recommendation that will inevitably be made as a result of any worthwhile survey is the elimination of local residence as a condition of appointment to positions calling for technical skills and experience. Business concerns scour the country to secure able managers and department heads. But local governments which are practically always one of the largest businesses in any community and no less technical than the typical business enterprise, are accustomed to content themselves with local talent. Perhaps for this reason more than any other do so many intelligent business men accept incompetency and unprogressiveness in local government as a matter of course. How serious such incompetence is was stated by an English expert in local government who visited a good sampling of American municipalities several years ago. His comment ran somewhat as follows: "We Europeans could not afford to run our cities as inefficiently as American cities seem to be run, allowing for some exceptions. We simply haven't the wherewithal." We Americans have afforded the extravagance of incompetency in the past. Can we afford it in the critical present and the menacing future?

Let us now turn to what two decades ago was called "the dark continent of American government," that is, the county. Apart from a very few bright spots, this area is as dark today as it was in 1920. Generally speaking, county governments in the United States hark back to a distant past as far removed from the present as is the one-horse shay from a streamlined motor car. No rational person, even the incumbents of county offices, would undertake publicly to defend the typical organization of the county. It is literally beneath criticism. The governing body is unnecessarily large and consequently unwieldy. In its administrative capacity it is without a head and executive leadership. It is regularly flanked by several elective officials who function more or less "on their own." Even in some large counties spending millions of dollars per year, and in most small ones, the operating staff consists in part of part-time officials who, politically speaking, have seen better days, and professionally speaking have seen few if any good ones.

Finally, the methods and policies of most county governments are as out-dated as the dodo whether one considers the handling of personnel and assessments or of purchasing and supplies. When it is noted that the total annual expenditures of the 3,000 and more counties in the country exceed one and a quarter billions, it is apparent that the elimination of waste in this sector of public management would net a tidy sum.

Probably the most disheartening feature with respect to the county and other such local jurisdictions as villages and towns is the utter apathy of most of the voters when suggestions are made for improvements. In one county after another efforts have been made to bring about changes as recommended by legislative and other competent agencies, but almost always to no avail. The typical citizen either does not understand or doesn't care, or both, while a considerable group has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. In a New York State county, for example, a referendum on reorganization was held in the 1940 election. Although the proposed plan was sponsored by a committee appointed by the dominant political party and was long overdue, only some 40,000 votes were cast for or against the proposition, while the total votes for the presidential candidates exceeded 160,000. Approximately three out of four voters were not sufficiently interested in home rule to pull a lever on the voting machine.

Local Elections Neglected

This is by no means an isolated instance of apathy in local matters and interest in national ones. As a matter of fact, practically all available statistics go to show that fewer registered voters take the trouble to cast their ballots in local elections than they do in elections of either state or federal representatives. This seems highly incongruous in view of their first-hand acquaintance with the local scene, of the immediate influence of local services on the voters and their families, not to forget their pocketbooks, and in view of their direct responsibility for the success of local government.

Local self-government, home rule and the like have long been dinned into the ears of school boys and girls and adult audiences. But on the evidence of votes cast and practical interest shown in local affairs, such "rousements" have fallen on many a deaf ear. For a great body of citizens their local patriotism consists in casting a vote on election day. With that act their duty is done. Until the next election the government literally belongs to the administrators and the party in control. For the most part the officials fail even to render an account to their citizen stockholders. The law requires them, it is true, to present a budget each year, but who reads or can understand this report as published in the newspapers? Who takes the trouble to attend the prescribed public hearings on the budget?

Incentive Needed

It is small wonder that local officials are content to tread well-worn paths, to fill up their ranks with the mediocre and untalented. What incentive have they to do otherwise? What incentive do young people of ability and promise have to enter local public service? Salaries are inequitable and none too high, opportunities for advancement are limited, particularly when the upper tier of positions is reserved for political appointees—local residents all. Of distinction there is none, of humdrum there is much. Over the portals of most county buildings might well be inscribed Dante's famous words: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." Under such auspices is managed one of the largest business enterprises in most counties of the country, the county business.

Making due allowance for exceptional cases, the public business in local areas is carried on in ways that are partially obsolete, in part slipshod and wasteful, and all too generally in a thoroughly unprogressive and undemocratic manner. We believe in democracy defined as self-government. A corner stone of our educational system is to convince the on-coming generations of youth of the fundamental rightness and desirability of self-government.[1] But outside the class room they learn that politics for the most part is a messy kind of business. The calling of politicians is not altogether a savory one in many circles. Is it strange then that the more intelligent and better trained class of young people does not go in for politics? Their fathers would not run for public office "on a bet." We in this democracy offer an almost perfect contrast to the situation which prevailed in Greece where the Greek city-states, the prototypes of modern democracy, once flourished. Of their citizens it was said that they united each in his own person interest in private and public affairs and also that the man who took no part in public affairs was "to be regarded not as one who minds his own business, but as one who is good for nothing."

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[1] Incidentally it may be noted that the lowest percentage of voters in all age groups is found in the youngest, i.e., that between twenty and thirty years old.

If self-government means anything, it must mean that the public business is everybody's business. To make it one's business requires something more than casting a ballot every year or two. This is directly comparable to sending in a proxy annually to the central office of a company in which one holds stock. The stockholder usually doesn't know to whom he is giving his share of control, nor does he know how the proxy holder will use it. Filling out the proxy is largely a perfunctory affair. The stockholder has done his duty and there is an end to it. "If dividends are paid, well and good; if not, it is just too bad. Perhaps things will pick up another year."

Politicians Control

The voter's situation differs from that of the stockholder in this respect that he does have a choice between two candidates for any given office. But he may know little or nothing about the rival candidates and he may be sure that the first loyalty of all candidates will be not to him and his kind, but to the party leaders who set up the slates. With them is lodged the real control of government whether local, state, or national. But how they secure and maintain their grip on things is beyond the ken of most American citizens and surely outside their sphere of influence, or so they believe. Even when knowing better, they are loath to exert themselves to the point of doing anything about it.

On such grounds we may say that self-government in the United States is in most jurisdictions nothing to brag about; in many, it is a pretty sorry affair. Let no one think that the apathetic citizenry does not pay a high price for letting government be run by proxy. High costs are not due to the old-fashioned form of money graft, but rather to contract graft and position graft. The latter results in appointment of mediocre, if not downright incompetent, officials both to important and unimportant posts. It also results in the nomination of elective officials, so many of whom lack the mental calibre necessary to cope with the staggering problems of public policy with which governments are now confronted. The unprogressive character of the management of the public business is thus directly traceable to the apathy of the electorate.

Aside from exceptional cases, we are governed by party-minded and self-interested party leaders; we are self-governed in name, not in fact, and will be until we take over the parties and make of them instruments for modernizing the organization and administration of city, town, village, and county governments. It is recognized that this is a long-run program and that it involves a recasting of attitudes and patterns of political behavior which is not likely to come about generally until our educational methods are revamped.

In the meantime, however, under the stress of defense needs and staggering increases in the tax burden which now impend, the more intelligent and public-spirited citizens can

(Continued on Page 556)

Nebraska's One-House Legislature — After Six Years

"Having observed the old way and the new, I unequivocally say that the new way is immeasurably the better."

By **HARRY T. DOBBINS**
Nebraska State Journal

THE Nebraska unicameral legislature recently finished its third regular session. The unicameral body was created by a constitutional amendment, adopted in 1935, which substituted a one-house legislature of from thirty to fifty members for a law-making body composed of a house of one hundred members and a senate of thirty-three members. Using the authority given by the amendment the last bicameral legislature fixed the membership at forty-three, a figure which came closest to securing equal district representation.

Members of the bicameral were paid $800 a biennium for their services. As the constitutional amendment limits to $75,000 the amount that can be paid in salaries to members for a biennium, the number of members—which may be changed by law at any session within the limits fixed—determines the individual salary. Under the present setup this salary is $1,744 for the two-year period, with no additional pay for extra sessions.

Representation is based upon population. This gives the counties of Douglas and Lancaster, in which are located respectively the cities of Omaha and Lincoln, a total of ten members. With one exception all the other districts are made up of from two to ten counties. The speaker now in office, R. M. Howard, represents the ten-county district.

Committee work is divided among ten groups composed of from five to eleven members each. In addition there is a committee on enrollment and review, whose duties are confined to seeing that pending legislation is properly arranged, that the phraseology is correct, and that it is properly correlated to existing statutes; a committee on committees, which selects the membership of the standing committees; and a committee on rules.

As with all pioneering efforts, various criticisms of the unicameral legislature have developed since its adoption in 1937.

Those heard most frequently are that members are elected on a nonpartisan ballot and that the membership is too small, that election on a party ticket enables the people to fix responsibility whereas nonpartisan election confers upon a small group the task of operating without any mandate solely on the basis of individual judgment.

It is quite true that a number of the members possess a yearning and a desire to have somebody else tell them what to do, and thus relieve them of the burden of personal responsibility for their acts, or a desire to get organized backing. It is the old cry that the unicameral cannot furnish leadership of its own and that there should be party responsibility. But suppose the party declines responsibility. It has been doing that for years.

The proof lies in the examination of the platforms adopted last year preceding the election of members of the legislature. The Republican party, on state issues, declared for amendment of the primary law; so did the Democrats. The Republicans condemned the Democratic state administration for the extravagance with which it was charged; the Democrats commended the same administration for the rigid economy it had practiced; the Republicans declared for local administration of relief and public assistance and for a fair distribution of state highway funds, while the Democrats declared for limited civil service without stating a limit, for a minimum hour and wage law for women, and for adequate salaries for teachers without saying what is an adequate salary.

Issues Not Political

What sad befuddlement would have overwhelmed the members had they been elected as Republicans or Democrats when they faced the big controversial issues of the session: licensing of osteopathists to do operative surgery, a small loans law, gasoline tax refund for farmers, an unfair trades practices act, none of which was contained in the party platforms. Furthermore, could even the tyro in politics conjure up a party convention which would declare itself against teachers' retirement, against strict regulation of small loan companies, for or against tax refunds to farmers, or for an act designed to fix and freeze prices? The answer is that there are few state issues to divide along party lines.

In my view the unicameral system, which requires a candidate for the legislature to get out on his own power and contact the people whom he asks to represent, enables him to get a better knowledge of what his constituents think and want; and his constituents will be much more content with him if he faithfully and intelligently represents them, than with a man who, when questioned about his stand on a pending measure, proudly points to his party's platform and says: "There's where I stand; blame it, not me."

This party responsibility idea is a fetish, originally devised as a whip to hold party legislators in line and used and usable as a false front behind which timid-minded legislators may hide. Party platforms are written by party leaders and dictated by the head of the ticket. They contain what he and they regard as vote-catching pledges and promises and, as will be seen by the references just made to those adopted last year, they present no real issues. I have seen spokesmen whose duty it is to act as bellwether or sheepherder for a governor who has an eye on a senate seat. I have seen party leaders acting as lobbyists standing in the wings and directing action by messenger service or by calling members to their side. This is alien leadership, not leadership within the body of lawmakers.

The notion that there can be no leadership in the unicameral legislature itself is without basis of fact. Each session of the unicameral has brought a gradual rise in the average ability and intelligence of members. The pay of $1,744 for the two-year term, for sessions averaging five months, makes it possible to secure the services of men of character and ability who can spare that time away from their private affairs, enables the members to be independent of the lobby which is always ready to dine and wine, and permits a member to devote necessary time to legislation.

Leadership Evident

It is self-evident that no legislature could turn out 202 laws without leadership. It is quite true that the independence which is the possession of unicameral legislators breeds a distrust of efforts of any member or members to assume leadership, and a general inclination to beat down the ears of one who seeks to assume that role. Yet leadership is slowly but surely emerging, leadership of a definite kind, based upon powers of logic and persuasion combined with a knowledge of facts and intelligence able to point out the results of proposed action.

Two years ago an effort was made to increase the number of members to eighty-six, double the present membership. It failed. No attempt has been made to renew the movement.

One argument in support of a larger membership is that with the present limitation all interests and areas are not represented.

Anyone with a critical knowledge of the operations of the bicameral system is aware that the best work was done by the small senate, while the house of one hundred members was unwieldy and added to the chaos of conflict that surrounded attempted legislation.

It is urged that the smaller number makes it possible for the lobby to operate with greater success, that with only forty-three members to concentrate upon, the pressure is increased. Lobbying takes two forms —that by representatives of vested interests whose status is menaced at each legislative session and who stay from beginning to end, and the pressure groups, such as teachers, firemen, members of the professions, bankers and merchants, who come and go as the tide of legislation flows. Much might be said upon the question. It is undeniable that the lobbyists prevent much bad legislation, and also some good legislation. The fact that almost to a man they oppose the unicameral system is significant. With only one house there are, of course, no conference committees, and it was the conference committee, meeting in secret, that was the lobbyist's most effective weapon. Through it disagreements between the two houses could be utilized to kill off legislation. It was in the closing days of the bicameral that most of the important measures hung in the balance, and the conference committee was often their burying ground.

The theory of the bicameral is that

it afforded a check against hasty and ill-formed legislation. In practice it greatly encouraged log-rolling and bill-trading. While trading is not absent from the unicameral, it possesses checks equally if not more effective than those of the bicameral body. As it is operated the members have three chances at a bill, in committee of the whole, on special file, and on third reading. If a measure passes the committee of the whole, it goes to a special committee which has in its employ a lawyer selected for his ability to detect constitutional imperfections. This special committee often rewrites a bill so as to more effectively declare its purpose, inserting amendments adopted on the floor in their proper places. The bill is then reported to special file, which is the equivalent of the committee of the whole, from which the bill proceeds to third reading. Only two bills of the many that passed the gauntlet were killed on third reading, a common place of fatality under the old system. All of these processes are leisurely gone through, and a law remodeled to suit the majority is the final result.

It is urged as a reason for a larger membership that too much work is imposed on the committees, which usually consist of eleven members. The cure for this is the introduction of fewer bills, or smaller committees.

In sharp contrast to bicameral practices, no bill can be considered in committee until five days' notice has been publicly given. Full hearings in public are given to all who wish to be heard upon any measure. In executive session reporters are admitted and no restrictions are placed upon what they may print.

The average number of bills introduced at the three unicameral sessions has been a little over five hundred. In bicameral days it was in excess of a thousand.

Order Out of Chaos

Twice as much time is devoted to consideration of legislation as was possible under bicameral operation. The observer is impressed, when he watches the unicameral in action, with the orderliness which has been substituted for the chaos and haste of the old days, with the seriousness which the members show in weighing the pros and cons of a proposed measure, and with the care taken to avert mistakes.

Between sessions a legislative council of fifteen members holds periodical meetings. It employs a corps of research workers, who gather all possible data on matters of taxation and other questions likely to be raised in succeeding sessions for the guidance of the membership of the future.

The unicameral legislature is the newspaper man's paradise. As a legislative reporter his mission is to keep the public informed as to the nature, purpose, and progress of legislation. The unicameral simplifies this task. Everything is open and above board. There are no secret meetings from which he is barred, and every facility is afforded for keeping track of the work of the lawmakers. Having observed the old way and the new, I unequivocally say that the new way is immeasurably the better.

Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—Yes

"The public service should lead in model practices, adding to the guarantee of the civil service the protection afforded by independent organizations of employees dealing freely with their superiors."

By **ROGER N. BALDWIN**
American Civil Liberties Union

(The first of three viewpoints published in this issue.)

THE distinctions commonly made between the right of workers in private industry and those in the public service to strike will not stand up under examination. They are based on no solid considerations of either the public welfare or of civil liberties. They arise from an unthinking hostility to "strikes against the government" as if all strikes of public employees are somehow or other political in motive. Along with that prejudice runs the substantial practical objection to strikes in certain essential services whose cessation would be catastrophic to the whole community—notably the firemen and police. The spectacle of this catastrophe is made to justify denial of the right to strike in the entire public service.

When the right to strike is thus denied, the argument is commonly extended against all trade unionism in the public service. It is alleged that because government does not function for private profit public employees are not exploited. It is maintained that since civil service employees enjoy pay, tenure, and pensions fixed by law, and not available to private employees, they need no other protection. Even when it is conceded that the conditions of civil service employees can be improved, the remedy is held to lie not in trade union organization but in pressure on legislative and administrative agencies.

The whole conception appears to be without substantial merit. Let us take the latter arguments first, since they can be most readily met.

While government does not function for profit the pressure for economy often produces precisely the same effects in low wages. Arbitrary authority in the hands of politicians and administrative officials bears down with the same results on public employees as on private. Protection by trade union organization is the only practicable method for counteracting such pressures.

While it is true that civil service employees enjoy advantages not commonly shared by workers in private industries, these advantages are far from meeting all needs. Practical experience with unions in the public service demonstrates their usefulness in adjusting and reforming scores of practices not covered by civil service law or regulations. Anyone with any experience in administration knows that no employer or administrator is capable of sensing from on top the needs of an army of employees. Only those who actually compose the rank and file of employees appreciate fully their own problems and are capable of speaking for themselves.

It follows that when remedies are sought from legislative bodies unions of employees are of great assistance in formulating grievances and demands. The voice of organized labor is frequently the only effective means of directing the attention of both the legislature and the public to injustices in the public service. This has been so long apparent in the relation of teachers to the school system and the community that it only needs to be stated to make the argument conclusive.

Strikes Not Political

As to the more dramatic aspect of trade unionism involved in the right of public employees to strike, we should dismiss at once the notion that such strikes are in any way aimed at the function of government itself. The Columbia University study of over one thousand strikes in the public services shows that not a single one of them had political motivation. They were aimed at particular politicians or administrators, not against the government as such. They are in that respect exactly like strikes in private industry.

The more substantial argument against strikes in the public service rests upon the fear that the essential functions of governments may be paralyzed, and that the government therefore has the right to insist that its services be not interrupted.

Let us at once exclude from consideration the case, so commonly cited, of policemen and firemen, for they perform a unique service in which it is not unreasonable to require that the right to strike shall be surrendered. In the comparatively few cities with unions of policemen and firemen they have commonly waived the right to strike, recognizing the exceptional character of their occupations. In a very few cities the right is denied by law. The basis for distinguishing policemen and firemen from other employees necessarily rests on the catastrophic consequences to the community of a strike, since substitutes cannot be recruited nor any emergency provision made for replacing their function.

We are met with the rejoinder that if this is true, the distinction applies equally to employees of public water works, electric light plants, hospitals, buses, street railways, subways, and a host of other services. But in all these services either emergency crews can be substituted sufficient to carry on essential functions, or, as in many strikes, the unions themselves provide for their continuance by a skeleton force to meet emergency needs.

Identical services in many communities are not in the hands of public agencies, but private utilities. Nobody, I think, argues that strikes in privately-owned utilities should be prohibited; yet the considerations of public inconvenience and danger are precisely the same. It therefore seems a reasonable distinction to place in one category, where the right to strike may be denied, those essential services which are by their nature operated exclusively by public employees—firemen and police—and to accord the right to strike in services which are variously performed by either public or private agencies.

The arguments against the right to strike in the public service tend to lose sight of one persuasive fact. That fact is the sense of community loyalty which most public employees so deeply feel. To them, as to others, a strike is a weapon of last resort. It is never lightly entered into at the behest of leaders or Communist intriguers, as is so often charged. In the public service, as the record shows, the tendency to strike to redress wrongs is far less than in private industry. Not only is this true because of the attitude of public employees to their work, but because they have channels for the settlement of grievances not open to private employees. Public attention can be aroused and support enlisted, as it cannot be for private employees.

The arguments against strikes in the public service fall a bit flat when the actual dangers are so fanciful. The Columbia University study showed only sixty-six in police and fire departments, navy yards, arsenals, and armories. Excluding the navy yards, arsenals, and armories in peacetime—where a strike could hardly be regarded as catastrophic—the dangers so commonly visualized were obviously trifling.

It remains only to note one false issue which has confused the discussion—the closed shop in government employment. It has been raised not by the unions but by public officials fearful that unions might demand it. No union whose members come under the civil service has done so. It should be clear that the closed shop is wholly incompatible with requirements that appointments be made by competitive examination and with the provisions for tenure and promotion under the merit system. Union membership in government agencies under civil service must obviously be entirely voluntary.

The controversy over the rights of government employees to organize, bargain collectively, and strike is only a phase of the larger trade union conflict rapidly nearing a stable solution. The long resistance of private employers to trade unions is being conclusively broken. Congress has refused so far to curtail the right to strike even in defense industries, recognizing the very practical consideration that the country cannot get production by coercion. Slowly we as a nation are coming around to the concept that voluntary measures alone will settle the conflicting interests of capital and labor, employers and employees. The practice of genuine industrial democracy with free trade unions and honest collective bargaining will go a long way to avoid the desperate resort to strikes.

In the public service, as in private, unions and collective bargaining should be encouraged as essential to industrial democracy. Our democracy is incomplete so long as it is confined to the arena of politics. The public service should lead the way in model practices, adding to the guarantee of the civil service system the protection afforded only by independent organizations of employees dealing freely with their superiors.

Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—No

"The concepts of labor relations common to private enterprise and the practices indulged in by capital and labor are not practicable or desirable in the civil service."

By **H. ELIOT KAPLAN**
National Civil Service Reform League

(The second of three viewpoints published in this issue.)

EXPANSION of government in fields viewed heretofore as within the exclusive province of private enterprise prompts the suggestion that the relationship between government and civil employees needs to be considered anew. Where employees in private industry are brought into the civil service it is not surprising that they carry over earlier precedents and customs, and with them ideas which may prove to be inimical to government administration and impractical of application in the public service.

Two major factors have tended to persuade some people toward new concepts of the relationship between government and its employees: (1) the National Labor Relations Act, which significantly excepts government service from its application, and (2) extension of governmental activities—the transition from a policing and regulatory government to a servicing government.

At the outset it should be made clear that the right of public employees to organize for their mutual welfare as they see fit must not be denied. The only issues that need concern us are, first, to what degree should public employees be permitted to affiliate with outside labor unions or organizations, and second, to what extent should the rights and privileges accorded to private employee unions and organizations be extended to similar associations of public employees.

Many civil service employee organizations have long been affiliated with public employee organizations of other jurisdictions. Many of them have been affiliated with labor unions —local, state, and national. Both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have been vying with each other in persuading civil employees to join their ranks.

The people are generally aware of their responsibility for the economic welfare of their own employees. They are also aware that public employees owe a certain responsibility to the people.

The issue is not solely whether the public employee should be devoted exclusively to the people's interest but rather whether he should be responsible only to the people and not to a political boss, a demagogue, or a labor leader. Fundamentally, that is the crux of the problem. If we miss this concept of public employee responsibility to the people alone, under our democratic system, we are bound to misunderstand the proper relationships in public employment.

Just how far public employees

should be permitted to join with outside labor unions must depend on what the purposes of such affiliation may be and the obligations assumed by public employees under such outside affiliation. Political machines and arrogant administrators have, of course, thrown many a monkey wrench into attempts of civil service employees to organize. They have sought to control employee organizations for their own political or administrative purposes — a practice which closely resembles a "company union" idea. In attempting to meet this occasional difficulty we must be careful not to permit other abuses or practices equally detrimental to the people's interests to take its place.

Purposes of Affiliation

The public may view with suspicion any affiliation between public employee organizations and outside labor unions unless there is some patently direct interest which they both share. One can well understand a community of interest between carpenters in civil service positions and carpenters in private employment, for instance, or between machinists or motormen in their respective fields. But what desirable purpose can there be in affiliation of a union of municipally employed clerks, patrolmen, gas inspectors, or engineers with a C.I.O. or A.F. of L. union of hodcarriers, instrument-makers, or garment workers, other than the selfish purpose of overawing a city or state administration or a department head, by a show of solidarity, into making unwarranted concessions which cannot be justified on their merits and which may be against the public interest? One would have to be naïve indeed to assume that administrative officials can exercise their judgment untrammeled by a combined, highly organized pressure group, particularly if the labor or employee leadership falls into unscrupulous hands.

It is one thing for civil employees in a local jurisdiction to affiliate with other civil employees in a state or national organization for their mutual welfare in educating public opinion as to their common needs and seeking to persuade the people toward certain policies affecting them. It is another thing, however, for civil employees to affiliate with outside labor unions primarily for the purpose of using their combined strength to coerce action that may be utterly inimical to the people's interests and to employ methods which run counter to orderly governmental and democratic procedure. The people must not tolerate the use of the civil service by irresponsible labor leaders for purposes that could place the people at the mercy of their very own employees, such as a sympathetic strike wherein civil employees are dragged into a situation in which they themselves have no direct interest. It is conceivable that they can be used in some cases actually to overcome the will of the majority in a community, particularly when the tactics employed to coerce action in private industry are injected to coerce administrative action.

If this seems fantastic, let us weigh the implications of the civil employees' strike recently called in

Racine, Wisconsin. There the employees of the city, aided by affiliated labor unions, brought pressure on the mayor and city council to meet their demands for salary increases. The city officials felt that the demands were unwarranted and resisted them. The city employees went out on strike. Other labor unions, it is alleged, threatened to join them in a sympathy strike. A hurried meeting of the city officials was called and, to prevent tie-up of the city's business and safeguard the people, officials yielded to the demands of the city employees.

The People Paramount

We must appreciate that it is for the people alone to decide what rights or privileges may or may not be granted to public employees by the people's representatives. Public officials act for the people, not for themselves—even if administrators seem to forget that elementary principle occasionally. The right to strike against themselves—the people—can be granted to public employees in given cases and under such circumstances as the people may choose. It is analogous to the privilege granted individuals by the people to sue the state. Regardless of private injury or loss, an individual may sue the state—the people—only to the extent granted by the people. In other words, not until the people recognize by law the right of public employees to refuse to obey their superior officers under specified circumstances and strike against the actions of public officials, is there any "right" of public employees to strike. No employee has the right to interfere with the orderly conduct of public affairs or to interrupt public services for the people without the people's consent. That is the difference between private and public employment.

It would be foolish to suppose that existing relationships between administrative officials and public employees are ideal even under the best administered merit system of today. Public employees should be granted the privilege to negotiate with public officials on matters of concern both to employees and the people whom they serve, such as the fixing of wages, hours, and conditions of employment, sick leave privileges, etc., or to adjust and remedy grievances. Unfortunately this privilege is too often denied them. Arrogant administrative "bosses" can be as tyrannical as the worst despot in private enterprise. But even so the civil employees may not take it in their own hands to interfere with the orderly functioning of government by striking against such a public tyrant. Do they strike against him or against the people? True, the majority of the people directly or indirectly are responsible for that arrogant administrator. But we cannot sanction the right of public employees to resort to a strike to force the people to oust the recalcitrant administrator who may have been elected or appointed for a fixed term. That is a right which the people reserve to themselves.

Who is to determine whether the particular administrator (representing the people) is right or wrong, the civil service employees? Suppose the administrator is trying to protect the public from concerted selfish action on the part of the people's employees, as in the case of an unreasonable wage demand far beyond the ability of the taxpayers to meet. Ought we permit employees to quit work and so attempt to coerce the administrator into granting their demand? Suppose an employee organization or a labor union affiliate disapproves of the dismissal of one of its number and all the employees walk out on the people in protest? This has actually occurred in more than one jurisdiction. Where does one draw the line as to just how far employees may go in attempting to coerce administrative action against the public interest? These are questions that need be given thought in any appraisal of the relationships in public employment.

Morale Important

It is, of course, decidedly in the public interest that those serving the people be a satisfied and contented group. Morale of their employees is a matter of vital importance to the people. The kind of service the people will get from their public servants will depend in large measure upon the treatment the public employees get from the people.

It is essential to the people's interest, however, that conditions of employment in the civil service be remedied in more or less the same general manner and orderly means as is to be expected of any other change of public policy. Civil employees have as great, and in many respects greater, opportunities to educate public opinion toward their view of problems as has any other class of citizens. If the people do not yet see it their way, it is up to the employees to crystalize public sentiment in their direction. If the method at their disposal is too slow for them, then they may properly agitate for a change in methods and machinery for more effectively and speedily meeting their problems.

Of course, public employees have the right to strike—if by that we mean that any individual has the right to quit his job. There is no general statutory prohibition outlawing strikes of public employees. Whether or not they have the right, however, is beside the point. Unwillingness of public employees by concerted action to serve the public can hardly be condoned. There is no inherent right of public employees collectively to refuse to serve the people and still retain the privilege of continuing in the service of the people. We would not recognize the right of motorists to refuse to pay their automobile license fees but still insist upon the privilege of running their autos on the public highways merely because they did not like the gasoline tax. It is no less offensive to the public interest for an employee because of a strike to decline to run the elevators in a public office building than for a hospital nurse to leave a dying patient and join a strike parade. A motor bus operator of a city-owned transit line may no more abandon his bus full of passengers to join in a "sympathy strike," than may a fireman leave a burning building to answer a strike call.

Many mental gymnastics have been indulged in by those who should know better in attempting to distinguish between the rights and privileges of public employees in one and another type of government service. It is easy for them to postulate that a policeman or fireman or health officer should not have the right to strike because that would rob society of an imperative protection. They would distinguish the "usual" governmental function from services they consider proprietary. They seize upon the classic case of a public utility taken over by a municipality and see no reason why the employee relationship should change merely because the city operates the utility in place of the private company.

Those who argue thus forget that the people have not chosen to take over a public utility until public necessity required it. A utility or function assumed by a city becomes a service for the people. Simultaneously the relationship of employees to the people must perforce change. Many municipal functions and services of a proprietary nature have heretofore been accepted in the same light of "usual" government service as have the police, fire, and health agencies. Water supply services, collection of garbage, and similar services have been long performed by municipalities. What was not a public need yesterday may become one tomorrow. The rights and privileges of individual employees under private ownership must yield to the public interest. The people become the new "boss" and the employees the people's public servants. Attempts to distinguish between one kind of public function wherein employees may continue to have the rights accorded them as private employees, and another kind wherein such rights are denied, just begs the question.

Collective Bargaining

Equally cogent issues beside the right to strike need to be weighed. Collective bargaining is one. There is no point in stressing the fact that agreements sought to be made by public officials and their employees are not legally binding on the people in the absence of express authority to make any such "contracts." Unless we have a general distrust of our public officials there seems to be no real purpose in encouraging, or rather insisting upon, formalized "contracts" of this nature What may be informally agreed upon between administrators and employee representatives can be incorporated in a declaration of policies or rules or regulations promulgated by the agency after informal negotiation with employee representatives. Closer coöperation and better understanding between management and employees and a mutual appreciation of the problems on each side should be encouraged. This, however, is far from a system of collective bargaining such as operates in private industry, wherein negotiation may be had solely with an exclusive union or organization of employees which might bring in to represent it an outside organization or union in no wise directly concerned in the negotiations.

Discussion as to whether the closed or only the union shop is feasible or desirable in the people's service is also beside the point. The issue is not whether we should accept the principle of the closed shop as distinguished from the union shop, but whether it is desirable to have either system in the civil service. Advocates of the closed shop principle, while recognizing the closed shop as incompatible with an open competitive system of selection for public positions, urge the union shop principle in the civil service. The distinction is really only one of degree rather than of principle. Nor is it simply a question of whether the closed shop or union shop interferes with the competitive selection system.

The fear that lack of a union shop in the civil service would tend to break down the union shop system in private employment is unwarranted. Labor unions are well able to protect the closed shop or union shop system in private employment. They need not worry about encroachment by the civil service. The basic conditions that prompt necessity for a closed or union shop in private employment are generally absent in the public service. The purposes sought by a closed shop or a union shop in private employment are not suited for the people's service.

No "Super-Agency"

In private enterprise the relationship between employers and employees can always be subjected to government regulation, supervision, or even control. There is no "super-agency" that can step in to control, regulate, or supervise disputes between public employees and the people except the people themselves, through their representatives. Public employees, like any other class of citizens, have an equal right through orderly processes under our democratic form of government to petition the legislature and public officials for redress of grievances, adjustment of claims, and acceptance of their views. To encourage any class of citizens to ignore, or abandon in defiance of authority, such orderly procedure to gain its ends, no matter how justified its action may appear to be, would defeat our democratic process.

The public must guard against a potential danger that may be as formidable and uncontrollable as our dubious political organization machines—a self-perpetuating labor dictatorship, which could conceivably overcome the will of the people through control of governmental machinery manned by public employees. This is not a possibility to be dismissed as too fantastic. Situations have already arisen in some jurisdictions which should warn us to apply the brakes immediately.

If the two cogent issues referred to early in this article have not been adequately met and answered here it is because the relationship of public employees during this period of transition from a "policing" government to a "servicing" government is still in a state of flux, and we have yet to see and learn in just what direction it is best and safest to go. We may be reasonably sure, however, that the concepts of labor relations common to private enterprise and the practices indulged in by capital and labor are not practicable or desirable in the civil service.

Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—Maybe

"It is clear that no mere denial of the right to strike will of itself prevent strikes if workers regard their grievances sufficiently great to assume the risks."

By STERLING D. SPERO
New York University

(The third of three viewpoints published in this issue.)

THE RIGHT to strike is regarded as so important a factor in the maintenance of human freedom that the state guarantees its exercise despite the public inconvenience and the social dislocations which strikes frequently cause. Time and again American legislators have rejected proposals to abrogate that right. Anti-strike proposals got nowhere during the threatened railway tie-up of 1916 which led to the passage of the Adamson eight-hour law. Many anti-strike bills died in committee during World War I when this country was an actual participant. President Harding's suggestions to prevent railway strikes at the time of the shopmen's walkout in 1922 received no serious consideration. The present Congress, despite the articulateness of anti-labor members and their strong outside support, has not enacted anti-strike legislation affecting national defense industries.

When it comes to its own employees, however, the state takes a different attitude. "The right to strike against the government is not and cannot be recognized," declared Mayor La Guardia during the recent transit controversy. "No government employee can strike against his government and thus against the whole people," said President Hoover in the 1928 campaign. That government employees cannot strike, President Roosevelt told a press conference a few years ago, was "a matter of common sense." These are representative statements. It is significant that on this issue the conservative Herbert Hoover is in complete agreement with Mayor La Guardia and President Roosevelt whose political strength is in no small measure based on organized labor's support.

What is there about government employment which makes the denial of a right regarded as so essential elsewhere so apparently simple and obvious a proposition? Can the proposition be founded on the functions which government workers perform? These, on examination, appear little different from those of other workers.

The functions of government workers fall roughly into four broad categories — administrative, industrial, service, and law enforcement. The administrative functions are similar to those which any business or institution must carry on in order to operate. They include filing, auditing, correspondence, clerical, and so-called office work of various kinds. These functions are incidental to the conduct of any establishment. Their wider importance is measured by the importance of the functions to which they are incidental.

The industrial functions of government are directly comparable with private industry. Battleships are built in navy yards and battleships are built in private plants. What logic is there in the government denying the right to strike in the former case and permitting the right in the latter? Ordnance is made at the Rock Island Arsenal which is run by the army and at the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company's plant which belongs to a private corporation. Why is it "common sense" to deny the right to strike at the arsenal and allow it at the company?

The service functions of the government—the conduct of utilities, educational institutions, hospitals, welfare agencies—likewise parallel or compete with the work of private organizations. Until last year New York had private and public subway lines. Strikes actually took place on the former lines some years ago. Yet when the city took over these same lines it was solemnly declared: "The right to strike against the government is not and cannot be recognized."

Those engaged in the administrative, service, and industrial functions of government account for the overwhelming majority of government employees. The comparatively small number which remain are engaged in the work of law enforcement, the only governmental activities not directly comparable with work outside. These are traditionally and peculiarly functions of public authority. Yet law enforcement is dependent upon far more than the work of policemen or public inspectors. Like all social processes in complex modern society it is dependent upon the running of the whole social machine. New York or Chicago could not be policed at night if employees of private lighting companies did not keep the lights on. Law could hardly be enforced and public order could hardly be maintained if privately owned transportation and communication systems ceased to operate.

The fact is that the continuity of governmental functions depends upon coöperation of society as a whole quite as much as the rest of society depends upon the functioning of government. In many instances the work of privately employed workers is actually of greater immediate social concern than the work of civil servants. Compare, for example, the immediate effects of a strike in the Department of the Interior or even a strike of public school teachers with a strike of privately employed milk drivers.

A Challenge to Authority

It thus becomes increasingly clear that government's denial of the right of its employees to strike cannot be based upon the ground of the harm which the cessation of their work might cause. It is based rather upon the ground that government as custodian of final authority in the land cannot permit those whom it hires to carry on its work to challenge its authority. The preservation of this concept of public authority is regarded as far more important than the immediate interests served by the functioning of particular agencies.

The famous Boston police strike in 1919 was caused because the responsible officials refused to accept a reasonable settlement which they regarded as compromising their authority. In the same year the city of Cincinnati forced a strike of its firemen in much the same way. In Colorado Springs, in the midst of a controversy over wages, the mayor dismissed the entire fire department without making any provision for the protection of the city. In all these cases, and in many similar ones, the wrath of the community was turned against the virtually locked-out employees, while the authorities who were responsible for the protection of the community were praised for defending law, order, and public authority.

The denial of the right of government workers to strike largely takes the form of statements by executive authorities. The only legislation on the subject, aside from two statutes enacted in the wake of the Boston police strike making it a misdemeanor for policemen or firemen of the District of Columbia to strike, is indirect. Federal employees are not forbidden to strike. The law merely states that "membership in any . . . labor organization of postal employees not affiliated with any outside organization imposing an obligation or duty upon them to engage in any strike, or proposing to assist them in any strike, against the United States" shall not constitute cause for reduction in rank or removal. This applies only to postal workers. No other class of federal employees is mentioned.

There are a number of other statutory provisions, both federal and state, which might be invoked to bar public service strikes although they were not enacted for such purpose. These deal principally with conspiracy against the government. The courts have never passed directly on the public service strike issue although some dictum on the subject may be expected when the decision on the right of the City of New York to bargain with its transit workers is finally handed down. However, the courts have in a number of cognate cases involving undertakings affected with the public interest made their disapproval of such strikes so clear and defined the power of government to prevent or break them so broadly that there is little question as to how they would act if government workers should walk out.

No Strike Policy

One of the most significant aspects of the strike question in the government services is the attitude of the employees themselves. There is not a single organization in the United States composed entirely of government employees which has a strike policy. Those affiliated with either the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. as well as some independent unions have no-strike provisions in their constitutions. Despite such provisions there have been some municipal strikes within the jurisdiction of these unions, particularly among fire fighters. As in private industry such strikes have been for better working conditions or for union recognition. Practically all such strikes occurred in the early stages of unionization when unsatisfactory working conditions which brought the union into being were still uncorrected or when the authorities attempted to break up the movement.

Most of the membership of organizations composed wholly of public employees is in the traditional services which are non-industrial in character. These organizations have sought their objectives through legislative means. Some of these groups have lobbies of strength and influence. This is particularly true of the postal organizations, whose objective has been to carry the legislative method of fixing conditions as far as possible and to limit and narrow the discretion and authority of the supervisory officials. The postal workers feel that the influence of their lobby is substantial while their power in the department is slight. One reason for this, and this is true in some other government services also, is that the postal employee works for a government monopoly. There is no other business to which the special skills and training of a postal clerk would be of value. If he loses his government job he must seek an entirely different type of employment. This weakens him in his relations with the department.

Workers in Service

Quite the opposite, however, is true of the government's industrial workers. These are organized in the regular unions of their crafts, trades, or industries. A machinist or a pattern maker can work in a navy yard or for a private firm. Washington printers or pressmen are not dependent upon even the huge Government Printing Office for employment. These workers view their governmental employer with none of the awe and respect that departmental clerks and administrators bestow upon him. They are members of their trade or industry first and government employees only incidentally. They can and do go from government jobs to private jobs and back again depending upon which employer has the better offer to make. These employees concede no special rights to the governmental employer. They insist upon their right to strike and have on occasion exercised it.

In most of these services, both federal and local, wages are fixed upon the basis of prevailing rates for comparable work through formal or informal collective bargaining or negotiation. The expansion of the public service into the field of economic activity, one of the marked characteristics of the day, will bring a larger and larger number of industrial workers into the service. Experience has already shown that they will not easily be cut to the pattern of the conventional civil servant and that they will not readily surrender methods of dealing with their employer which have proved successful. During the days of federal operation of the railroads during World War I railway workers resisted attempts to apply to them the federal rules on political activity in the civil service. They struck even during war time against the United States Railroad Administration.

The attitude of the transit workers in New York City is another case in point. Here, despite all the protestations of the press and the local administration that the city could not bargain with its workers and that it would not yield to strike threats, the city yielded when the strike date approached and entered into negotiations with its organized employees.

It is, of course, impossible to guess whether the union would have struck if the city had not yielded on all essential points. It is significant that the union twice in a little over a year went to the extent of authorizing a strike in the face of most explicit denials of the right by the municipal authorities.

The Right to Strike

It is clear that no mere denial of the right to strike will of itself prevent strikes if workers regard their grievances sufficiently great to assume the risks. Strikes under such circumstances damage the authority of the sovereign, the very thing the denial of the right to strike seeks to preserve. The governmental employer, in order to maintain his authority in the face of illegal strikes, must demonstrate his power by punishing the offending workers and calling upon his military forces to break the strike and restore operations. The generally undesirable consequences of such procedure hardly require elaborate description.

The state, of course, has the right, where the necessity of maintaining its existence and preserving public peace, order, and safety require it, to use its military arm, but such circumstances are as likely to result through interruptions in private industry as in the public service. At any rate the use of military power is an extreme and extraordinary measure to be resorted to only under exceptional circumstances.

When the state denies its workers the right to strike merely because they are government employees it defines common labor disputes as attacks upon public authority and makes the use of drastic disciplines and armed force a method of handling otherwise simple industrial relations.

The use of the state's ultimate force for the protection of the public interest is different from the subordination of a large and growing section of the labor movement to governmental power. Such subordination is a dominant characteristic of totalitarian society. If the government services were small and inconsequential the issue would still be of importance. But with the public services in all their branches employing one tenth of all the wage earners in the land, and expanding at an ever increasing rate, the issue becomes one of major moment. A free labor movement among these millions of workers is their only effective check upon the greatly enhanced power which expanding governmental activity gives to public authorities.

The power motive, recent history teaches, is as important an exploiting force as ever was the profit motive. Labor is thus faced with a serious dilemma if the government insists upon denying it that right which is the ultimate guarantee of its freedom. An expanding public service will mean a creeping totalitarian trend as a larger and larger section of the working population is obliged

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Contributors in Review

"POLITICAL reformer and pacifist," is *Who's Who*'s description of **Roger N. Baldwin** (*Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—Yes*). A career begun as a sociologist and probation expert led to a directorship of the American Civil Liberties Union, a post which Mr. Baldwin has held since 1917. Mr. Baldwin is the author of books and pamphlets on probation and civil liberties. Some of his other activities include vice-presidency of the National Association of Audubon Societies, membership on the Harvard Overseers' Committee on Economics, chairmanship of the International Committee for Political Prisoners.

EITHER as observer, reporter, or news bureau manager, **Harry T. Dobbins** (*Nebraska's One-House Legislature—After Six Years*) has attended every Nebraska legislative session since 1891. Since 1888 he has been associated with the editorial department of the *Nebraska State Journal*, most recently as associate editor. For many years, too, Mr. Dobbins has been active in the Republican party in Nebraska, in such posts as chairman of the Republican County Committee, member of the Republican State Committee, and delegate to party conventions. Mr. Dobbins is a regular contributor to insurance and financial publications.

CIVIL service is both the vocation and avocation of **H. Eliot Kaplan** (*Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—No*). As a member of the New York bar he specializes in civil service law; as executive secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League and the New York Civil Service Reform Association he has been identified with most of the developments having to do with public personnel questions. In 1933 he was a member of the New York Municipal Economy Committee; in 1934-37 he was advisory counsel to the Competitive Civil Service Employees Association; since 1939 he has been advisory counsel to the Administrative and Supervisory Employee Association of the New York transit systems.

FROM the staff of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research (1918-24) to the job of dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, **William E. Mosher** (*The Wave of the Future for Local Government*) has been increasingly in the forefront of progress in local government. He has served on the steering committees of most of the leading societies in the governmental field, has written texts, reports, and articles on utilities, personnel, and local government; has directed surveys for the federal government on questions of personnel and utilities.

AS AUTHOR and co-author, **Sterling D. Spero** (*Have Public Employees the Right to Strike?—Maybe*) has had a hand in the writing of *The Labor Movement in a Government Industry, Employer and Employee in the Public Service, The Black Worker, Labor and the Government,* and—now in the process of completion—*Government as an Employer.* A member of the faculty of the graduate division of Public Administration of New York University, Mr. Spero has done research under the Social Science Research Council, Columbia University, and the Twentieth Century Fund.

Researcher's Digest: September

St. Louis survey reveals outmoded government structure; summing up time for researchers; voting behavior in Detroit; defense and state finance; California surveys all its local governments.

WHAT happens when citizens make "constantly increasing demands for services from the city" but there is a "relatively limited amount of revenues to meet these demands?" The situation is a familiar one. In St. Louis the solution was one which of late is also becoming increasingly common.

A survey by experts was ordered, a survey of the "structure and operation of the city government" which "might disclose points at which economies could be realized without seriously impairing the public services rendered."

A printed, 318-page summary report of this two-year survey is now issued under the title *The Government of the City of St. Louis.* Directed by the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** and carried out in part by the institute (without charge to the city) and in part by Griffenhagen and Associates, the survey found all sorts of ways in which the city might save, some of which savings would be of large cash value. Chief finding was that the structure of city government is an outmoded hodgepodge. The surveyors assumed that the citizens of St. Louis prefer to retain the mayor-council form, however, and recommended only a cleaning up of functions and structure so that there might be a clear-cut division between legislative and administrative authority, in other words, a pure strong mayor type.

Other major findings: a weak, inadequate personnel system; understaffed, over-costly hospitals; antiquated assessment methods and procedures; outmoded fire equipment, inadequate fire prevention work, unsound fire pension system; poor accounting and financial reporting; over-costly insurance on municipal properties; possibilities for $50,000 savings in Streets and Sewers Department.

Looking Backward

Summer is summing up time, judging by the number of research bureau publications which look back over the year and in due modesty find it good. Longest retrospection is that of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** which issues a 62-page printed pamphlet, *A Quarter-Century of Citizen Concern with Government,* subtitled "A preface and a bibliography of the bureau for the years 1916-1941." The preface is more than half the book and it constitutes a recital not only of Detroit bureau history and aims but also, indirectly, of the history and aims of the entire municipal research movement. This is worth reading and worth having.

To the north, Canadian research brethren also look back, and in doing so, look forward. The *Year Book* of the **Citizens Research Institute of Canada,** 1941, (43 pp.) presents a brief annual report; discusses three important topics of the year—sectionalism, coöperation in the war effort, and preparation for after the war; reproduces laws which have made changes in business taxation in 1940; and gives Canadian statistics of governmental taxation for 1940. There is much of war history reflected here, which may be of import to the institute's neighbors to the south.

Also in the reviewing stand are the **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State,** which reports in a mimeographed bulletin on its "Work on Public Expenditures" during the last session of the state legislature; the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** which titles its bulletin No. 55, "Factfinding to Promote Efficient and Economical Local Government and to Develop a Constructive Plan of Improvement for the Community—Work of the Bureau During the Past Year"; the **Governmental Research Bureau of Duluth, Minnesota,** whose twentieth annual report comprises a long range review of Duluth tax trends; the **Taxpayers Research Association of Fort Wayne, Indiana,** whose Research Bulletin No. 82 outlines the purpose and methods of the association, with an interesting organization chart to show both; and the **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy of Baltimore,** which reproduces in *Your Tax Dollar* a letter by the bureau's chairman published in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* reviewing the methods and work of the bureau.

New Developments

Two changes in bureau policy also come to light. The **Louisiana Municipal Association** and the **Bureau of Governmental Research of Louisiana State University** have decided to join forces in a single magazine, a coöperative study of the state revenue system, and a joint annual conference on municipal affairs. Change has also come to *The Public Purse* of the **Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research** which now has a new format.

How Americans Vote

Under the imprint of the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan** is published a five and a half year study by Edward H. Litchfield which takes its place as one of the significant contributions to the literature of the voting process. *Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area* is based on the election statistics for the years 1930-1938 of the city of Detroit. Some of its conclusions might have been anticipated by the student of political affairs, but still it provides a thoroughly documented, impressively bulwarked case history with some highly interesting findings as the result.

Mr. Litchfield found that voting participation was fairly uniform throughout the city, rising from the 1930 low to a peak in 1932, then decreasing after that. A prime exception was the Negro group, whose interest in elections has gradually risen throughout the period. In non-presidential election years the foreign-born participated more completely than the native whites. The study revealed a direct relationship between income and participation. The two most active participant groups represented the extremes in major party affiliation.

Mr. Litchfield deems his most important conclusion from major party affiliation data the finding that, in general, Democratic party affiliation varied inversely with economic status.

The author lays much stress on the importance of city-wide influences acting upon all, regardless of economic, race, and ethnic groups.

What War Does to Finance

A valuable symposium on *National Defense and State Finance* is published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** as a result of a southwide conference called early this year by the Alabama State Department of Revenue, the Federation of Tax Administrators and the bureau. Papers by such men as Daniel W. Hoan, Harold D. Smith, Paul Studenski, Rowland Egger, Simeon E. Leland, R. G. Casey, Eric W. Cross, Paul E. Alyea, James W. Martin, and Lawrence L. Durisch discuss the various aspects of the problem in the light of Canadian Experience, World War I experience, depression experience, and future expectations.

For the Files

Add to statistical literature the new mimeographed publication of the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia**, *Philadelphia's Expenditures, 1928-1941,* and to the literature of model laws, *An Outline for the Organization and Administration of a City Planning Commission in the State of Washington,* produced under the aegis of the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington.**

Every City in the State

Pacific coast research brethren head the latest issue of *Governmental Research Notes,* quarterly bulletin of the **Western Governmental Research Association**, with an account of the California Local Government Survey which is being conducted by the League of California Cities. All incorporated areas in the state will be included in this detailed study, via questionnaires, of the administrative methods of all departments in all municipalities. Already completed is the police department section, with findings published in recent issues of *Western City* magazine.

To Help the Lawmakers

A sheaf of orange covers lettered in bright blue represents the season's work of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** at Berkeley, which devotes the days of its researchers to serving the information desires of California's state legislators. The titles include *Civil Relief for Draftees, Probation-Prisons-Parole, Legislature and the Budget, Farm Wage Boards, Legislative Reorganization, Direct Primary Elections, Administrative Decisions and Judicial Review.* All are a review of practices throughout the country, with special reference to California, and no recommendations are made.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budget

Legislature and the Budget. By Victor Jones. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 67 pp. mimeo.

Crime

Probation—Prisons—Parole. By Milton Chernin. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 23 pp. mimeo.

Defense

National Defense and State Finance. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, 1941. 180 pp.

Finance

An Appraisal of State "Economy" Situation. Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State, Albany, *Bulletin,* July 1, 1941. 4 pp.

Economy in Local Government Demands Real Consideration. The Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research,* June 1941. 1 p.

Philadelphia's Expenditures, 1928-1941. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, 1941. 79 pp.

Judicial Review

Administrative Decisions and Judicial Review. By Arthur Harris and Robert Ward. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 35 pp.

Legislatures

Legislative Reorganization. By Dorothy C. Culver. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 73 pp. mimeo.

Legislative Representation. Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., *Just a Moment,* July 24, 1941. 4 pp.

Planning

An Outline for the Organization and Administration of a City Planning Commission in the State of Washington. By Joshua H. Vogel. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Seattle, 1941. 21 pp.

Police

The Springfield Police Survey. By Bruce Smith. Institute of Public Administration, New York City, 1941. 55 pp.

Primaries

Direct Primary Elections. By Arthur Harris and Carl Uhr. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 35 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Current Trends in Public Aid. Ohio Institute, Columbus, *The Ohio Citizen,* June 24, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Where Need Is Greatest. Ohio Institute, Columbus, *The Ohio Citizen,* July 8, 1941. 2 pp. chart.

Research Bureaus

Citizens Research Agencies and Taxpayers Associations. A portion of the proceedings of the 1940 Governmental Research Association Conference. Governmental Research Association, Detroit, 1941. 32 pp.

Factfinding to Promote Efficient and Economical Local Government and to Develop a Constructive Plan of Improvement for the Community. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities,* June 4, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Five Questions Directed Towards The Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc. The Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* June 10, 1941. 1 p.

Growing Public Spending New Challenge to Taxpayers' Organizations. Fort Wayne, Indiana, Taxpayers Research Association, *Research Bulletin,* June 1941. 4 pp.

A Quarter-Century of Citizen Concern with Government. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1941. 62 pp.

Twentieth Annual Report. Duluth Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., 1941. 4 pp.

Year Book. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, Toronto, 1941. 43 pp.

Surveys

California Local Government Survey. Western Governmental Research Association, University of California, Berkeley, *Governmental Research Notes,* June 1941. 14 pp. mimeo.

The Government of the City of St. Louis. Griffenhagen and Associates and Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, 1941. 318 pp.

Taxation

Sales Tax Shows That People Are Good Sports. Dayton Research Association, *Facts,* June 28, 1941. 1 p. mimeo.

Taxes Paid by Steam Railroads. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities,* July 1, 1941. 1 p. mimeo.

Units of Government

Units of Government in Michigan. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1941. 43 pp.

Voting

Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area. By Edward H. Litchfield. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1941. 93 pp.

A Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of the National Municipal Review:

The readers of National Municipal Review, a highly selective group, will undoubtedly be interested in a synopsis of the existing roadside problem, a statement of the position of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., respecting that problem, and what we are doing to try to bring about an effective solution. The Review's readers, because of their specialized knowledge and professional concern with related matters, will probably be less interested in an idealistic theory than in a practical solution. If our approach to the subject impresses them as moderate, factual, and constructive, and if as a consequence their interest and support are enlisted in a sane solution of an existing condition, so much the better.

The problem presented by the roadsides along many highways is not to be denied. Curiously, there are those who apparently knowingly overlook the complexity of the larger problem to fasten their attention upon outdoor advertising. Their end is the elimination of the outdoor medium, and one of the means they employ is the sponsorship of legislation. The Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., does and will oppose legislation which is intended to restrict unduly or to eliminate the outdoor medium, which attempts to impose an especial tax upon the machinery of distribution of which outdoor advertising is a part, or which discriminates against the rights of free enterprise or the reasonable use of private property. Together with highway property owners and the other forms of roadside business, we will vigorously oppose legislative proposals which do not take into just account the several basic rights entailed.

In point of fact, opposition on the part of rural property owners to so-called strip or corridor zoning as distinguished from comprehensive zoning led the association to adopt, on January 25, 1940, its present policy which declares that it "will support the enactment of non-discriminatory legislation for the reasonable regulation of the use of land abutting public ways, providing such legislation has the support of a majority of the owners of property and business in the area to be regulated."[1] (The foregoing declaration is a provision of the voluntary code called "Governing Principles and Policies," which was adopted by the association to establish clearly-defined ideas with respect to the location of outdoor advertising displays. The acceptance of these voluntary standards by the industry is a constructive step toward building outdoor advertising designed to serve advertisers efficiently and effectively as well as the best interests of the communities in which the standardized medium is operated.)

The record shows, moreover, that whatever regulatory legislation has been enacted to date has not resulted in a satisfactory solution of the roadside problem. The difficulties involved in drawing up workable, non-discriminatory legislation are readily admitted by thoughtful planners; and any legislature which wants to enact a fair, inclusive, and enforceable measure will necessarily have to give thoughtful study to all factors of the roadside problem in order to arrive at a solution mutually satisfactory to all concerned.

Quite apart from the difficulties entailed, however, reliance upon legislation to bring about a practical solution to the condition of the roadside leaves much to be desired. Legislation freezes improvement at the minimum level stated by the letter of the law. Human nature being what it is, most people are content to regulate their activities so that they merely do not break the law. Legislative regulation offers no incentive to going farther in the right direction than the statute explicitly requires. Then, too, legislative regulation is repugnant to most people because its very nature does not encourage a free will to help, to construct, to coöperate.

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[1] A copy of Governing Principles and Policies will be sent to readers of the Review upon request to Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., 165 West Wacker Drive, Chicago.

All this being true, is the self-evident roadside problem to remain unsolved? We think not. Within the last twelvemonth a way has been shown which gives promise of success. In Pennsylvania a Coöperative Committee for Roadside Improvement was established by Richard P. Brown, former secretary of the Department of Commerce. Under the able direction of F. A. Pitkin, director of the Pennsylvania State Planning Board, government bureaus, highway property owners, trade associations representing different kinds of roadside enterprise, and one or two other organizations are coöperating to bring about an improvement of roadside conditions along stretches of highway distinguished for their scenic beauty. The principle involved is voluntary zoning, and the approach is merely an appeal to the pride, civic consciousness, and desire to earn the respect of others which is innate in the average person.

The response met with and the results accomplished to date, while by no means ideally successful, nevertheless have recently encouraged governmental, agricultural, business, civic, and cultural leaders of Georgia to set up in their state a counterpart of the Pennsylvania coöperative program. The Georgia Coöperative Committee for Roadside Improvement has not yet had time to accomplish tangible results, but its sound, determined approach to its local roadside problem indicates that eventual success may reasonably be expected.

These coöperative activities are beginning to attract favorable public notice. Partly as a result of written and verbal comments, partly because a coöperative program of the sort described is an obviously high type of social and civic endeavor, leaders in other states, and even in counties, are seriously considering establishing comparable coöperative programs in their communities. As in Pennsylvania and Georgia, members of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc., and other outdoor advertising associations can be relied upon to coöperate wholeheartedly with any local, inclusive, reasonable, and constructive activity which is dedicated to the improvement of roadside conditions in other states.

The history of the commercial and industrial development of this country is rich with instances of the joining of hands by diverse interests. The conference table, intelligent compromise, a willingness to coöperate, and readiness to see the other fellow's point of view are woven securely into the fabric of our national economic life. Mutual acceptance of each other's sincerity must be a preliminary to the accomplishment of common objectives. Such methods and approaches are typically American, and are implicit in the coöperative programs for roadside improvement in which members of the organized outdoor advertising industry are prepared to play a thoroughly helpful and constructive part.

EDWARD C. DONNELLY, JR., *President*

Outdoor Advertising Association of America, Inc.

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New Merit Systems Make Progress

Five states take steps to implement new legislation

DURING the past month members of the New York State Civil Service Commission and staff members of the state Department of Civil Service have visited every county in the state, holding meetings with county and other local officials. These have been for the purpose of giving information on the provisions of the so-called Fite bill before the county boards of supervisors make their decisions as to the form of civil service administration under which they wish to operate.[1] Three possibilities are open to the counties, which must make a selection before July 1, 1942.

Reorganization of the Michigan civil service system under the constitutional amendment adopted last fall has proceeded rapidly, according to the *News Letter* of the Civil Service Assembly. A state personnel director has been appointed by the Civil Service Commission, which has also adopted new rules to place the provisions of the amendment in effect. The staff of the commission has classified approximately 8,500 previously exempt positions and many competitive examinations for appointments and promotions have been held.

The Civil Service Commission in Louisiana has appointed a state personnel director out of eighty-two applicants participating in a nation-wide competitive examination. Although the civil service act does not go into full effect until July 1, 1942, provisions for the establishment of a classification and pay plan, for nearly all state positions except elective officials and legislative, court, and military employees, are already effective.

In Indiana the Civil Service Board has appointed a director of the State Personnel Division, covering all state institutions, the Board of Health, Department of Public Welfare (including county departments of public welfare), unemployment compensation and employment services, and the Indiana Library and Historical Department. Classification of institutional positions is under way with the aid of Public Administration Service of Chicago. The personnel board has announced qualifying and competitive examinations for positions in twenty-one state institutions. All incumbent employees are required to qualify in open competitive examinations.

A special examining committee appointed by the Civil Service Board in Kansas has formulated plans for a nation-wide examination for director.

Springfield, Massachusetts, Establishes Utility Commission

On August 11, 1941, the newly created Public Utilities Commission of Springfield, Massachusetts, met and organized to carry out its purposes. It consists of appointees from the municipal legislature and from the general public, with City Solicitor James M. Carroll, *ex officio*, who was elected chairman.

The need of such a body has been considered for the past two years. Its duties as prescribed by ordinance include the keeping of continuous contact with local utility conditions and developments, the accumulation and analysis of facts pertaining to the utilities serving the community, the assembly and study of data relative to other localities, the formulation of local utility policies, and particularly the preparation of annual surveys and reports covering operations during the year, with recommendations to the council and mayor as to what should be done in the public interest.

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[1] For a detailed discussion of the Fite bill and the options available to boards of supervisors, see "New York State Extends Merit System," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, p. 253.

A particular objective is to establish a definite basis of facts and procedure for the systematic readjustment of rates and service standards from time to time in accordance with realized conditions. Instead of letting matters drift indefinitely until emergencies arise, or until consumer discontent focuses on City Hall (as commonly prevails throughout the country), the commission will keep continuous contact. With analyzed facts it will seek to obtain rate reductions as justified with growth in business and with advances in economy and efficiency. It will endeavor to establish definite standards, exact facts, and systematic administration. If rate increases should become necessary, they can be taken care of expeditiously and satisfactorily through the continuous fact-sifting of the commission.

In dealing with private utilities the commission will function within the framework of the regulatory system established by the commonwealth. Its purpose is not to displace state regulation, but to make it effective from the public standpoint.

The significance of the commission, as with any new instrumentality of municipal policy and administration, will depend largely upon the zeal with which its purposes are carried out. Prospects are brightened by the appointment of the present city solicitor as chairman. The commission's usefulness should be great. Consumers will for once be placed in somewhat equal position with private companies in appearing before the state regulatory body.

The commission will consider not only continuously, but from the standpoint of long-term objectives, the different aspects of organization, control, management, rates, and finances. It will recognize that for the future low utility rates, especially electric, constitute a basic factor of local industrial purposes. It will be motivated especially by the long-distance regional competition which has been created by the low-rate sections of the country. It stakes out new grounds of municipal objectives. Its results should have lively interest for all cities that have long floundered with utility conditions.

JOHN BAUER
American Public Utilities Bureau

Philadelphia's Permanent Registration Investigated

The Governor's Committee to Investigate the Affairs of the Philadelphia Registration Commission, which was appointed on December 9, 1940, by Governor Arthur H. James of Pennsylvania, rendered its report to him under date of June 2. It is a thoroughgoing, detailed document of eighty-eight pages, going into the specific charges that have been made against the Registration Commission, appraising the methods of administering permanent registration in Philadelphia, and proposing improvements in the applicable law or in its administration.

The investigating committee of five members, headed by Benjamin L. Long, employed Dr. John Perry Horlacher of the University of Pennsylvania, an expert in the field of public administration, as its research director. An administrative survey was conducted, numerous specific allegations were checked and independent studies made, and hearings were held at which interested parties were given the opportunity to be heard.

Although the committee reported no evidence of fraud or criminality on the part of members or employees of the Registration Commission, great laxity and other defects of administration were found. The report states that the commission substantially failed to discharge its duty to maintain current voting lists. The number of registration affidavits "improperly in the district registers" exceeded 100,000 and was between 9.2 and 11.8 per cent of the total registrations, as compared to a permissible limit of 3 to 5 per cent. Charges made by the Committee of Seventy that the commission failed to remove illegal registrations after being furnished information of bad conditions in 297 district binders were sustained; and charges of "overloading" in various apartment houses, as published in the *Philadelphia Record,* were found substantially correct. Various other charges were justified in part, while some were declared unfounded.

Unified direction and single responsibility in administration were lacking, and the staff of the commission was found generally to be of low competency for the work and not adequately trained by the commission. Lack of administrative planning and many other defects were pointed out.

The committee recommended that the commission's chairman be named by the governor and made its responsible administrator, with exclusive power of appointments and dismissals under a merit system. Ten other specific legislative changes to facilitate accurate lists were recommended; and twenty administrative changes, including energetic canvass of the city by inspectors and use of utility reports of removals, were urged.

The committee believes that permanent registration is a marked advance over personal registration, and that with competent personnel and effective administrative management permanent registration in Philadelphia can work satisfactorily.

The state legislature has made many amendments to the registration act but without changing the form of the commission or establishing a merit system. Four new members of the commission have been appointed by the Governor.

Kansas City, Missouri, Installs Housing Authority

The establishment of a housing authority in Kansas City, Missouri, leaves only five of the nation's thirty largest cities without public housing programs, according to the United States Housing Authority. Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Indianapolis, Rochester, and Portland, Oregon, are the five cities of over 300,000 without such authorities. Kansas City has until now been prevented from engaging in public housing by the Missouri housing law, which permitted only St. Louis to carry on public housing until a recent amendment extended its provisions to all cities over 5,000 population.

The members of the new housing authority are representative of the many varied local groups interested in public housing. The chairman is a real estate and building operator. Other members include a woman prominent in social welfare, a labor leader, a Negro civic leader, and a man experienced in commercial and civic affairs. They serve without pay and are appointed for five-year terms.

The number of United States Housing Authority low-rent projects completed or under construction passed the four hundred mark in August. More than a third of a million people are now living in the low-rent projects built under USHA or the former PWA Housing Division.

Council-Manager Plan News

Tarpon Springs, Florida, adopted a city manager charter on July 21 by an overwhelming majority, 682 votes being cast for the change and only 143 against it. The total vote of 825 was remarkably large for a special election. It is expected that a manager will be appointed in the immediate future. The mayor and councilmen are to be paid no salaries, and are limited to two two-year terms in succession.

Washington Court House, Ohio, voted two to one on August 5 to retain the manager plan. The unofficial vote for abandonment of the plan was 806, while the vote against abandonment was 1,659.

The manager plan is being urged for **Olean, New York,** by the Olean unit of the Cattaraugus County Taxpayers Association. A referendum on the question is sought to be obtained at the November election.

New Hampshire's Legislative Session

From the point of view of effect on municipal government in New Hampshire three laws passed by the 127th General Court (the legislature), which adjourned June 15, assume major proportions: (1) an act appropriating $12,000 to reconvene the State Constitutional Convention to act on a proposal to reduce the membership of the House of Representatives. It now totals 423 and will increase to 443 next session because of population gains revealed by the 1940 census; (2) the new housing authorities law, which as an enabling act will permit municipalities to establish housing authorities, and (3) the act permitting housing authorities to initiate housing projects to provide "safe and sanitary dwellings" for persons engaged in national defense activities. The first of these laws has aroused a great deal of interest. Towns guard jealously their right to be represented in the legislature as political entities and check attempts made by cities to place all representation by districts based on population. The housing acts mark a complete reversal of previous attitudes of the General Court.

Another measure provides for the creation of a special commission to study the state's election laws and to bring them up-to-date.

Following the example set by the firemen in 1939 the police succeeded in securing passage of a retirement plan.

Lashley G. Harvey
University of New Hampshire

Illinois Legislation for Cities

Probably the most important law passed by the Illinois legislature at the session ending at the mid-year was a revision and codification of the cities and villages act. This is the first comprehensive revision of the act since 1872 and was much needed. Permanent registration of voters, which has formerly been limited to Chicago and a few other cities, most of them in Cook County, was extended to the downstate counties. Other bills enacted into law authorize cities to establish municipally owned parking lots, and to license and control the location of dealers in used motor vehicles. Another act authorizes two or more municipalities to incorporate as an aviation district for the purpose of joint operation of airports. As noted in the June Review bills to enable cities of above 5,000 population to use the council manager plan were again defeated.

Charles M. Kneier
University of Illinois

Training for Municipal Civil Service Commissioners

Four one-day training schools for members and secretaries of municipal civil service commissions in the state of New York will be held in September under the auspices of the Municipal Training Institute of that state, in cooperation with the State Civil Service Department and the Bureau of Public Service Training of the State Department of Education. Instruction and discussion of various public personnel problems will be undertaken in the afternoon and evening by members of the staff of the State Civil Service Department.

New York State Training Bureau Establishes Bulletin

As "an informal periodic record of in-service training progress in state and local government in the state of New York" the Bureau of Public Service Training of the State Education Department has instituted a mimeographed bulletin, beginning with June, developed at the request of a recent state training personnel conference. Albert H. Hall, chief of the bureau, is the editor.

Detroit Transit Strike Ends

A strike of 4,000 street-car and bus operators on Detroit's city-owned transit system, which began August 20, was ended on August 24 when the striking A. F. of L. union accepted the city's proposal to hold an election among the system's 5,500 employees to determine whether the majority supported the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. The strike had been called to prevent the latter organization from using bulletin boards in car-barns and offices, in its effort to win members. The election was held from 7 A.M. on August 26 until the following morning, and resulted in a vote of 3,076 for the A. F. of L. union and 1,925 for the State, County and Municipal Workers of America (C. I. O.). The city agreed that the winner of the election will have exclusive right to represent the employees subject to court approval.

The C. I. O. membership drive is expected to continue, with the prospect of another election in April 1942, when the present contract expires.

Michigan Adopts Urban Redevelopment Law

Legislation to encourage the rehabilitation of blighted urban areas was passed at the recent session of the Michigan legislature and was signed by the Governor on June 16. The act (No. 250 of the Public Acts of 1941) is patterned closely after the similar law in New York State,[1] and provides for the formation of private urban redevelopment corporations to which municipalities may grant powers of condemnation and tax limitation for ten years or less, offset by restrictions on earnings.

Four Year Terms for Georgia Officials

A constitutional amendment adopted in Georgia in June, increasing the governor's term from two to four years, brings the number of states to adopt the longer term to twenty-five, according to the Council of State Governments. Twenty-two states give their governors two-year terms and New Jersey is unique with a three-year term.

Other constitutional officers in Georgia, including the treasurer, attorney-general, secretary of state, and comptroller-general, will also serve four-year terms under the amendment, which is effective beginning with the 1943 term. The term of the state superintendent of schools will run concurrently with the governor's.

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[1] See the REVIEW for July 1941, p. 435.

Conventions This Fall

The twenty-eighth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will be held at the Hollywood Beach Hotel, Hollywood, Florida, November 23-27. Defense, management, in-service training, planning, personnel, and finance will be among the topics of discussion.

The American Public Works Association holds its forty-seventh annual conference October 26-29 at the Roosevelt Hotel, New Orleans, Louisiana. A wide range of topics relating to public works and public services will be covered by the program.

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada holds its thirty-third annual meeting October 27-30 at the Hotel Roosevelt, Jacksonville, Florida. Urgent questions such as salary adjustment plans, positive recruitment programs, and many other problems made more pressing by the defense situation, will be taken up.

The twenty-sixth National Recreation Congress is planned for September 29-October 3, inclusive, in Baltimore, Maryland, by the National Recreation Association. Representatives of agencies concerned with public recreational activities will participate in and benefit from a varied program.

The American Municipal Association, the national federation of state leagues of municipalities, will hold its eighteenth annual conference in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, October 22-24.

Twelve regional institutes for elective officials and heads of municipal departments will be held from September 12 to December 5 by the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials and affiliated agencies. Each will comprise a morning and an afternoon session. Lectures on new municipal developments, municipal problems, national defense and training will be given, together with presentations and discussion of local questions by the officials attending. Each institute will be held in a different municipality.

Public Works Reserve Conferences

The last of a series of conferences of federal and state agencies, in various parts of the country, to facilitate plans for a huge public works program to be ready whenever the defense emergency may be over and military preparations relaxed, was held in New York City August 18-20. Public Works Reserve, which is being financed by a WPA grant of $2,500,000, is in process of preparing a complete list or inventory of public improvements or facilities that state and local governments consider desirable or needed, together with plans and estimates. Jacob Baker, coördinator of this activity, declared that public works expenditures of probably $10,000,000,000 annually for five years would be needed to cushion the economic shock of a cessation of war conditions affecting this country.

Governors' Conference Considers Defense Problems

At the thirty-third annual meeting of the Governors' Conference, held in Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 29 through July 2, the chief executives of twenty-eight states assembled for face-to-face discussion of urgent questions affecting the states individually and collectively—defense preparations overshadowing everything else. Various aspects of that problem were covered in addresses by the governors of New York, Alabama, Michigan, New Hampshire, Kansas, Maryland, Maine, Ohio, Rhode Island, Nebraska, Oregon, and Virginia, and by Secretary of the Navy Knox and Director LaGuardia of the Office of Civilian Defense. The executive committee for the ensuing year is headed by Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

HAS the defense program created problems in your community—social, economic, or political—which have not been solved? If so, get a copy of *Your Town and Defense,* a digest published by the **American Association for Adult Education,** which sells for ten cents. In clear simple style it outlines the defense problems faced by a typical American town and suggests, if not complete answers, at least an intelligent way for lay citizens to attack them.

Another useful aid for the citizen struggling to find his way in the confusion of the defense picture is the **National League of Women Voters'** leaflet, *The Battle of Production.* In addition to a very readable text on various aspects of the defense program, there is an excellent glossary containing definitions of defense terms seldom found elsewhere and an organization chart of the federal defense setup. The pamphlet is brought up to date frequently and sells for ten cents. . . . As an aid to its state and local groups which are engaged in a strenuous publicity campaign to "Win the Battle of Production," the National League has also issued a small leaflet in question-and-answer form, *Strikes and the Citizen,* which we found particularly clear and well balanced.

We have recently received an unusually interesting and well put together government report from Barrington, Illinois, entitled *Know Your Township and Village.* We mention it here because instead of being issued by the town or village, as is generally the case, it was published by the **Barrington Countryside Association** in coöperation with the **Barrington League of Women Voters** and the **Civic League of Barrington.** . . . Organizations eager to increase the interest of citizens in their local government would do well to sponsor an equally complete and thorough report in their own communities.

The July issue of the *Independent Woman* tells the story of the two prize-winning projects in the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs'** achievement contest. First place in the over 10,000 population class went to Phoenix, Arizona, where the Business and Professional Women's Club led the way in establishing a badly needed community council. The winner for smaller communities was the Russell, Kansas, club which undertook a successful educational compaign to raise the level of voting, particularly by reducing the number of ballots which customarily were thrown out as invalid.

A conference on town financial problems was held at the University of Connecticut on July 29. The program was arranged at the request of the **Connecticut Federation of Taxpayers' Associations** and dealt with all aspects of the financial problems faced by Connecticut towns, including a talk by the federation president on "Contributions Citizens' Organizations Can Make to a Solution of Town Financial Problems."

The **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** is issuing a new and most attractive news-sheet—*Civic Affairs, Current Information on Your Local Government.* Printed on both sides of a legal-size sheet of brightly colored paper, *Civic Affairs* appears once a month and contains succinct, well written comments on local government problems. Also included are advice to citizens on legislative proposals and a list of forthcoming events in the local government field under the heading "Watch the Daily Newspapers for."

R.M.W.

Toledo's Municipal League Revises Personnel, Program

The Municipal League of Toledo has reorganized.

It has selected ten new board members, a new president, a new executive secretary, announced a new program, and has taken over the work of the Citizens Tax League which will pass out of existence.

All this by way of preparation for carrying on the work to which the *Toledo Times* pays this editorial tribute:

"Not a small part of the credit for Toledo's success in cleansing and keeping clean its municipal house must be given to the Municipal League of Toledo. It has never wavered in its support of the system, and it was always the first to rise to the defense against selfish attacks which the administration, because of its very nature, could answer only with its record.

"A five and one-half year record without a stain must be continued. That is what the Municipal League [has] voted to do. . . ."

New president is M. H. McFellin, civic and business leader and an active worker in the old City Manager League, predecessor of the Municipal League.

The new executive secretary is Ronald E. Gregg, former chief investigator for the governor of Pennsylvania into alleged disfranchisement of electors in Philadelphia, one-time teacher in the Wharton School of Finance, and a former researcher of the Pennsylvania Economy League.

Before accepting his present assignment Mr. Gregg served fifteen months in Toledo as secretary of the Toledo chapter of the Citizens' Tax League which is now being merged with the Toledo Municipal League.

The Municipal League's board of directors has issued a new statement of policy under which the League will discontinue its former practice of endorsing a group of candidates for council and campaigning for their election.

The board states its new program as follows:

"During the last two or three years the Citizens' Tax League has rendered an exceptionally valuable public service in making governmental surveys and reports for the Board of Education and county officials. It now seems advisable that the Municipal League continue and carry forward the fact-finding and citizen educational work of the Citizens' Tax League, so that there may be no unnecessary duplication of effort.

Program Outlined

"The board of directors of the Municipal League of Toledo, at the annual meeting today, adopted the following program of activities:

"1. The league in the future will devote its efforts to a careful study and analysis of local government affairs and make factual surveys, both general and limited in scope, related to specific problems as they may arise from time to time and make the findings and reports based upon such factual information available to the public officials and employees and to the citizenry in general.

"2. The league has discontinued its policy of endorsing a group of candidates for council and of carrying on a campaign for their election. Instead, the league will study and report to the citizenry, as need arises, the duties and requirements of various public offices and the established record and qualifications of candidates for these offices.

"3. The league reaffirms its loyalty to the principles of the Toledo city charter and the council-manager form of government established thereby, and to the principles of economy and efficiency in all local government activities, and the league will at all times endeavor to keep the citizens of Toledo fully informed on major problems in order that they may so act, in a nonpartisan manner, as to foster and defend good government in this community."

Two Michigan Cities Start Citizen Organizations

Port Huron and Dearborn, Michigan, are among cities in which new citizen organizations are vigorously promoting and supporting modern charter programs. Citizens Leagues have been organized in both cities by leaders who have been conferring with Lent D. Upson and W. P. Lovett of Detroit, Walter J. Millard of the National Municipal League, and others.

The Port Huron citizen program was brought to a climax of public interest through a dinner meeting attended by three hundred officials, citizens, and civic leaders. The principal address was made by Secretary Lovett of the Detroit Citizens League on the subject: "Where Do We Go from Here?" The league has begun a campaign for a thousand members.

Dearborn has suffered many years from diffusion of authority under the so-called weak-mayor, strong-council plan of government. Even the heavy tax payments of the Ford Motor Company have furnished little civic advantage in the city government. On the contrary, this factor frequently has been cited as one of the difficulties exploited by selfish political groups.

The newly organized citizens league in Dearborn expects to file petitions calling for a general election November 4 on the question of general charter revision. A charter commission of nine members will be chosen at the same election. The *Dearborn Press* and Detroit newspapers are giving the movement encouragement. It is realized that to be permanently effective the new Citizens League must be widely representative of all citizen interests and must plan and finance its work on a long-time basis. The city manager plan of government is one of several ideas already considered in the preliminary campaign.

William P. Lovett
Detroit Citizens League

Estes Park Conference Uses Dual Approach to Government

The third annual Citizens' Conference on Government at Estes Park, Colorado, this year for the first time devoted several days to round table discussions of government from the administrator's point of view. Customarily the conference devotes itself exclusively to the citizen's approach.

The first three days were devoted to an Institute of Government Management, designed specifically for government executives and workers. Four round tables discussed the following subjects: government responsibility for public welfare, government's place in the guidance of youth, merit and tenure in public personnel, and increasing the effectiveness of financial controls.

Among the principal speakers and commentators were Ewan Clague, director, Bureau of Employment Security, Washington, D. C.; Fred K. Hoehler, executive director of the American Public Welfare Association; Emery Olson, dean of the School of Government at the University of Southern California; Carl Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association; and Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League and civil service commissioner of New York State.

Conference round tables during the last three days of the week were developed around similar themes, but with the layman's viewpoint receiving earnest attention. They covered five subjects: local government, national defense—how do we pay for both?; re-examining the nation's public welfare program; centralizing the administration of state and local finance; qualified personnel for elective and appointive offices; and the citizen re-examines our publicly supported schools.

As in previous years the conference—and the institute as well—was in charge of Dr. A. D. H. Kaplan, director of the Department of Government Management of the University of Denver's School of Commerce. Master of ceremonies for the general assemblies was George V. Denny, Jr., president of Town Hall, Inc. Among the civic leaders who participated were: Clarence Francis, president of General Foods Corporation; Robert J. Watt, international representative of the American Federation of Labor; Isador Lubin, economic advisor of the Office of Production Management; Eugene Staley of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; and Emmett F. Connely, president of the Investment Bankers Association.

Proceedings Published

The chief purpose of both the conference and the institute is to bring together representatives of various important groups in the American body politic, to give them ample opportunity to present their convictions and opinions in friendly, intelligent debate, and to try to find the middle ground on which Americans may stand united in the struggle to preserve our way of life.

Each year the proceedings of the conference are made available in book form for distribution to the registered participants and for sale to others who may be interested. This year two publications will be issued, one for the Institute of Government Management and one for the Citizens' Conference on Government Management. Both should be available in the late fall.

Frank C. Cross
Department of Government
Management, University of Denver

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Minnesota Counties Struggle with Welfare Problems

Legislature provides committee to study solution

IN THE field of county government the 1941 Minnesota legislature was involved primarily with problems relating to welfare and relief and appropriated $5,000 to finance a committee in the further study of their solution.

It increased the size of the county welfare boards from five to seven and made the county commissioners *ex officio* members. Employees of the welfare boards were placed on a merit basis. The smaller municipalities within a county now are permitted to coöperate in administering relief, and counties are allowed to join the federal government in administering the surplus commodity stamp plan. Counties are permitted also to request federal funds to replace tax revenues lost through federal resettlement and rehabilitation projects.

Proposals to increase state aid to counties for old-age assistance, public health nurses, and for dependent children were defeated. Also defeated were proposals to cancel taxes on property owned by recipients of old-age assistance and to permit counties to borrow for relief without referendum vote.

Westchester Board Shows Reluctance in Reform

The Westchester County, New York, Board of Supervisors recently voted to submit to the voters a charter amendment that would create fundamental changes in the structure of the board, but made plain that it did not favor the principles embodied in the proposal.[1]

The plan as finally drafted divides Westchester into eight districts which would send one member each to the county board and one district embracing the city of Yonkers which would send three. Thus a board of eleven would replace the present governing body of forty-four members. Excluding Yonkers, which has a population of 142,598, the population of the remaining districts would vary from 38,575 to 64,283. The towns and cities would remain untouched except that town supervisors would be divested of their county functions. The proposed amendment will be submitted to the voters of the county at the general election in November.

When adopting the plan the board approved a special committee's report which stated: "The plan proposed, as well as any other plan, will be unfair to many towns and cities in Westchester County because of the restrictions contained in the county charter." Although board members opposed the plan by declaring it destroyed home rule, they nevertheless rejected the request of its chief sponsors that final action be held in abeyance to permit citizens to study and criticize details of the board's final draft. The request was denied with the explanation that since most of the recommendations of various sponsors of board reform had been embodied in the proposal, it would not be necessary to allow further time for study of the plan submitted.

The amendment has the support of the Westchester League of Women Voters, the Westchester Federation of Women, the Federation of Westchester Taxpayers Associations, and other civic groups. Formation of a "Citizens Home Rule Committee" to combat the amendment has recently been announced.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1941, p. 444.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Colorado Reorganizes Its Revenue Administration

New code integrates scattered tax functions

THE most sweeping provisions of the "Administrative Code of 1941," enacted by the 1941 Colorado legislature authorized comprehensive reorganization of state revenue administration under one "director" to be named by the governor and approved by two-thirds of the senate. For operating purposes the act became effective July 1.

The Department of Revenue took over administrative functions relating to all taxes authorized by the state except for certain activities incident to handling death, gift, and corporation capital stock taxes, and certain locally enforced measures. It also assumed partial responsibility for supervising local tax administration functions.[1] In addition the law charged the department with "collecting" numerous other revenues, including fees for practically all licenses, permits, and special services—of which the state has a large number.

Experts Aid

Even before Mr. F. R. Carpenter[2] took active charge as director of revenue, he had arranged with experienced consultants[3] to aid in working out a plan of operations. The planning "team" started its work June 2 and 3 and was thus forced to plan and set up administrative machinery in less than one month.

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[1] Equalization and utility assessment jobs, however, are still to be within the purview of the civil service Tax Commission.

[2] Formerly director of grazing in the federal Department of the Interior.

[3] The writer was assisted in this work by Messrs. Dansie and Christensen of the Utah Tax Commission, Dr. Don C. Sowers of the University of Colorado, and

Structurally, the plan designed differs from those operative in other states in a number of respects—most of them dictated by the statute or by other local conditions. Primary line responsibility for discharging the obligations of the department is lodged in two divisions, one of which is in charge of all audit and other technical tax work and the second in charge of all administrative routine—both for the Department of Revenue functions and for those of outside agencies. The former includes three units, a legal entity (as required by statute), a Bureau of Motor Vehicles (in four sections), and a Bureau of Taxation (in which are three tax sections with an integrated audit program). The division of administrative services provides for sections handling mail, cash, accounts, collections, proving, files, and miscellaneous services.

Housekeeping and Staff Units

In addition, there is a general staff service and a general fiscal and personnel agency. The former handles statistics, general research, and publicity under the direct oversight of the director. The latter is similarly in charge of the department's budget, costing, purchasing, stenographic pool, personnel and payroll work, and like functions. These two units, however, perform essentially housekeeping and staff activities. The actual handling of tax work, as already indicated, is centered in the two divisions previously described.

One limiting factor under the Colorado constitutional civil service setup is the possibility of securing personnel fitted for the peculiar requirements of a modern tax department. However, with the coöperation of the Civil Service Commission, though no special examinations have been offered (save for auditors and field collectors), appointments have been made for four key positions. All are provisional civil service appointees, however, and must take competitive examinations within six months from July 1.[4] Each must stand first on the examination or be replaced.[5]

Collection Problems

Another problem confronted by the department—and not yet entirely solved—is that of handling the numerous collections of petty amounts for other state agencies. One provision of the statute prohibits collection of any money by persons who have to do with audit work. Another authorizes deputization of other departments under certain circumstances. The department has been forced for lack of time to deputize certain licensing agencies and in effect has authorized them to mix policing with collecting functions. There seems to be no great technical problem involved in the working out of this anomalous position; but, unless it is done promptly, there may be considerable political difficulty.

Mr. Harold Singer, a recent graduate of the same institution.

[4] Indeed, all appointive Colorado administrative employees save three legally "confidential employees of the Governor's office," of which the director of revenue is one, must be civil service appointees.

[5] Since the text of this note was prepared, the Civil Service Commission has taken the position that eligibles were available on the basis of examinations held before enactment of the 1941 legislation and that therefore the four executives formerly approved were illegally employed effective August 15. Eligibles for three of the positions appear to have been certified from the same list.

Still a third administrative issue of significance is that of securing a larger audit staff and a reduced field collector staff. There have been thirty or forty of the former and nearly a hundred and fifty of the latter. Adjustment will be made in this distribution effective in part August 1. It is contemplated that competent auditors will prove scarce.

Notwithstanding these and other unsolved, or only partially solved, problems the Colorado Department of Revenue promises to take its place among the successful state tax administrations. If this good omen is borne out by subsequent developments, the integrated and successful department will replace one of the most scattered tax administrations still remaining January 1, 1941, in any state.

JAMES W. MARTIN, *Director*
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Tacoma Sets Finance Record

The city of Tacoma has set a new record for revenue bond prices. On August 27 it sold $4,000,000 1½ per cent and 3 per cent light and power revenue bonds due in one to twenty years at a net interest cost of 1.7488 per cent. This is an all-time record for revenue bonds, according to the *Daily Bond Buyer,* the most nearly comparable situation being a recent Kansas City, Kansas, issue of $3,243,000 water revenue bonds sold at a 1.90 per cent cost in July and placed with a single institution. The Tacoma bonds are part of an authorized $11,000,000 to finance a second hydro-electric development on the Nisqually River, scene of the city's first hydro-electric project. Tacoma's was the first municipal electric plant to be financed with revenue bonds, in 1910.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

A Notable P. R. Decision

Massachusetts ruling on constitutionality analyzed

THE last issue of this department, published in July, contained the news, just received, of the unanimous decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court holding P.R. as adopted by the city of Cambridge to be constitutional, thus clearing the way for the first use of P.R. in that city this fall.

The advance sheets of Chief Justice Field's opinion in the case[1] reveal a thoroughgoing refutation of objections which not only assures the constitutionality of P.R. and other systems of limited or preferential voting in Massachusetts municipalities but will be helpful in other states also.

Massachusetts does not have in its constitution the common provision that persons having certain qualifications shall have the right to vote "at all elections" or "for all officers" which served as the principal basis for adverse decisions on the constitutionality of P.R. in Michigan, California, and Rhode Island. However, the court granted that the broad powers of the legislature to prescribe or authorize different methods of electing municipal officers were subject to "those provisions of the constitution that guarantee 'equal protection of equal laws without discrimination or favor based upon unreasonable distinctions,'" and particularly to the guarantee in article 9 of "an equal right to elect officers," and in this connection proceeded to examine practically all of the objections that have been raised to the legality of P.R. in other states.

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[1] *Andrew L. Moore* vs. *Election Commissioners of Cambridge,* June 23, 1941.

The court's observations will be quotable even in states with more specific provisions as to the right of suffrage. Though it pointed out the differences in the pertinent constitutional provisions, it attacked the reasoning of the adverse cases on P.R. and quoted frequently from the favorable court opinions on P.R. in New York and Ohio, on limited voting in Pennsylvania, and on preferential voting in New Jersey.

The petitioner for a mandamus to prevent the Cambridge election commissioners from proceeding with a P.R. election as prescribed in "Plan E" adopted last fall had claimed that P.R. violated both the constitution of Massachusetts and the constitution of the United States. The latter claim was dismissed with a brief discussion, referring to the Cleveland case[2] in which a similar claim was denied and the United States Supreme Court refused to intervene "for 'want of jurisdiction,' apparently on the ground that the case presented no substantial question under the constitution of the United States."

The case under the state constitution was discussed in great detail. The petitioner had claimed that P.R. was unconstitutional first because it did not give Cambridge voters the same voting rights as those of other cities and second because the principles of limited voting and preferential voting were claimed to be inequitable and discriminatory.

The court cited a number of decisions making it clear that election methods did not have to be the same in different cities.

Single Vote Upheld

In discussing the objection to limited voting, of which P.R. is one form because it confines the voter to a single effective vote even though a number are being elected together, the court made this significant observation: "Under the provision for limited voting a voter has a more restricted right to vote but a greater likelihood that his vote will be effective in the election of a candidate than if he were permitted to vote for a number of candidates equal to the number of positions to be filled and the result were determined in accordance with the ordinary principles of majority or plurality voting."

Also the following: "The purpose of authorizing the election of officers of a city by the duly qualified voters therein is to permit such voters to be represented in the management of the city. It cannot be said to be unreasonable—however wise or expedient—to permit minority groups of such voters selected in a reasonable manner to be represented in such management. . . . It cannot rightly be said that the method by which the minority groups to be represented in the municipal council under Plan E are selected is necessarily unreasonable. Such representation is limited in Cambridge to the nine largest groups of duly qualified voters as disclosed by the ballots —the same number of groups as of members of the council to be elected. The selection of the groups to be represented is not based upon unreasonable distinctions. The groups are self selected. Each duly qualified voter expresses by his ballot his choice of the group with which he wishes to be associated for the purpose of being represented in the municipal council. All such voters have an equal right to make such a choice. Such choice by a voter resembles somewhat the choice of a voter of the group with which he wishes to be associated in nominating candidates at the primary by enrolling with such group or party. . . . It also resembles somewhat the choice by a voter of a group with which he wishes to be associated in obtaining the printing of the name of a candidate on a ballot by the use of nominating papers. . . . These principles are incidents of the Australian ballot system, the constitutionality of which has been affirmed. . . . We conclude that Plan E cannot be struck down by reason of the inclusion therein of a provision for limited voting on the ground that such a provision is in itself unreasonable."

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[2] *Hile* vs. *Cleveland,* 107 Ohio St. 144, 152-153; S. C. 266 U. S. 582.

Preferential Ballot Also Valid

In discussing the preferential vote feature of P.R. the court made a statement supporting the validity of preferential voting even where, as in the case of officers specifically provided for by the constitution of Massachusetts, there is a requirement that "the person having the highest number of votes shall be deemed and declared to be elected": "The provision embodied in Plan E for preferential voting in city elections cannot be declared to be unconstitutional on the ground that it is in conflict with ordinary principles of plurality voting. Plurality voting is not required in such elections by any express provision of the constitution of the commonwealth. . . . However, city elections under Plan E are in accordance with the principle of plurality voting, subject to the provision of limited voting, if the choices of the voters, other than their first choices, as well as their first choices, are considered in the manner provided in the plan. The nine candidates receiving the largest numbers of effective votes counted in accordance with the plan are elected, as would be true in ordinary plurality voting."

In answer to the claim that the slight elements of chance involved in the usual P.R. provisions invalidate the plan, the court said that "a method of counting is not necessarily vitiated by the possibility of an element of chance in its application to some situations that may arise if, in general, equality among all qualified voters is maintained." In a careful analysis of the possibilities the court found that there was no fatal inequality involved and pointed out that "the statute contains careful provisions designed to exclude favoritism in counting or advantage to any voter on an arbitrary ground."

Equality of Treatment

Throughout the discussion the opinion emphasizes the equality of treatment of all voters under P.R. For example: "We cannot rightly say that it is so unreasonable as to be unconstitutional and beyond the power of the General Court [legislature], in the exercise of its legislative judgment and discretion, to provide for the representation of minority groups in the municipal council or to enlarge the possibility of a voter being represented therein by giving him an opportunity to express more than one preference among candidates for election thereto, even though his right to representation therein by the candidate of his first choice is somewhat diminished, so long as all duly qualified voters are treated alike. In this respect the provision for preferential voting and that for limited voting stand on the same footing."

Technically the Supreme Judicial Court did not make a final disposition of the case. It held that the trial judge in the Superior Court below had exceeded his powers in referring the case to it "upon the pleadings and without decision" and ordered a further hearing in the Superior Court. "However," said the Supreme Court, "since the case has been fully argued on the merits and the public interest requires a speedy decision thereof, and since as matter of law upon the facts appearing in the record but one conclusion can be reached—without intending to establish any general rule of practice—we deem it 'appropriate that a statement . . . [of this conclusion] be made now for the guidance of the Superior Court upon its further hearing.'" The Superior Court was ordered to act "in accordance with this opinion" and told that "as a matter of law the only conclusion that can be reached upon this record is that the petition cannot be maintained and should be dismissed."

G. H.

Prospects Still Bright in St. Louis

The July issue of this department reported the sudden emergence of P.R. in St. Louis as a possible substitute for a ward plan proposal which had seemed slated for adoption as a cure for the regular one-party monopoly of the city council under the existing plan of majority elections at large.

On July 1 the special committee of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen had a hearing on the P.R. election proposal. Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the National Municipal League, Professor E. E. Hilpert of Washington University, Professor Paul G. Steinbicker of St. Louis University, Mrs. Rose Kerber of the League of Women Voters, and Mr. John J. Dowling of the Railway Mail Clerks urged that P.R. be submitted to the voters on September 16. The sole opposition was expressed by several Negro speakers, under the general leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who felt surer of getting representation under the ward plan.

A few days later the aldermanic committee reported that there was not enough time for the consideration of P.R. before the September 16 election. It indicated that P.R. deserved further study and had definite merits.

On September 16 St. Louis will vote on two amendments to its charter—one the merit system and the other the election of aldermen by wards. They require a three-fifths majority to pass. Mayor Becker has been quoted to the effect that, in view of the merits of P.R. and the objections to the ward system, he will not be able to support actively election by wards. The League of Women Voters has taken the same stand.

There is a well based hope that if the ward election proposal falls in September citizens of St. Louis will have a chance to vote on a P.R. proposal before the next aldermanic election in the spring of 1943.

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J.
The Queen's Work, St. Louis

HAVE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES' THE RIGHT TO STRIKE?

(Continued from Page 528)

to surrender its ultimate right to strike as a consequence of its public employment. This is one great danger.

There is also another danger. The labor movement may, in order to preserve its freedom, resist the expansion of government activity, thus creating a disintegrating social trend by rendering government ineffective to meet the problems of the times. Both of these possibilities present infinitely greater threats to our society than the remote possibility of a labor dispute which might result in the temporary interruption of some government service.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Municipal Management. By Thomas H. Reed. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941. xii, 665. pp. $4.00.

From abattoirs to zoning, most college courses on city government cover in a year or a semester the whole municipal alphabet. Though variations in the approach to this dynamic subject are almost as numerous as our institutions of learning themselves, these courses run the whole gamut through historic growth, politics, councils, mayors, commissions, managers, metropolitan and other areal problems, intergovernmental relations, administrative organization and management, with emphasis on as many line activities as can be crammed into crowded class hours. Belgian paving blocks, street plans, fire fighting equipment, sewage purification, water filtration—these and other commonplaces of modern municipal functionalism pass in kaleidoscopic review. Techniques from the fields of engineering, public health, social work, police administration, and public recreation are added to the classroom docket.

In *Municipal Management* Dr. Reed proposes a halt in introductory municipal courses on the stress upon technical processes now employed in line departments. This, presumably, would be left to advanced seminars, to courses given by specialists, to pre-service and in-service training. Accordingly, he devotes more than half of his book to basic administrative relationships and to auxiliary technical services such as financial management, personnel administration, and legal advice. The balance is given over to principles and problems governing *management* of the operating services (police, fire, health, parks and recreation, welfare, housing, schools, libraries, public works and public utilities).

In punching out the underlying pattern of municipal administration, the author contributes some pungent observations on municipal executives *vis-à-vis* the public, the council, and department heads. With a sure touch he describes these delicate inter-relationships, drawing on his experiences as a city manager and as a consultant. The same blend of personal knowledge, true-story, suggestion and conclusion marks the treatment of finance and personnel. Measured opinions which do not equivocate, as well as facts, are set down with a flair for the frank and forthright.

Much of the book is orthodox and follows familiar directions. In holding out for the cash-receipt budget, Dr. Reed, as in other tight spots, fairly states that all authorities are not on his side. This characteristic crops out later when he recommends that administration of local public hospitals be put in the hands of departments of health. Acknowledging that this runs counter to some of the experts on hospital administration, he painstakingly quotes from the opposing camp.

Here as elsewhere in discussing line activities, the author adheres to the large view of concentrated responsibility and coördinated action, the "gold-dust" twins of efficient municipal management. But he recognizes that an equilibrium must be preserved between those who approach municipal administration from the over-all aspect of executive control and those who, concerned primarily with a specific function, seek independence or semi-independence through boards and other administrative paraphernalia. Budgets, purchasing, accounting, personnel, research, and planning—all these elements are articulated as steps in the managerial process. Charts give a bird's eye view of the organizational picture. Based on the premise that public administration is an inductive science and not to be mastered by armchair generalization, the author has drawn his guide lines out of experience in city hall and in the field.

A. W. Bromage
University of Michigan

Democracy or Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation. By F. A. Hermens. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, *The Review of Politics,* 1941. xxx, 447 pp. $4.

Aided by a stipend granted by the Social Science Research Council, Professor Hermens of the University of Notre Dame during the past year was enabled to extend very greatly his earlier studies of proportional representation and thus to gather material for the expansion of his earlier articles into an average volume. To the chapters by the author, Dr. C. J. Friedrich of Harvard University has written an Introduction.

Because there had long existed a vital need for an intensive, perhaps exhaustive, study of the actual operation of P. R., the publication of this volume was anxiously awaited. The pre-publication announcements supplied a basis for sanguine expectations. Although, by his articles, the author was already known as an ardent opponent of P. R., it was expected that in the publication of this full-length volume he would avail himself of the opportunity to subject his old conclusions to a critical re-examination and to supply his complete proof and documentation.

With admirable clarity and force, Professor Hermens restates and elaborates his case against P. R. and makes it a castigation almost demagogic in its sweep and severity. He expounds again the principles and merits of the majority plan. He incorporates a vast amount of statistics, testimony, and other data—the products of many months of industry. It is useful to have this fresh brief against P. R. and as its corollary the case for the majority plan. Even the one-track enthusiast for P. R. can profit greatly by their study. The valuable factual materials of the volume will be generally welcomed.

What make the volume disappointing and seriously mar its wider usefulness are the sweeping and almost reckless generalizations which the author permits to escape his inner scholastic censor as he proceeds to interpret his data and to correlate them with his theories. It would take a great deal more of substantial evidence and new historical facts than the author has mustered to make it appear plausible that P. R. is the *cause* of multiple parties or of parties based on economic differences or of radical parties, or "that P. R. is *the* Trojan Horse of Democracy," or "that the blow dealt to Radicals by the majority system is so severe that the evil is cured once and for all."

The facts of history as now recorded seem to show that the multiple-party system long ante-dated the adoption of P. R., that in Germany and Austria, for instance, there were more parties (including some rapidly growing radical ones) before the adoption of P. R. than afterwards; that Spain (among many examples) without P. R. had numerous parties including among others some that were radical and some that were based on economic elements; that in Great Britain (the native land of the majority system) the Labor party (a radical party) is a major party; that P. R. in the small democracies of Europe has been accepted as a vital instrument of popular government rather than as an invading Trojan Horse.

Lack of space is hardly a sufficient excuse for the summary way in which the case of P. R. in American cities is dismissed on the basis of a few fragments of evidence and testimony.

This volume is not one for the uncritical and uninformed. In their hands it would be both misleading and dangerous. As a book on "P. R., the Trojan Horse of Democracy," its place is rather on the shelf of the specialist as a companion volume to one of the treatises on P. R., the panacea for all the ills of the state. To meet the general need it is to be hoped that an intensive, exhaustive, wholly objective study (or a series of such studies) will soon be made in this important phase of the problem of representation.

Arnold J. Lien

Washington University
St. Louis

Government and the Needy—A Study of Public Assistance in New Jersey. By Paul Tutt Stafford. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1941. 328 pp. $3.

The history of public welfare administration in the state of New Jersey is illustrative not only of the main features of public welfare development in other states but also of many of the chief characteristics of the growth of government generally. The government has been forced into the welfare field willy-nilly. It has begged, borrowed, and taxed to get funds. It has been obliged to organize the disbursement of money, the accounting of funds, and the recording of the status of recipients; to develop an elaborate technique for determining eligibility for aid and the conditions requiring termination.

Historically in New Jersey the story begins with the undifferentiated treatment of poverty, physical disability, mental disability, and delinquency under the poor law inherited from England. Gradually segments of the needy were detached from the general mass and given special treatment by special agencies.

That division of labor and specialization which has become so prominent a part of modern life ran riot in welfare work with a consequent multiplication of public and private agencies each devoting itself to some special phase of welfare work. There has been consequent confusion, friction, overlapping, and duplication in welfare work complicated further by the participation of three levels of government.

It was inevitable that a movement for re-integration should begin. In New Jersey it started with the state Department of Institutions and Agencies set up in 1918. It is likely, however, that unification will proceed at both the level of overhead administrative organization and at the service level. The latter is exemplified in the New York City Department of Welfare's Richmond Welfare Center which is a unified district welfare office handling public assistance, aid to the aged, the blind, and dependent children.

Dr. Stafford gives a clear exposition of this development with a detailed analysis of the present system in New Jersey. It is his conclusion that: "There are probably not more than a score of laymen and policy-making political representatives in the entire state who know the present system's ramifications or can identify in a general way the various organizations involved." He further found that lay participation has been highly fruitful in New Jersey; that personnel qualifications—especially in smaller municipalities—were low; and that there has been a great lack of coördination in public works activities of the various levels of government. Among his more important conclusions are: that the federal government should withdraw from all direct administration of welfare including work relief; that aside from federal grants and general nationwide minimum standards, the states should be the centers of supervision and administration; that actual operations be carried on by local governments.

This is an excellent study well worth the attention of all persons interested in the subject. While one would hesitate to contemplate reading a similar work for each one of the forty-eight states, it is true that such studies for the more populous states of the union would serve to provide a wealth of material on problems and practices out of which to design more effective administration and more equitable welfare service.

HARVEY PINNEY
New York University

Additional Books and Pamphlets Received

Budgets

A Report on the Budget of the State of Tennessee for the Biennium July 1, 1941, to June 30, 1943. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, Inc., 1941. 23 pp. mimeo.

The Rôle of Budgeting in Government. By Grover Wm. Ensley. New York, The Tax Foundation, 1941. 28 pp. mimeo.

Centralization

Centralized vs. Decentralized Government in Relation to Democracy. Review of the Arguments Advanced in the Literature of Various Nations. By Paul Studenski and Paul R. Mort. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. vii, 69 pp. 75 cents.

The New Centralization. A Study of Intergovernmental Relationships in the United States. By George C. S. Benson. New York City, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941. xii, 181 pp. $1.00 college; $1.50 trade.

Defense

Consumer Knowledge Builds Defense: A Selected Bibliography of Available Pamphlet Materials. By Consumer Division, Office for Emergency Management. Washington, D. C., 1941. 62 pp. mimeo.

Defense and Living Costs. New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. 19 pp. 10 cents.

The Rôle of the Los Angeles City Health Department in National Defense. By George Parrish. Los Angeles, City Board of Health Commissioners, 1941. 26 pp.

Employment

Development of Resources and Stabilization of Employment in the United States. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. ix, 409 pp. $1.20.

Man Meets Job—How Uncle Sam Helps. By Philip S. Broughton. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1941. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Police

Distribution of Police Patrol Force. By O. W. Wilson. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. 27 pp. $1.

Public Welfare

Cash Benefits under Voluntary Disability Insurance in the United States. By Elizabeth L. Otey. Washington, D. C., Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, 1941. vi, 117 pp. 15 cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Federal Aid and Public Assistance in Illinois. By Arthur P. Miles. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. xv, 259 pp. $1.50.

Want in the Midst of Plenty. The Genesis of the Food Stamp Plan. By Ray Harvey. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. 35 pp. 50 cents.

Purchasing

Centralized Purchasing. A Sentry at the Tax Exit Gate (Revised). By Russell Forbes. New York City, National Association of Purchasing Agents, 1941. 38 pp. 75 cents (free to government officials).

How Government Buys: An Appraisal. By Albert M. Freiberg. Cambridge, Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, 1941. 27 pp.

Purchasing Laws for State, County, and City Governments (Revised). By Russell Forbes. New York City, National Association of Purchasing Agents, 1941. 35 pp. 75 cents (free to government officials).

The State Purchasing Department: An Administrative Survey. By Alvin A. Burger and Thomas J. Graves. (Survey Report No. 2, Studies in the Efficiency of the New Jersey State Government.) Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1941. 75 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Registration of Voters

Administration of Permanent Registration in the City of Philadelphia.[1] Report of The Governor's Committee to Investigate the Affairs of the Philadelphia Registration Commission. Philadelphia, 1941. 88 pp. mimeo.

Utilities

Municipally-Owned Electric Plants in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1941. 24 pp. mimeo.

Results of Municipal Electric Systems 1941. Record of 758 Cities under Municipal Ownership—Rates in Effect 1940-1941. Kansas City, Missouri, Burns & McDonnell Engineering Company, 1941. 428 pp. $5.00.

FUTURE FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(Continued from Page 510)

rise up in their might and bring their influence to bear in the direction of making their own local governments more up-to-date and businesslike. This is a task that is peculiarly appropriate for local defense councils. They are composed of influential and public-spirited community leaders who are committed to making contributions to national defense through local action. We have attempted to outline a type of local action that will come only through an aroused citizenry. It will mean making democracy work on the home front and it can feasibly bring about a sizable decrease in the tax burden.

In conclusion, we are rapidly entering a period of belt-tightening and sacrifice up and down the line. It will not be long before many of us will walk instead of ride; we will save electricity because, it is said, ten kilowatt hours saved means one pound of aluminum; we will probably be asked to content ourselves with lower temperatures in home and office to conserve oil and coal.

Has the time not come for us to take a look at the quality and character of this seven-billion-dollar business known as local government? At a time when the public debt and tax rates are rising to unheard of heights can we afford the waste incidental to the present conduct of local public affairs? If local defense councils, service clubs, and patriotic citizens want to contribute their bit to the "national total emergency," here is an opportunity at their very doors, one calling for devotion and self-sacrifice, as well as for a high order of intelligent and constructive leadership. Here, finally, is an opportunity to prove that democracy works where —to really amount to much it must work *first*—on the home front. As De Toqueville put it a century ago: "How can a populace, unaccustomed to freedom in small concerns, learn to use it temperately in great affairs?" It is within local institutions that we learn how to use and enjoy liberty and to practice self-government.

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[1] For a discussion of this report, see p. 537, this REVIEW.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

An Open Letter to League Members

IF YOU'RE interested in the shape of things to come for local government—if you're interested in:

The probable fate of your community in the post-war world;

Why its existence is important in the democratic process;

How to teach youngsters, twenty-one-year-olds, and adults to live in a democracy;

How your community could function more effectively in the defense program.

Then—you will mark on your calendar **November 17, 18, and 19,** as dates when you expect to be in **St. Louis** for the National Municipal League's forty-seventh annual **Conference on Government.**

Some of the answers to these questions will be provided by George H. Gallup, founder and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion; Charles P. Taft, assistant director of the Office of Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities; C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin; Hal Luhnow, Kansas City civic leader; Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University; Alonzo G. Grace, Connecticut's commissioner of education; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant—to mention some of those who already have accepted invitations to appear on the conference program.

To whet your appetite further for what we think is going to be an outstanding League conference, we can promise you discussion of such subjects as reorganizing our public schools, making the merit system work, city growing pains, making your vote count, modernizing a state constitution and getting it adopted, the community's responsibility for settling labor problems, streamlining your county.

This is only a sketchy hint of the fulsome and interesting plans now nearing completion. The newly-revised *Model State Constitution* will make its bow at the conference to demonstrate to our states how they can lift themselves from the constitutional stagnation with which most of them are plagued. Members of the League's Committee on State Government will show how this committee has worked out solutions of problems which face every state. The conference is expected also to serve as a starting point for an educational campaign in Missouri leading to a vote on the question of whether that state's constitution should be revised.

Meeting with the League, as usual, will be the Proportional Representation League and the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

We will look forward to seeing you Monday noon, November 17, at the Statler Hotel in St. Louis, when Immediate Past President Dykstra will sound the keynote for the conference.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Let's End the Petition Abuses

NEITHER public indignation nor threat of vigorous prosecution seems likely to follow the recent discovery of widespread irregularities in the circulation of petitions in the city of New York.[1]

The professional politician seems more annoyed than embarrassed or repentant. The various candidates involved are mildly surprised that they should be "picked on." They say they didn't know much about what happened, anyway. They had simply turned over the whole problem to people who made it a business to circulate petitions at so much a name. What concern was it of theirs if the circulators sat down with pen and a list of voters in hand instead of doing the job the hard way by going from door to door as the impractical reformers do?

This situation, which is found in some degree in many cities, is a serious threat to the preservation of a democratic self-governing system. The perversion of the processes of free and honest election must be recognized as one of the worst offenses which can be committed against the people and it must be treated as such with appropriate penalties. If public indifference makes severe punishment impossible, then the idea that there is something democratic about our processes is hollow pretense.

To illustrate: political organizations in New York City easily and quickly obtained over five times as many signatures to petitions as they needed to place on the ballot the question of repealing proportional representation as the method of electing the City Council; yet the voters overwhelmingly turned the proposition down. The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, on the other hand, had to go through a long, hard struggle to obtain 92,000 signatures to place on the ballot the question of abolishing useless county offices in New York and eliminating the sinecures of many political drones; yet it is predicted by the political organizations themselves that this proposition will be approved by the voters in November.

It is obvious that there is something seriously wrong with current practices in connection with petitions, whether they be initiative measures or nominations, as expressions of the people's desires. The people did not desire to scuttle P.R., but it was possible to produce petitions bearing the names of 278,000 persons to ask that it be scuttled. The people do desire to abolish unneeded offices in the five counties within the city, as they indicated overwhelmingly in their vote of some years ago, but it was difficult to satisfy the minimum requirement for signatures on a petition demanding the right to vote on the question.

Students of the problem have proposed other methods. They have suggested that a comparatively small number of voters be permitted to go personally before the board of elections to sign either a referendum or nominating petition in which they are interested. Another system, the "deposit method," has been tried for the nomination of candidates with apparent success in Ireland, Canada, and England, and to some extent in this country. While it requires only a small number of signers, it also requires a deposit of money which the candidate forfeits if he fails to receive a certain minimum number of votes in the election, thus tending to eliminate nuisance candidates.

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[1] See also "Nominating Petitions Contested in New York," p. 596, this issue.

One way or another, this mockery should be ended, either by putting some teeth into the present system or by discarding it in favor of something which isn't a game of make-believe.

An Old Tradition Gets Crowded

NEW HAMPSHIRE has not quite the smallest population among the states—there are four below it—but it has the largest lower legislative body, surpassing even the prodigious and unwieldy United States House of Representatives. The last census will give New Hampshire's house a membership of 443, eight more than its counterpart in Washington where things get done only when the leaders can stifle debate and whip members into line.

Some states with a less enviable record of effective town government will be at a loss to understand the desirability of a representative for every 600 inhabitants, with smaller towns having a representative once in three years. But now the question is no longer the academic one of large legislative bodies versus small ones. There won't be a room large enough in the state capitol to house the members; indeed, there were more members than seats even before the current increase.

Delaware, half as large, gets along quite well with thirty-five members. Nebraska, three times as large, does even better with a single-house legislature of forty-three members.

New Hampshire would do well to consider scrapping her old tradition in favor of the small, unicameral legislature which has been recommended for years by the *Model State Constitution*.[1] The tradition is not as sensible as it seems. It will be cheaper in the first instance to cut down the representation than to enlarge the chamber; and there is little question but that, in the long run, a single smaller house will not only be more economical but more satisfactory and effective.

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[1] The fourth revision of the *Model State Constitution* will be available shortly through the National Municipal League at 50 cents per copy.

Justice Louis D. Brandeis

It is with deepest regret that the League records the death on October 5 of former Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Justice Brandeis, one of the founders of the League, was a member of its first executive committee, elected at the organization meeting held in New York City in May 1894.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Kansas City Has Its Chin Up

Miniature brooms worn by tens of thousands symbolic of drastic political house-cleaning organized by Kansas City's woman crusaders.

By **STANLEY HIGH**

POLITICALLY calloused Kansas City had never seen such a campaign. It was non-professional, nonpartisan, and evangelical. It was fought from the street corners and in the pulpits, through department store windows and at the front door of every Kansas City home. The men had a big hand in what happened. But it was the woman's touch that finished the job.

The miniature brooms which Kansas Cityans wore by the tens of thousands were symbolic of a political house-cleaning the like of which few crime-infested, boss-ridden cities ever experienced. Since then Kansas City has risen in a year and a half from a near-record low among badly governed municipalities to rank with the best.

First call to make the 1940 spring elections a woman's crusade to oust the bosses was issued in November 1939. It was signed by forty Kansas City housewives, who set up their headquarters in a downtown office. An important part of the drive behind this office was supplied by Mrs. George H. Gorton—a grandmother—and Mrs. Russell C. Comer—lately a debutante. Both of them were generals by instinct and crusaders by conviction. Their zeal was contagious.

The women of the city—all ranks of them—began to beat a path to the door. Within a few weeks headquarters had overflowed into numerous other offices and five hundred volunteer typists were working to catalogue the rush—classifying applicants, assigning them to precinct captains, and following through to see that each person got to the job intended for her.

Weeks before the election more than 7,500 women had been enrolled as precinct workers. Every one of them was put through a short course in pavement-pounding, door-bell politics. By election day they had called at every home in Kansas City, given a woman-to-woman explanation of the family importance of the election, and left a campaign broom.

In mid-December store windows suddenly blossomed with decorated Christmas trees, each with a large, alluringly trimmed box beneath it and the inscription: "Let's Give Kansas City a Christmas Present of Good Government." Christmas past, the women displaced the trees with miniature campaign offices—attractive typists earnestly writing campaign letters under the banner: "At Work for Good Government." For the week before Valentine's Day the city was placarded with huge red hearts: "Put a New Heart in the Heart of America."

Election day, women with large brooms picketed in the vicinity of every polling booth. Two hundred automobiles, driven by women, got the non-auto-owning or forgetful feminine voters to the polls. More women voted than in any other Kansas City election. And the count sealed the doom of the machine. Even in the one ward which the bosses bought, paid for, and won the margin was a narrow one. In every other boss stronghold, the voters—shaken out of their apathy and assured that crooks would not count the vote—hailed their opportunity and turned the rascals out.

This uprising was a result of no overnight awakening. It was a result of twenty years' accumulation of political filth and of almost ten years of off-and-on political crusading.

A Crime-Ridden City

The accumulation of filth had made Kansas City the nation's safest gangster hangout. Its police protected and collected from one of the country's largest red-light districts—a dozen solid blocks of it. Its gambling joints ran wide open. Narcotics were peddled like popcorn from its street corners.

Behind all this was Boss Tom Pendergast. He ran the city government entirely on a fear-and-favor basis. By tens of millions of dollars in illegal tax abatements the machine bribed many of the city's business men into silence. In a variety of other ways—from removing water meters to straight-out strong-arming—the protests of the average citizen were choked off.

The revolt against this stench began in 1932 when a group of young Kansas Cityans started a modest movement to educate the younger generation of voters in "good government." Upshot of this apparently innocuous civic venture was a bipartisan, Citizens-Fusion ticket in the spring election of 1934. In the youth-led campaign that followed plug-uglies, winked at by the police, broke up Fusion meetings and blackjacked its speakers. On election day armed thugs took over the job of intimidation at the polling places. There were innumerable fights and sluggings. Three men were killed.

But Fusion won two places on the eight-man city council and girded its loins for the elections of 1936.

Alarmed, the bosses prepared to go to town in a bigger way than ever. They put Kansas City's voting lists through the padding mill. Thirty-five per cent of the names were fraudulent. The machine won the election "handsomely."

But this time the political stench was so bad and Kansas City's plight so apparent that the federal government took a hand. Successive grand juries—which stayed on the job for two full years—investigated the vote frauds and brought in 280 indictments against the machine faithful. The United States district attorney got 280 convictions.

The big shots temporarily escaped. But in 1938 a federal investigation pinned insurance frauds on them and Tom Pendergast and a choice handful of his men went to federal prison for income tax evasion.

Thereupon the city's crusaders took heart and returned to the wars. Business men, through the Chamber of Commerce and in a number of independent organizations, put the microscope on the city's finances. They discovered that there was no intelligible budgeting system; no accounting system worthy of the name. A secret payroll was unearthed by which the machine financed its precinct workers from the city treasury. The machine-made city manager was found to have illegally dispensed an "emergency fund" of $8,000,000. A $32,000,000 bond issue, voted in 1932 for badly needed civic improvements, was being used to cover up the machine's current deficits. Tax assessments and collections were determined on a straight-out reward or punishment basis.

Municipal Miracle

Further aroused by these revelations and aggressively backed by the *Kansas City Star,* Kansas City now organized for the 1940 big push. Anti-machine Democrats, the Republican organization, the Charter party —successor to Fusion—and the women's organizations all joined to form the United Campaign Committee. Then, in April 1940, came the spectacular campaign that—with the women's brooms—swept the bosses out. The United Campaign Committee won seven of eight seats on the City Council and elected John B. Gage, its candidate for mayor.

Gage, a mild-mannered lawyer who knew next to nothing about politics, did know the difference between good business and bad. To help him in putting Kansas City on a good-business basis, he commandeered for city manager L. P. Cookingham, city manager at Saginaw, Michigan.

What has happened since Gage and Cookingham took hold is a municipal miracle. In personnel the merit system has been restored and the boss-padded city payroll slashed from 7,200 to 3,200. For the first time the city has a reliable municipal budget. The city's immemorial deficits have been turned into a cash surplus of more than $1,500,000. The general tax levy has been reduced 5 per cent.

In the machine's heyday the city fire department was so corrupt and inefficient that Kansas Cityans frequently declared that they were less afraid of fire than of firemen. No new equipment had been purchased in ten years. Fire losses had increased to the point where an increase in insurance rates for the city was in prospect.

The new government has built a new department, weeding out encumbrances and choosing new men by the merit system. The long disused training school has been reopened. Out of department savings—the gas bill alone has been cut in half—five new pieces of equipment have been purchased. Per capita loss by fire has been cut from $2.41 in 1939 to $1.67 in 1940.

Instead of a dozen inadequately supervised playgrounds the city this summer ran and supervised fifty-nine. There are 230 teams in its newly organized softball leagues. Juvenile delinquency has been reduced 80 per cent.

Cleanup of the police department began in 1939 when Governor Lloyd C. Stark, backed by the Kansas City crusade, forced a bill through the state legislature which restored to the governor power to appoint the city's police commissioners. His appointees went to J. Edgar Hoover for their police chief, and secured L. B. Reed.

Reed, a member of the F.B.I.'s Kansas City staff, knew the department and its weak spots. Half the men on it—many of them ex-convicts—were forthwith fired. The force he developed is made up of young men, many with college training, chosen by the merit system. What he has now is a miniature F.B.I.

The result has changed the crime-face of the city. Gangsters now give it a wide berth. The red-light district and the gambling joints have been shut tight. The city is as free of narcotic peddlers as any place of its size in the country. Robberies have been reduced 75 per cent, burglaries 78 per cent, auto thefts have dropped from an average of 186 to 18 a month.

After a year and a half of the new government civic morale has revived. Block by block the downtown section of the city is having its face cleaned and lifted. New industries which shied away from the city while the bosses ruled have begun to move in. No longer on the defensive, but with something to sell, an advertising campaign will be launched this fall to introduce the new Kansas City to the nation.

The bosses, buried but not yet dead, are counting on the machine-devotion of their small army of one-time jobholders, and the tendency of reform movements to languish after a first success, to boost them into power again in 1942. But Kansas City has its chin up and is going places. Its crusaders, their organization intact, are already reshining their armor and mobilizing for next spring's electoral combat. They relish the prospect. Against that kind of city even the shrewdness and corruption of a reviving machine are unlikely to prevail.

Effective National Defense and Municipal Home Rule

"Our legislatures will be remiss in their duty if they fail to give the cities of America an opportunity to carry their share of the defense responsibility."

By **BARNET HODES**
Corporation Counsel, City of Chicago

SINCE Missouri in 1875 led the movement for constitutional home rule for cities, few municipal subjects have evoked more commentaries than has the topic of "home rule." Admittedly the results of all these commentaries, in terms of effective legislative reform, have not seemed wholly commensurate with the wordage devoted to this subject. Yet an additional discussion appears to be pertinent at the present time, first, because constitutional home rule remains as desirable for all cities today as it was back in 1875—the fight must go on!—and, second, because demands of national defense on our cities make home rule almost an emergency issue.

It can be truthfully said that there is no area of activity that is not touched, however tangentially, by the defense effort. The farmer, the business man, the laborer, the taxpayer, and men and women in all strata of our national life, already have started to adjust their normal activities to coincide with the new demands of a defense economy. Undoubtedly, more adjustments are ahead, and what affects people is bound to affect the government that is closest to them—municipal government.

The need for conservation of vital resources, the search for new forms of taxation, the pressing new health and housing problems, the inevitability of increased regulation and restriction of certain businesses and business practices—all these point to unusual pressures upon our municipalities.

In fact, every acceleration of the national defense effort is bound to increase responsibilities of cities, if only in indirect ways. To meet greater responsibilities greater power is essential always. This would apply to our cities even if we avoid a "shooting war." If we do not avoid "shooting," the experience of every other nation in the present conflict reveals that municipal life will be concerned in the present kind of war even more than in past wars. Certainly the municipal officials of London found themselves engaged in war activities as completely as if they were in the army itself. They found that in modern war the city is on the front line. That lesson ought not be lost on American municipalities.

It may not "happen here." We hope it does not. But now is the time to prepare—and the granting to cities of sufficient power to cope with any emergency strikes me as a basic element of such preparedness. We may not have to use the power, but we ought to have it.

Consider the police functions of a city. In case of a defense emergency the police department becomes much more than an agency for maintaining civil order. It becomes an arm of the national defense program, certainly the pivot around which civilian activities in case of emergency will revolve. Yet in municipalities which lack home rule police departments are now so hampered by legal restrictions that they are hindered in carrying out even normal, peacetime functions. For an example, the Chicago Police Department may not even regulate traffic without specific state permission. Consider the difficulties, then, if we are forced to go upon an emergency defense basis.

The expansion of industry, an anticipated housing shortage with its concomitant problems, together with the problem of large military camps near cities, will make it even more imperative that the municipality possess authority to enact public health measures under new and increasingly severe conditions. Restrictions on municipal powers in this field are bound to become more intolerable as our defense program gathers momentum.

Protection against the hazards of fire is an essential municipal function. Yet when the city council of Chicago passed an ordinance compelling certain classes of employers to train their employees in fire drills, the Illinois Supreme Court held such law invalid under the state constitution. The national defense program entails expanded manufacturing, often of dangerous chemicals and munitions. If such manufacturing cannot be regulated to prevent fire hazards, then obviously the city is thwarted in its attempts to coöperate with the defense program. This is aside from the need of cities to be prepared to sponsor air-raid protection and similar programs, in which municipal fire departments, as well as police departments, must take the lead.

Utilities Raise Problems

Transportation and other public utilities raise two more significant phases of this all-embracing problem. Today, this involves questions of service and rates. Tomorrow, defense significance may be paramount. Here the city lacking home rule is almost entirely powerless, and it is precisely in those realms where action may be most needed.

For example, Chicago cannot control the speed of trains and other common carriers within its borders. It cannot prohibit railroads from obstructing street crossings. It cannot compel adequate safety devices at street crossings. It cannot prevent the operation of one-man street cars or motor buses in the interest of public safety. It cannot subject railroads to the electrical regulations of the city, even though the state itself has no inspection service for this purpose.

In peaceful times such conditions are bad enough, but our communities have been able to muddle through. Yet, without detailing specific fields in which utilities, transportation facilities in particular, are vital to defense, it is easy to envision how such municipal impotency may seriously impede steps for all-out preparedness.

Urban areas are constantly growing, both in population and in size. New factories and also residential districts are making their appearance, spurred on by the defense effort. Freight traffic in and through cities has multiplied during the last decade. And all signs point to even greater activity in this direction in the years ahead. The demands of the national defense program require that the city mobilize all its forces and evolve an integrated plan of coöperation in each aspect of defense production: manufacturing, housing, traffic, land use, public health, regulation of utilities. Yet in each of these phases the city without home rule powers is almost impotent, however willing it may be, to render full service to the national government, except as it goes to its parent, the state, for permissive legislation.

States Must Act

To obtain relief from the state legislature may be a matter of weeks or months. Can our defense needs be met under such restrictive conditions? Can cities lacking home rule be expected to respond quickly and effectively to the day-by-day requirements of the defense program, let alone emergency demands? These are questions for our state leaders to ask—and answer.

Clarence A. Dykstra, former selective service administrator, stated the problem succinctly when he declared: "As I see the problem, progress lies in the hands of local administrative officials who are allowed to act with originality and imagination to meet local situations, rather than a further tightening of the cords which bind them to officials with offices in the state house."

Of late, there has been a closer relationship between the federal government and American municipalities. The Office of Civilian Defense was created to further strengthen this relationship and to make, in effect, each American city a focus of defense activity. For this purpose many cities have established defense councils or commissions. And here, again, it may be predicted that cities lacking home rule will find that the efforts of their defense councils are impeded by statutory restrictions. Such matters as air-raid precautions, detection of sabotage, civilian defense training, vocational guidance for defense jobs, and numerous other activities which are just around the corner, are likely to come within the scope of municipal activity.

Yet in the past the courts have rigorously upheld the state in all its efforts to restrain cities from assuming new duties and obligations, and we may be sure that even defense activities will be restricted by this attitude. And there is little reason to believe that this attitude will undergo a change without legislative or constitutional home rule powers granted to the municipalities.

The demand for adequate home rule powers cannot be construed as special pleading on behalf of cities. All home rule advocates recognize the necessity for some measure of state supervision; and none wishes the city

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Citizen Budgeting in Massachusetts

The lay finance committee is an outgrowth of the town meeting, and is wholly native to New England's town form of government.

By **RICHARD A. ATKINS**
Boston Municipal Research Bureau
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Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations

THE low estate to which the town meeting in Quincy, Massachusetts, had fallen by 1870 was naturally a source of concern to its older citizens. All the restraints of an earlier day seemed to have been lost, and town affairs were being conducted with slight regard for the traditional virtues of New England town government. Accordingly it was a matter of satisfaction for the town's respected Adams family to note the changes which occurred when John Quincy Adams the younger took the situation in hand.

Order was soon restored. Members had to be seated in town meeting and remove their hats, and the atmosphere was cleared of tobacco fumes. More was at issue, however, than mere decorum. In forty years Quincy's financial requirements had increased from a few thousand to over seventy-five thousand dollars. Town auditors reported that money was being poured out "like water." Since the warrant for the annual town meeting had grown from a half dozen to thirty or forty articles, the town meeting seemed unable to cope with the mounting volume of business and the town's chaotic finances.

Two procedural reforms were introduced. The town returned to its old practice of holding an adjourned business meeting after members had recovered from the excitement and fatigue of elections. And more important, the town agreed "to refer all the business articles in the warrant to a large committee, which was to subdivide itself, investigate everything, and at [the] adjourned meeting report its conclusions in the form of votes properly drawn up." Results were gratifying. Town finances were soon brought under control, and the town meeting was given a new lease on life.

While there may be some question as to whether this episode marked the beginning of the town finance committee, it does tell something of the origin and purposes of an innovation in town government that has spread through the New England states. To the townspeople of the present, the finance committee has become a trustworthy interpreter of bewildering municipal questions and, as they may not appreciate, an indispensable means of continuing the town form of government. To the thoughtful citizen anywhere the idea of a fiscal policy group drawn from the body of voters has a strong appeal. The purpose here is to explore the development, methods, and characteristics of these committees, and to suggest some reasons for their undoubted prestige and influence.

Development of Finance Committee

The finance committee evolved from the town meeting much as the board of selectmen had, to serve as an interim committee to study and report on town affairs—but with one important difference. The board of selectmen had been created both to advise and to administer; the finance committee was only to advise.

In a sense the appearance of the finance committee was inescapable. A rapid growth of population after the Civil War, coupled with the broadening role of local government, left the voter in the position of a greenhorn legislator, poorly qualified to participate in the town meeting. And the opinion of sometimes politically-minded selectmen, as the only steering group, was not always innocent of prejudice. What was needed was a group of responsible citizens who would study town affairs from the point of view of the voters and who would interpret the intricacies of town business in terms which they could understand. This need the finance committee supplied.

A generation passed after Quincy's experience before finance committees were recognized by the Massachusetts legislature. By the time a general enabling law was enacted, in 1910, they were no longer a novelty. And when in 1923 they were made obligatory in towns having valuations above a million dollars, more than thirty were in existence.

A similar committee appeared in Maine at the turn of the century, and they are now the rule in towns of over two thousand population. Connecticut has had local "boards of finance" for at least as long. Their growth was accelerated first by a permissive law of 1917 and more recently by the hard lessons of the depression decade. Vermont has followed a somewhat different course, while Rhode Island has an equivalent in its limited financial councils. New Hampshire has gone farthest in formalizing a town budget committee by writing it into the local finance act of 1935. Both New Hampshire and Connecticut have taken pains to define the relation of the finance committee to the town officials and the town meeting, an arrangement which Massachusetts has, perhaps wisely, allowed to develop as it will in each town.

Some Mechanical Aspects

In Massachusetts town finance committees have had the longest history and occur in widest array. The balance of this discussion will be given over to the finance committees as evolved in that state.

Procedures and duties of the finance committee are usually established in the by-laws of a town. These have the force of municipal ordinances and cover an indefinite range of matters under local control. The general laws require only that there be such a committee in towns above the prescribed valuation, that it be appointed rather than elected, and that it have nothing more than advisory powers aside from the authority to make transfers from a reserve fund to departmental appropriations. In addition the committee is required to prepare an annual budget for the town meeting, unless the town elects to give this duty, under by-law, to the selectmen.

The finance committee appears under several names. Four titles are in common use: *appropriation committee,* indicating that the group concerns itself only with town meeting articles involving expenditures; *warrant committee,* if all articles of business are considered; and *finance committee* or *advisory committee,* more or less at random. Committees vary in size from three to more than thirty members, the most common numbers being nine and fifteen. Much the larger proportion of finance committees are appointed by the town moderator, the presiding officer of the town meeting. Naming the finance committee is one of his most influential acts.

There are many other ways of selecting the finance committee. In Arlington, for instance, the committee is chosen jointly by the moderator, the chairman of the trust funds, and the chairman of the finance committee itself. Norwood, one of the four manager towns, requires the selectmen to act as a finance commission. In Holliston the committee is elected by ballot under special dispensation of the state legislature. Towns divided into precincts may require representatives from each election area. There are numerous examples of *ex officio* membership. Inclusion of the town auditor or accountant is a common practice. In Brookline the moderator acts as chairman and the selectmen serve on the town's Committee of Thirty.

As for the scope of the committee's advisory powers, the principal distinction lies in whether it is confined under by-law to the consideration of financial matters or whether it may "investigate everything." A less important distinction concerns the accessibility of departmental records and books of account. A recent and far-reaching court opinion seems to say that a town may adopt a self-denying by-law through which it may bind itself to the recommendation of the committee. Such a construction of "advisory power," however, was probably never intended by the legislature.

A Word on Procedures

Most of the procedures of the finance committee turn on its budget activities. Normally the committee will organize after the town meeting in the spring and name its own chairman. During the summer months the committee is likely to remain dormant, except as it considers articles of business at special town meetings. Few committees attempt to exercise any oversight of expenditures, control of which passes entirely to the town officers. Exceptions are found. In Weston, for example, the finance committee meets at monthly intervals and wavers on the borderline of overall administration by attempting to coördinate town activities.

In the late autumn, just prior to budget time, the award of reserve fund transfers to departments causes a temporary spurt of committee activity. This is followed shortly by receipt of budget estimates from the selectmen, who in most towns assemble them from departments with the assistance of the town accountant. As a rule, estimates are received late in December or in the first two or three weeks of January. In towns where adequate procedures have been developed, the estimates will be carried on carefully designed forms, with comparative figures and some supporting detail. In this respect Massachusetts lags behind New Hampshire which requires the use of a state-prescribed form for departmental estimates.

If the finance committee is large, it is often organized into sub-committees to which town functions are assigned. The sub-committees hear the spending officials, sometimes visit the departments, and arrive at allowances for report back to the full committee. Public hearings are often but not always held before the finance committee settles upon its recommendations. Such hearings might be described as a species of pre-trial where disputed issues and contentious personalities can be dealt with in advance of the town meeting.

The busy season comes in January and February when evening sessions may be held almost daily. It is well to bear in mind that committeemen serve without pay. For relief from detail, even in the largest towns, they will have no more than a part-time and modestly paid clerk. If members work diligently, as they usually do, it is not for any immediate reward.

Finance committee recommendations always cover the financial articles in the town warrant, and more often than not the remaining articles of business. Committee findings are incorporated in a printed report which is normally sent to town meeting members several days in advance of the meeting. These reports give a fair indication of the methods, thoroughness, and intelligence of the individual committees. The best reports, which in a few towns are thirty- or forty-page documents, afford the voters a broad view of town finances as well as specific recommendations for action of the meeting.

The rôle of the finance committee in town meeting is apt to be an accurate barometer of its standing in the town. Some committees keep in the background, to be sure, but the most familiar sight is the presence on the platform of the committee chairman, strategically located at the center of things, ready to read committee recommendations in the form of motions, and more than ready to defend the recommendations when dissident voices are heard. On the floor it is the rare voter who does not have the printed recommendations in hand during the entire progress of the meeting.

Part of the Scheme of Things

Last spring the Boston papers featured the story of an annual town meeting which disposed of all the business in the warrant by accepting the recommendations of the finance committee in one blanket vote. The meeting adjourned as late-comers were still arriving. While this incident must be viewed as an extreme example, the reasons behind the finance committee's influence should be examined.

In the first place finance committee

members, with rare exceptions, are drawn from the town meeting itself—the body which acts upon the committee's report and votes the appropriations. The nearest parallel, therefore, is a legislative budget committee with adequate power to frame a financial plan. At the same time it may be regarded as a citizen budget committee, sharing the distinctive status of the voters in a New England town. Town government is basically citizen or lay government, involving extensive direct participation in both legislative and administrative matters.

Over the years the finance committee has acquired a special standing of its own. The committee antedated its formal recognition in law and it has had two generations in which to accumulate prestige. Official appointment gives it an extra authority that a self-appointed group could scarcely hope to attain. Fortified further with the sanction of judicial opinion and local ordinance the finance committee is well equipped to assume leadership.

To what extent the political role of the finance committee contributes to its broad influence is a matter of conjecture. Certainly in many towns the committee plays a creditable part in the political life of the community. Membership is frequently regarded as the only proper approach to higher public office, and a successful term as chairman is likely to be an open sesame to town officialdom. Although novices predominate on many committees, it is not uncommon for town officers in their later years to withdraw to the finance committee as the equivalent of retirement to a private station. Finally, the finance committee must be looked upon as a significant educational factor. In any large Massachusetts town it is possible to find scores of ex-committee members who have been well disciplined in the fundamentals of town government and public finance by long winter evenings spent over the annual town warrant.

Tendencies and Trends

Town government lends itself to pressure from within and the finance committee may serve to even out the demands of minorities. Numerically imposing groups, such as fire and police forces and the school group, must be reckoned with. A story is told of a town meeting where the firemen and their affiliates were present in such strength as to override the gathering. The opposition, quite aware of what lay ahead yet unable to rally its friends, contrived to have an alarm pulled. Only in this manner was a democratic balance restored.

The finance committee is also in a position to supply the town meeting with an understandable view of town finances. Public finance, even in its more elementary aspects, is not congenial to every type of mind. At one meeting there was an article in the warrant calling for a schoolhouse addition. A voter rose to demonstrate that the structure would not cost the town a cent. Since a schoolhouse loan was to mature during the year, the new bonds would merely replace the old.

Apart from correcting such deviations the finance committee can look ahead. Many are in the habit of anticipating the outcome of the year's financial plans long before all the ingredients can be estimated with close accuracy. To preserve a favorable debt ratio through a period of years necessitates a yet broader continuity in policy and outlook.

About ten years ago a resident of Concord—home of so many causes—started an organization of finance committee members. Today the association bears all the earmarks of an authentic society. It meets periodically. Members engage in both mutual and self-criticism. The association has issued a series of bulletins and exchanges information, and it looks for help from informed sources outside its own ranks.

More noteworthy is the fact that it is moving toward a standard of performance. The program laid down by its leading spokesman, while primarily of local interest, contains many guiding principles which any group that sets itself up to pass upon public expenditures could profitably follow. Stress is laid upon sound budget procedure, maintenance of services, an over-all view of town finances, workable relations with town officials, avoidance of purely administrative activity, and informative reporting.

It is not proposed here to say what direction things should take. Nevertheless, brief consideration of what is in the thought of competent observers will help complete the picture. One viewpoint favors longer terms, up to the legal limit of three years, for members of the committee and also overlapping terms. There is a conviction that the committee should be given access to the records and accounts of the town without waiting upon the pleasure of town officials. Doubts have been raised as to the desirability of *ex officio* membership by selectmen or heads of town boards. Another point of dispute is the merit of an elective as against an appointive committee. Finally, there is a struggle over the extent of the committee's out-of-season effort. The correct formula, it is felt, lies between outright administrative interference and a complete lapse of effort once the budget has been adopted.

In review, the place of the finance committee in the town results from a combination of circumstances which has no equivalent outside New England. The uniqueness of the committee lies in its intimate relation to the town meeting.

On the other hand, much of the committee's effectiveness is within reach of any properly constituted citizen group. Government by dispersed executive authority, and government by a patchwork of overlapping and parallel jurisdictions are common enough to suggest the opportunities of an over-all fiscal policy committee, adequately equipped to secure a unified pattern of action. If good results are to follow, the Massachusetts experience does indicate that at least three features of the finance committee must be borrowed: legal or official recognition, plainly-stated responsibility to the voters, and a clear-cut separation from administrative agencies.

Citizen Groups in Review (Part I)

Discussing the citizen in a democracy, the nature of citizen organizations, and the activities in which they engage.

By **HOWARD M. KLINE**
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THE literature on local government during the last ten years has given increasing attention to a new species of semi-public institution which, like hundreds of its predecessors, is dedicated to the thankless task of improving local government. This new form is the "citizens group" or "citizens organization."

Generally speaking, citizens groups are organized to work for "good government," "sound principles," "economy and efficiency," "more intelligent and effective citizen participation," the promotion of "good citizenship and/or community improvement." That these ambiguities, like political party platforms, may mean all things to all people is in many ways the very genius and strategy of the movement, because great numbers of private citizens can (and do) agree that these are sound objectives worthy of encouragement and subscription.

The citizen in a democracy is both the subject and object of government. All governmental functions are presumably carried on for his benefit, and certainly at his expense. Therefore, what is more proper than that the citizens should have some voice in, and control over, both the functions and the expense? This is part and parcel of the "consent of the governed" concept. This consent, called by the authorities public opinion, is crystallized only at infrequent intervals, i.e., elections, and even on those occasions the simple alternative between two rival candidates does not afford an opportunity to express opinions on the welter of issues involved.

Except for the few remaining town meetings our democratic pattern does not now provide any official machinery through which public opinion can be mobilized in the interim between elections.

Hence, we may regard the citizens group as a device by which the general public can gather information upon public questions, a device by which public opinion can be formulated and expressed, and a device through which the public official can ascertain the direction and velocity of that opinion.

But the citizens group is more than this. It is also the pressure group which represents the "public interest," self-defined.

This is the logic of the position of citizens groups in the democratic system, with particular reference to local government. The citizens groups exist and carry on their activities in an exceedingly practical and hard-headed world of politics, and they must be considered against such a background. There are a few important observations about that hard-headed world of politics, and the hard-headed citizens that compose it, which are worthy of mention here.

First, modern government operates in a sphere of complexity and technicality which is beyond both the time and competence of the so-called average citizen. Issues of financial control and accountability, budgetary procedure, long-time planning and zoning, council-manager relations, and social case work, for example, the citizen has not the time to study, nor the inclination, except in instances of obvious threat to his own security. Whether these problems are outside his ability to grasp is perhaps a matter of opinion, but it is by no means certain that he will ever understand them, especially when he is obliged to choose between competing viewpoints.

Second, substantial portions of the public do not take even an annual or biennial part in political issues—witness the frequent studies of partial and non-voting. The citizens group operates on the assumption that one of the basic reasons for this non-participation is that many citizens lack the facts, doubt their present sources of information, and have a distrust for those in office and their views. It is at least argumentative whether there is any real virtue in adding another disquieting source of "facts" which, in general, betray what the citizen already more than mildly suspects, namely, that there is great waste and mismanagement at the city hall. A corollary question might be added—why press upon the lethargic and apathetic, facts and issues in which they have demonstrated an abiding unconcern? The answer is: because it is good for them! They *ought* to be interested!

Third, the great majority of citizens groups are predicated upon the assumption that there exists in the city hall a relatively corrupt, constantly inefficient, political machine interested only in self-perpetuation. There can be no doubt that in most American cities the city hall is not occupied by a corps of self-effacing, unselfish, economy-seeking, nonpartisan employees. Perhaps they are not quite so bad as they are portrayed, however.

Only the naïve believe that public officials are guided by principle alone; all alike conduct themselves with a view to forthcoming elections. They stand condemned before citizens groups for failing to inaugurate this reform or that, and the failure is attributed to their fear of losing a few votes, to alienating the support of some faction of the party, to abiding the advice of the wrong people. What has the citizens group to offer the official who follows its recommendations? After he has succumbed to one set of its suggestions, what follows? Is it praise, or promise of political support, or testimonials that may be used to capture the wavering independents? No: what follows instead is another set of recommendations!

It may very well be that the needs and opportunities to improve city government are legion, and the sets of recommendations endless accordingly, but few men ever reached public office (and fewer still were ever re-elected) who followed this brand of political hara-kiri.

Nature of Citizens Groups

Citizen efforts have been principally confined to local government—city, county, and region. Few are found on the national scene and their appearance at the state capitals has been of rare, though increasing, frequency. One of the most conspicuous trends in recent years has been a sharp increase in state-wide citizen organization, especially the state taxpayers leagues.

In identifying citizens groups "beware the wolf in sheep's clothing." Selfish, interest-serving, machine politicians have sought to disguise their actual identity and their purposes by clothing their organizations in the nicety of a citizens title. Spurious citizens leagues, taxpayers associations, and civic research bureaus are apt to mushroom in the course of a closely contested election campaign or in the midst of a controversy over local policy. They are foils to mislead the unwary.

The present literature on citizens organizations yields no substantial agreement on just what is, and what is not, a *bona fide* citizens group. Some would throw the concept open to any group whose membership is recruited from private citizens and whose nearly full-time purpose is local government improvement. Others would limit the concept by cleaving off those organizations which could be regarded as private interest groups, those which admit corporations to membership, or those which indulge themselves in local government problems only occasionally.

According to the one view nearly every community organization—educational, vocational, fraternal, religious, political—even the political parties themselves—are citizens groups; according to the other view, organizations are included or excluded according to the frequency and motive of their civic undertakings. Neither definition is very satisfactory: one is so broad as hardly to be a definition, and the other substitutes two ambiguities where only one was before.

One distinction is, however, generally recognized: there is a substantial difference between a citizens group and a citizens council. The citizens council is a central meeting ground for already established citizens organizations with the avowed intent of thereby focusing the attention of the whole public upon common community-wide problems. In some cities this citizens council, or federation of civic clubs, serves as a clearing house and tries to integrate the work of the several citizens groups.[1] The parallel may be drawn between the citizens council and the familiar community chest which consolidates the public subscription program of all welfare agencies.

The National Municipal League undertook in 1933 to act as a national headquarters for all citizens groups and citizens councils through the Federation of Citizens' Organizations. The federation has issued pamphlets on how to organize a citizens council, what issues to study, what committees to appoint, and the like, along with generous offers of advice and of printed materials on leading issues. The federation had given prime consideration to the citizens council on the correct assumption that there already exists a great sufficiency of citizens groups, and that what is needed is not more of the same but a medium of cohesion for this "headless army of a thousand separate little bands."[2]

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[1] The Federation of Citizens Associations of Washington, D. C., affords an excellent illustration. The federation is composed of two delegates from each of the sixty-five constituent citizens groups, representing a total membership of nearly 45,000.

Existing Citizens Groups

Any attempt to call the roll of the huge variety of citizens groups which are now in existence, or to identify the whole range of interests represented in these groups, is a prodigious task. The variety is immense. For example, Professor Ewing, of the University of Denver, lists twenty-six types of community agencies which are engaged in whole or in part in citizen activities—patriotic, military, peace, fraternal, service, taxpayers, trade, radio, research, women's, religious, racial, youth, bankers, newspapers, publicity, and other groups.

The Committee of Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy of the National Municipal League in its *Citizens Council—Why and How* urges anyone organizing a citizens council to secure representatives from all those groups and, specifically, in addition, from the Red Cross, boards of education, Boy Scouts, community chests, hospital staffs, libraries, museums, tuberculosis associations, religious leaders' organizations, YMCA, YWCA, and others.

Between these two impressive arrays of citizens groups there exists hardly an organization that would not fall into one or the other of these lists. Indeed, the very purpose of a citizen's council is to represent as many divergent interests as possible. Such widespread and diverse representation suggests the possibility of outflanking the present political party organizations. Does this movement boil down to the fact that the so-called better citizens are not able to wield in the present system what they feel is sufficient influence? Even if we had proportional representation in each community, would the need for citizens groups be any less urgent?

Categories of Activity Groups

In order to sharpen the operating differences between citizen organizations, we may observe three or four broad categories: (1) those organizations which are engaged primarily in fact-finding and research activities both for the benefit of their own members and for the general public; (2) those organizations which, equipped with their own or someone else's researches, are engaged in bringing various pressures for the adoption of their recommendations; (3) those organizations which are engaged in active campaigning for their own slate of candidates, or for a slate acceptable to them. Many writers have found a fourth type of organization, namely, those engaged in adult education, citizenship training, and public discussion programs. Here are often included such conferences and institutes as the Citizens Council of Kansas, the Institute of Government of the University of Southern California, and the Williamstown Institute. Perhaps these organizations are worthy of separate classification, or perhaps they ought to be included in the second category above.

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[2] See "Citizens Groups, Tool of Democracy," by Howard P. Jones. *The Annals,* September 1938.

The first of these general categories is occupied largely by the various research bureaus, whose number and influence and reputation have constantly increased during the last thirty years. Their reputation as reliable sources of fact is unimpeachable in many of our cities and they quite frequently provide the ammunition for other citizens groups. Many communities are still without the excellent services of such associations, and in most of the communities where they do exist their services are limited to a mere presentation of the facts and figures. Even here, however, the director of the bureau is often called upon by public officials for advice and services, and often exerts a greater influence than first meets the eye.

Next comes the so-called pressure groups, if that odious term be not understood to comprehend any immediately selfish interest. Here are the great majority of extant citizens groups. To be specific, here are the taxpayers associations, chambers of commerce, parent-teachers associations, city clubs, civic clubs, women's clubs, voters leagues, community and neighborhood improvement associations, civic federations, and a whole host of social welfare, health, recreation, planning and education associations. Some of these groups have very few specific objectives; some have a great many. Some of them proceed one way one year, and an entirely different way another year. Nor are similar groups identical in different cities: for example, the chamber of commerce or a luncheon club in city "X" may be the leading citizens group, active in behalf of an imposing array of civic issues, whereas the same organization in city "Y" is utterly inactive.

The third of the previously mentioned categories is reserved for those groups which use their own or someone else's researches, are active as pressure groups in the intervals between elections, but which also go farther and actively engage in campaigning for a slate of candidates. Organizations of this kind, while fewer in number, are somewhat more spectacular than their civic cousins. The Charter Committee of Cincinnati is perhaps the best known instance. It has organized its forces along ward and precinct lines, manned the polls, and waged a full-fledged campaign with the standard weapons of election warfare. The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW contains numerous accounts of the successes of such organizations in throwing back the continued assaults of the political machines.

In addition to these full-time, permanent citizens parties there have been numerous instances of the formation of citizens groups for specific campaign purposes.[3] Indeed, the history of the citizen organization move-

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[3] For example, the Citizens Committee of Saginaw (Mich.) was a temporary federation of existing organizations for the express purposes of securing charter revision, adoption of the manager plan and the election of the first manager council. They were, in fact, so successful there remained nothing further to be done. Interest waned and the committee died for want of grist.

Fiscal Control at the County Level

"The possibilities of control by a county agency as an alternative to state control have not yet been adequately explored."

By **CLYDE F. SNIDER**
University of Illinois

DURING recent decades numerous states have inaugurated in varying forms systems of state control over the financial operations of local governments. In some instances these control measures have envisaged only the establishment of minimum or uniform requirements relating to budgeting procedure, accounting, auditing, and reporting; while in others provision has been made for state review, either as a matter of course or upon petition, of the legality and wisdom of proposed budgets, tax levies, and borrowings.

Proposals for state control have, however, been defeated in some states and vigorously opposed in others as violating the "principle of home rule" or the "rights of local self-government." Opposition has come both from organizations of local officials and from citizens who sincerely fear the results of subjecting the county courthouse and city hall to dictation from the state capitol.

In view of the substantial opposition to centralized state control, it seems strange that more attention has not been given to the possibility of establishing a system of control at the county level, thereby securing at least a part of the benefits which might flow from state supervision while at the same time preserving a greater degree of local self-determination.[1]

At the present time four states have statewide systems of county agencies exercising some form of fiscal supervision over their local units. These states, with the present titles of their agencies and the dates of establishment, are: Oklahoma, county excise board, 1910; Ohio, county budget commission, 1911; Indiana, county board of tax adjustment, 1932; and Michigan, county tax allocation board, 1933.[2]

Oklahoma County Excise Boards

As originally established in 1910 the Oklahoma county excise board was composed of five county officials *ex officio*: clerk, treasurer, judge, superintendent of public instruction, and attorney. Each taxing unit within the county submitted annually to the excise board its estimated needs for current expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year. The excise board was empowered, after examination of the estimates at a public meeting, to revise and correct them and to make the tax levies necessary to cover the estimates as approved.

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[1] For a more extensive treatment of the subject discussed in this article see study prepared by the writer for the Research Department of the Illinois Legislative Council and published as that department's Publication No. 29, *The Problem of Local Fiscal Control with Special Reference to Control at the County Level,* Springfield, Illinois, 1940. Acknowledgment is due Dr. J. F. Isakoff, the council's director of research, for permission to make use of materials appearing first in the larger study.

[2] Another instance of a state-wide system of fiscal control at the county level is afforded by the county school budget commission in New Mexico. This commission, however, exercises authority over school districts only, rather than over local taxing units in general, and therefore is not discussed in this article.

In 1917 the membership of the excise board was enlarged by provision for two additional members—the county assessor and a member of the board of county commissioners designated by the board. In 1931 the seven-member *ex officio* board was displaced by the present three-member appointive board—one appointed by the Oklahoma Tax Commission, one by the district judge or judges, and one by the board of county commissioners.

Although the statutes governing the powers of excise boards might appear to be broad enough to authorize the boards to pass upon the mere wisdom of proposed appropriations, their actual power as construed by the courts seems to be limited to passing upon the legality of appropriation items. Thus budgetary items may be disapproved or reduced by an excise board only when they are unauthorized by law or when the proposed budget is in excess of statutory limitations.

When, in 1933, the Oklahoma constitution was amended to substitute a 15-mill overall property tax rate limit for the previous 31½-mill limit, it was stipulated that the 15-mill rate should "be apportioned between county, city, town and school district by the county excise board until such time as the regular apportionment is otherwise provided for by the legislature." Since the legislature has not yet seen fit to exercise its power to apportion the total rate among the various units, this second function has been performed since 1933 by the excise boards.

It is significant that the *ex officio* composition of the excise board as it existed prior to 1931 seems to have been criticized in Oklahoma on two principal grounds: (1) the board was composed of tax spenders, i.e., county officials rather than taxpayers, and therefore tended to be extravagant with public funds; and (2) since the county officials were usually residents of the rural districts, municipal expenditures were subject to review by a board of farmers.

The change to the present three-member appointive board seems to have been motivated by a desire to place supervision of local finance in the hands of a group of impartial taxpayers selected in such a manner that both the state and the locality would share in control.

But although the present board seems to have worked more satisfactorily than the former *ex officio* board, it appears that the present system raises its own problems. Thus, there seems to have been a tendency, during certain periods at least, for the State Tax Commission to appoint board members who would be disposed to stress economy, while county commissioners appoint members more sympathetic toward local expenditures. As a result, boards are sometimes torn by factional conflicts.[3]

Ohio County Budget Commissions

County budget commissions have existed in Ohio since 1911 as agencies charged with apportionment of a statutory or constitutional maximum overall tax rate among the various taxing units within the counties. As originally established the commission consisted of three *ex officio* members: county auditor, mayor of the largest municipality within the county, and county prosecuting attorney. Two years later its composition was changed. Instead of the prosecutor the third member of the commission was, in certain counties, the solicitor of the largest municipality, and in others a member of the school board of the school district containing the largest municipality. Since 1915 the three-member commission has consisted of the county auditor, county treasurer, and prosecuting attorney.

When the present 10-mill rate limit replaced a 15-mill limit in 1934, the budget commissions were required to approve, as a matter of course, any request by a taxing unit for a levy equal to two-thirds of its average levy during the last five years the 15-mill limit was in effect. This amounted to a freezing, by legislative action, of the levies allocated to the various local units by county budget commissions in former years, thereby drastically curtailing the discretionary power of the budget commission in the allocation of levies in the future. Appeal from the action of a county budget commission may be taken to the State Board of Tax Appeals.

Indiana Tax Adjustment Boards

County boards of tax adjustment were first established in Indiana by the tax-limitation law of 1932. This statute provided for an over-all maximum property tax rate of $1.50 on each hundred dollars of assessed valuation, and created the tax adjustment board as an agency to apportion this total rate among the various taxing units concerned.[4] The board was originally composed of seven members: county auditor *ex officio,* three members of the county council (an elective fiscal board distinct from the board of county commissioners) selected by the council, and three members appointed by the circuit judge. It reviewed the proposed tax levies of the county and all taxing units therein, and, if necessary, reduced such levies so as to keep the total levy within the statutory maximum.[5] The board was empowered, however, provided five of its seven members assented, to declare the existence of an emergency and authorize a total levy in excess of the general limit. Appeal might be taken to the State Board of Tax Commissioners from action of the adjustment board authorizing such a levy.

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[3] See also *State Control of Local Finance in Oklahoma* (pp. 103-5), by Robert K. Carr, Norman, Okla., 1937.

[4] The statute fixed a maximum state rate of fifteen cents on each hundred dollars, leaving $1.35 to be apportioned by the adjustment board among the local governmental units. The amount of the over-all limitation has been changed from time to time, and is now $2 in the case of property within incorporated cities or towns, and $1.25 outside such municipal corporations.

[5] Since 1933 certain local levies for debt service and poor relief have been excepted from the provisions of the limitation statute and therefore not subject to reduction by the adjustment board.

The composition of the board was changed in 1933 and again in 1937. In the former year it consisted of one member of the county council selected by the council and six members appointed by the circuit judge. The circuit judge, in making his appointments, was required to select: one township trustee, one mayor of a city or president of a board of town trustees, one member of a city or town school board, and three resident freeholders. The principal result of this change was to represent each principal class of local taxing unit, and not the county alone.

Under an act of 1937 the seven-member adjustment board now includes: one member of the county council selected by the council, one official of a city or incorporated town, one member of a city school board or county board of education, and four citizen freeholders appointed by the circuit judge.[6] The 1937 change is noteworthy because it involved a shift of control of the board from "official" members to "citizen" members.

In addition to altering the composition of the adjustment board the 1937 law deprived the board of its power to authorize total tax rates in excess of the statutory maximum. At the present time, if a county adjustment board believes in any instance that local financial needs cannot be met adequately by a levy within the general maximum, it may recommend to the State Board of Tax Commissioners the authorization of a higher rate, but only the state board has power to make such authorization. This transfer of authority to the state board may, of course, indicate a belief on the part of the legislature that action of a more equitable and impartial character in such matters may be expected from a state agency.

Michigan County Tax Allocation Boards

In 1932 the Michigan constitution was amended to provide that with certain exceptions the total property tax rate should not exceed 1½ per cent of assessed valuation.

For the purpose of apportioning this over-all constitutional rate among local units, the legislature in 1933 established in each county a tax commission of five members: county treasurer, chairman of the board of county auditors if there be such a board otherwise the chairman of the finance or ways and means committee of the county board of supervisors, county school commissioner, one member of a district school board, selected by the judge or judges of probate, and one member, not officially connected with any local unit, similarly selected.

Every unit of local government was required to file its proposed annual budget and tax levies with the county tax commission. The commission examined these budgets and levies and approved them if it found total tax rates, including state levies, within the 1½ per cent maximum. If proposed total rates exceeded this maximum the commission, after deducting state levies, allocated the remainder of the maximum rate among the various local units according to a statutory formula which guaranteed to counties and school districts a minimum rate of levy. Having made a tentative allocation of rates in conformity to the statute, the commission made a preliminary order fixing the maximum rate for each unit, and gave written notice thereof. After opportunity for a hearing, it issued a final order fixing maximum rates. From this order appeal might be taken to the circuit court by any local unit. Any reallocation order of the circuit court was final.

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[6] In counties having superior courts the judges of such courts participate in the selection of the citizen members of the board. As under the 1933 law, appointments are made by the judge or judges in such manner that not more than four of the seven members shall belong to the same political party.

In 1934 the title of the county allocating agency was changed to county tax allocation board, but no major change was made in the board's composition. Townships, as well as counties and school districts, were thereafter guaranteed a minimum rate in allocation proceedings; and appeal from action of county allocation boards was to the State Tax Commission instead of to the circuit court. This change was apparently made in the belief that members of the tax commission were more familiar with problems of taxation than were the circuit judges, and that the commission would be able to handle appeals more expeditiously than could the courts.

In 1937 another amendment provided for appointment, in at least some counties, of an additional sixth member from some city or village within the county; and port districts were added to the list of local units which are guaranteed a minimum rate in allocation proceedings.

Two trends thus seem discernible in the history of legislation concerning the Michigan county tax allocation board: a tendency to provide more direct representation on the board for cities and villages, and a tendency to reduce progressively the discretionary power of the board in allocation proceedings by making a statutory guarantee of minimum rates to certain classes of taxing units.

Multnomah County, Oregon

An interesting example of an effort to provide some degree of fiscal coordination within a large metropolitan county is afforded by the Tax Supervising and Conservation Commission of Multnomah County, Oregon. This agency, first established in 1919, consists of three members appointed by the governor. The act of 1919 conferred upon the commission advisory powers only. Local tax-levying bodies were required to submit their proposed annual budgets to the commission for consideration and hearings. After such consideration the commission advised the various local units as to the budgetary amounts and corresponding tax levies which it recommended for adoption. It was apparently hoped that the force of publicity might induce levying authorities to follow the commission's recommendations. Actually, however, many of its recommendations were ignored.

Dissatisfied with the results of the commission's weak position, the legislature in 1921 repealed the act of 1919 but re-established the commission with increased power. It was authorized, after consideration of a local budget and hearings, to approve, reject, or reduce any of its items. Its action was made binding upon the levying boards. As interpreted by the commission, the statute conferred upon that agency jurisdiction over the five major local governments within the county—Multnomah County, Portland, Portland school district, port of Portland, and Portland Dock Commission—and a number of lesser municipalities and special districts, but not over minor school districts or joint school districts located only partly within the county.

Despite an earlier decision sustaining its validity,[7] the 1921 statute was declared unconstitutional in 1936 as special legislation and as involving an unreasonable delegation of legislative authority.[8] The Supreme Court took the view that, while it might be reasonable to place counties of over 100,000 population in a class by themselves, it was unreasonable to treat the smaller cities of Multnomah County differently from other Oregon cities of comparable size merely because they were located in a county of over 100,000 population. With respect to the mandatory authority over local budgets and levies which the act sought to confer upon the commission, the court held that the statute was invalid because it failed to establish appropriate standards of action to guide the commission.

In 1939, in the light of the position taken by the Supreme Court, the legislature enacted the present Tax Supervising and Conservation Commission law, in which the commission's jurisdiction was restricted to such municipal corporations within the county as have a population of 100,000 or more. Under this provision the commission now possesses jurisdiction over only the five major local governments mentioned above. In view of the Supreme Court's objection to the delegation of legislative power, the commission's authority was drastically reduced by the 1939 act. It may strike from budgets items which are not authorized by law and may order the reduction of proposed levies which exceed constitutional or statutory maxima. These powers apart, the commission is limited to making recommendations on the budgets and proposed levies submitted to it.

During the fifteen years (1922-1936) when the Multnomah County commission was clothed with mandatory authority to veto proposed local levies which it considered unwise, the commission made an aggregate reduction in such levies of more than ten million dollars. Experience under the 1939 law indicates that the weakening of the commission's authority has seriously impaired its effectiveness as a control agency.[9]

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[7] *Tichner* v. *Portland,* 101 Ore. 294, 200 P. 466 (1921).

[8] *Portland* v. *Welch,* 154 Ore. 286, 59 P. (2d) 228 (1936). An amendatory act of 1923, extending the provisions of the 1921 law to all counties of the state, had been declared unconstitutional for failure to indicate the scope of the amendment in the title. *State* v. *Hawks,* 110 Ore. 497, 222 P. 1071 (1924).

Conclusions

Concerning the respective merits of state and local fiscal control there is naturally difference of opinion. Those persons who favor the former stress the desirability of uniformity, and urge that a state agency is better able to deal objectively and impartially with local units. On the other hand, those favoring local control emphasize the importance of local self-government and feel that a local agency is more familiar with local needs.

In this connection it seems that a distinction might well be made between control exercised over matters of policy and that exercised over matters of procedure, and a system set up whereby matters of policy would be controlled by a local agency and procedural matters by a state agency.

Local self-government might be preserved by having local appropriations and tax levies fixed, within constitutional and statutory limits, by a local reviewing agency; while at the same time uniformity in the form of budgets, accounts, and reports might be secured by having those forms prescribed by a state instrumentality.

Should it be desired to establish county agencies for the review and control of local budgets and tax levies, the two principal problems to be met in the planning of the necessary legislation will be the composition of the reviewing agency and the powers to be conferred upon it. With respect to composition, the membership of the board might be *ex officio*, appointive, or elective. Or some of the members might be selected by one method and some by another. Oklahoma abandoned an *ex officio* for an appointive board largely because it was felt that the former was not as much interested in economy as would be a board composed of private taxpayers. On the other hand, notwithstanding some criticism, it appears that the *ex officio* budget commission has given reasonable satisfaction in Ohio.

If appointment is employed as the method of selecting members, the problem is whether the appointing power should be vested in state or in local authorities, and in either case the question as to what agency or agencies shall make the appointments. In the case of the Oklahoma county excise board, the appointing power is divided between state and local authorities. There seems to be some tendency to favor judicial appointment as in Indiana and Michigan. The three members of the Multnomah County commission are appointed by the governor.

None of the existing county agencies is popularly elected, and any proposal to make members elective would immediately be subject to the justifiable criticism that such a plan would operate to lengthen a local ballot already too long. Yet if broad discretionary authority is to be conferred upon the supervising agency, a case can be made for making the body elective. Indeed, in view of recent court decisions emphasizing the principle that legislative powers may not be delegated to administrative tribunals, it may prove necessary, if the supervising agency is to be vested with policy-determining authority, to establish that agency as an elective "legislative" body.

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[9] *Budget Facts and Financial Statistics of Multnomah County, Oregon, for 1940.* Annual Report of the Tax Supervising and Conservation Commission, pp. 5-6.

Another aspect of the problem of composition is the question as to what provision, if any, shall be made for representation on the control agency of different groups and interests within the county. For example, shall an effort be made to give representation to rural and urban groups, citizen and official groups, and the various types or classes of taxing units? Both Michigan and Indiana provide for representation on their county control boards not only of the county government itself but also of municipalities and school authorities. These states also provide for membership on their boards of both local officials and private citizens.

Any of three types of power might be conferred upon a county agency charged with reviewing local budgets and tax levies: advisory power only, power to strike illegal budget items and tax levies, or discretionary power to pass upon the wisdom of budgets and levies and to strike therefrom such items as the reviewing agency may deem unwise or inexpedient.

The experience of the Multnomah County commission, under the law of 1919 conferring advisory power only, seems to indicate that publicity alone affords inadequate means of enforcement. Yet some beneficial results might be secured even through a mere advisory agency. Its operation might serve to familiarize the public with the idea of county-wide coördination and facilitate the strengthening of the agency's authority at a later time if such a course of action were deemed desirable.

If the second alternative should be adopted the reviewing agency would be authorized to strike from proposed budgets and tax ordinances any items in excess of constitutional or statutory limits, or with respect to which proper procedure has not been followed, or which for any other reason are illegal as in Oklahoma and Multnomah County.

In drafting a measure designed to confer power of the third type, great care would need to be taken to prescribe appropriate standards for the exercise of the discretion of the reviewing agency, lest the measure be declared unconstitutional as an unlawful delegation of legislative power.

In conclusion, it should be said that the writer in no sense takes the position that a local control agency is preferable to a state agency in all cases and under all circumstances. He wishes merely to call attention to the fact that the possibilities of control by a county agency, as a practical alternative to state control, have not been adequately explored. The confirmed reformer may scoff and insist that nothing short of state control will suffice. But the political process frequently necessitates compromise; and the taking of half a loaf, when the whole cannot be obtained, may still be the better part of wisdom.

Contributors in Review

GRADUATE work at Harvard and teaching served as the mutual background of **Richard A. Atkins** and **Lyman H. Ziegler** (*Citizen Budgeting in Massachusetts*) for governmental research. Mr. Atkins has been with the Boston Municipal Research Bureau since 1935, now as acting secretary. Since 1938 Mr. Ziegler has been a member of the research staff of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations.

A BEWILDERINGLY varied series of journalistic activities has marked the life of **Stanley High** (*Kansas City Has Its Chin Up*) since he was graduated from the Boston University School of Theology in 1923, culminating now as roving editor of *Reader's Digest.* Before his years of free-lancing for the *Saturday Evening Post* and other magazines, Mr. High served (among other things) as foreign correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor,* editor of the *Christian Herald,* current events lecturer for the National Broadcasting Company, and author of at least eight books. He is the organizer and president of the Good Neighbor League.

MUNICIPAL law is **Barnet Hodes'** (*Effective National Defense and Home Rule*) specialty. Chicago's corporation counsel is a lecturer on municipal corporations at Northwestern University's School of Law and is the author of books and articles on the same subjects. Once he was a city alderman. Mr. Hodes is active in Chicago civic and official bodies, and two years ago was the recipient of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee award for distinguished service in defense of democracy. The Junior Association of Commerce has also honored him with its Civic Merit Award. He is at present local U. S. defense coördinator for Chicago, by virtue of his position with the Chicago Commission on National Defense, and is a member of the Volunteer Participation Committee of the United States Office of Civilian Defense, for Region VI, by appointment of President Roosevelt.

SYRACUSE, Michigan, New Mexico, and Maryland are some of the universities at which **Howard M. Kline** (*Citizen Groups in Review*) has taught political science. He is now stationed at the latter institution. Earlier work by Dr. Kline includes a study of the methods of congressional investigating committees and numerous articles on civic subjects.

COMPILER of those exhaustive bibliographies in the *American Political Science Review* is **Clyde F. Snider** (*Fiscal Control at County Level*), who spent his last vacation in California where he passed a good part of his time—in a library. Dr. Snider's other job is as assistant professor of political science at the University of Illinois. He has served as consultant to the Indiana State Committee on Governmental Economy and to the Illinois Legislative Council and the Illinois Tax Commission, and has written several treatises and articles in the field of local government.

The Researcher's Digest: October

Thirtieth meeting of the GRA and published papers of the twenty-ninth; suggested research in budgeting; Oregon police reserves; new bureau of urban research.

MEMBERS of the **Governmental Research Association** turned their attention both inward, to re-examine their own purposes, functions, and procedures, and outward, to some of the more pressing governmental problems, at the association's thirtieth conference, held September 3-5, 1941, at Princeton, New Jersey. About 150 persons were in attendance.

GRA awards for 1940-41 were presented at the conference to Harold L. Henderson, Walter L. Mayo, Jr., and Martha Mortenson, all of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, for their *Analysis of Minnesota State Fiscal Operations: 1932-1940*, which was adjudged the year's outstanding piece of research; and to the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research, S. S. Sheppard, executive secretary, whose series of bulletins, *Planning for Our Schools,* was considered the most effective presentation of research efforts.

Several sessions were devoted by GRA members to an appraisal of their own work. At one session a group of the "elder statesmen" in the field of governmental research discussed the directions in which governmental research is now proceeding. At another time there were brief statements on the meaning of "citizen concern with government" by six representatives of different types of citizens' agencies. Current activities of agencies in this field were surveyed in the opening "roll call" session. Problems of internal organization, policies, and procedures of citizens' agencies were dealt with in a "quiz program." One paper gave a critical appraisal of the publications issued by governmental research agencies and taxpayers associations.

Blighted areas, budgeting, and forms of municipal government drew the attention of the researchers at three of the conference sessions. Addressing themselves to the question "What can be done about blighted areas?", Russell Van Nest Black, consultant to the Pennsylvania State Planning Commission, discussed the function of planning as a means of prevention; Mabel L. Walker, director of the Tax Institute, considered the economic costs of slums and blighted areas; Leyton E. Carter, director of the Cleveland Foundation, outlined a plan now being worked out for the rehabilitation of blighted sections in Cleveland; and Fred H. Allen, of the Bowery Savings Bank, discussed the difficulties experienced in attempting rehabilitation with private capital in New York City.

Shortcomings in present budgetary practices and the possibilities for better budgeting in local government were canvassed by A. E. Buck of the Institute of Public Administration; Grover Wm. Ensley of the U. S. Budget Bureau; and J. M. Leonard of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

Forms of municipal government were analyzed and appraised by Howard Fishack, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, Newark; Abbett Pulliam, executive vice-president of the Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research for New York State; Clarence E. Ridley, executive director, International City Managers' Association, and others.

Daniel W. Hoan, former mayor of Milwaukee, and now with the United States Office of Civilian Defense, described some of the effects of the national defense program on local government, and urged the need for strengthening local governmental institutions if they are to be preserved.

Some of the problems of governmental finance in the present emergency were discussed by Albert W. Hawkes, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. He emphasized the need for ecomony in non-defense expenditures.

Officers of the association selected for the coming year include W. Earl Weller, director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, elected chairman of the GRA executive committee; Charlton F. Chute, director of the Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis, named vice-chairman; and Laurence Michelmore of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, secretary-treasurer.

Proceedings of the conference will be issued by the association in the near future as a series of publications, each devoted to one of the major problems considered.

LAURENCE MICHELMORE, *Secretary*
Governmental Research Association

1940 Researchers in Print

Last year's conference of the researchers, the twenty-ninth, has now been preserved in printed form with the publication of the mimeographed *Case Studies in Governmental Research.* The foreword explains that the book is to serve to illustrate the nature of "governmental research," the range of subjects with which it is concerned, the variety of approaches which may be made to a problem, and some of the results which may be secured through "governmental research" techniques. Eleven papers are reproduced, running the gamut of research topics from finance to purchasing to state aid for highways to intermunicipal cooperation to citizen action to municipal consolidation.

150 Questions on Budgeting

Stated in the form of some 150 questions, plus accompanying to-the-point discussion, are the research topics in public budget administration which have resulted from an investigation by the **Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council.** Fifth in a series of similar outlines of research topics in various public administration fields, *Research in Public Budget Administration* is dedicated to the ideal of systematic research in the social sciences. The draft was reviewed by about thirty scholars, administrators, and governmental research men and summarizes all the lines of needed inquiry in the budgeting field.

Volunteers for Law and Order

What about the preservation of law and order in the time of national emergency which many fear is approaching? The **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon**, coöperating with the League of Oregon Cities, has summarized the experience of three Oregon cities—Portland, Oregon City, and Salem—with volunteer reserve groups which were organized to meet peacetime rather than wartime situations. The bureau conscientiously lists all the pertinent descriptive facts, including legal authority, numbers, training, equipment, powers of the reserves, and other data. However, *The Organization and Operation of Police Reserves in Three Oregon Cities* makes no comment on the success of the device.

Center for Planning Problems

An advisory committee composed of prominent architects, engineers, and authorities on housing and city planning will supervise a new **Bureau of Urban Research** recently established at

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National Defense and the Cities

Recent bulletins discuss protection of public buildings and industrial plants, a civilian defense office, and emergency medical service.

By **DANIEL W. HOAN**

Consultant, Office of Civilian Defense

ANOTHER in the series of bulletins of particular interest to municipal authorities has just been released by the Office of Civilian Defense. The bulletin is entitled *Protection of Industrial Plants and Public Buildings* and outlines specific instructions for the protection of industrial plants, factories, schools, hospitals, business establishments, and public buildings. In a foreword to the pamphlet Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, director of the Office of Civilian Defense, declares:

"It is expected that the general plan outlined in this publication will be adapted by plant managers or local civilian defense authorities to meet local conditions or special needs. Plans should be kept as simple as possible because experience shows that such plans work best in practice.

"Success in the protection of plants and public buildings depends largely upon the thought, preparation, and training done NOW. Plans must be worked out carefully. Personnel with suitable qualifications must be selected for key positions and for the various other tasks involved. Individual training, followed by collective training, is necessary. All personnel should be organized and trained as soon as possible."

Among the special services which the pamphlet describes in connection with such protection of industrial plants and public buildings are: police services, medical services, maintenance services. The pamphlet concludes with a description of detailed requirements of equipment for each individual assigned to particular duty in the plant or building.

Civilian Defense Volunteer Office

Another pamphlet currently released by the Office of Civilian Defense, of especial interest to municipal authorities, is entitled *A Civilian Defense Volunteer Office.* The pamphlet describes what it is, how it is set up, what it does, and how to organize it. In thirty-six pages the pamphlet outlines in great detail the specifications for appraising the community's needs for volunteer service in such fields as health, family security, recreation, social protection, child welfare, consumer information, salvage programs, intergroup good will, safeguarding civil liberties, adult education, patriotic rallies, exhibits, etc.

It shows how the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office will work with the local defense council to survey the community's needs and for the enrollment, routing, and training of volunteers to serve in the particular services.

The pamphlet describes the requisites of such a volunteer office in communities of various sizes as well as in rural sections.

Emergency Medical Service for Civilian Defense

Of especial interest to public health authorities is the bulletin entitled *Emergency Medical Service for Civilian Defense, Bulletin No. 1,* issued by the Office of Civilian Defense. This bulletin outlines in great detail a basic plan for the organization and expansion of hospital facilities along both seaboards, as well as in the industrial areas in the interior. It describes the rapid expansion of nursing facilities through intensive training of adequate numbers of Volunteer Nurses Aides and other nursing auxiliaries.

In a foreword to the pamphlet Mayor LaGuardia quotes from a similar official bulletin issued in England in 1938, prior to the beginning of hostilities, as follows: "The need for [these measures] is not related to any belief that war is imminent. It arises from the fact that the risk of attack from the air, however remote it may be, is a risk that cannot be ignored, and because preparations to minimize the consequences of attack from the air cannot be improvised on the spur of the moment but must be made, if they are to be effective, in time of peace."

Mayor LaGuardia concludes his preface to the pamphlet as follows: "Whether or not we regard danger to the lives and property of our people as imminent, I would urge that immediate steps be taken to carry out these recommendations of the Office of Civilian Defense in every state along our seaboards and in industrial areas in the interior."

The pamphlet describes the changed technique of warfare predicated upon the bombing of civilians as necessitating preparation for providing medical service to casualties through establishment of medical field units. It declares the organization of such facilities must be a fundamental part of the civilian defense program.

After outlining in diagram form the structure of Emergency Medical Service, the pamphlet describes in detail the basic organization plan under the following topical subheadings.

1. Local Chief of Emergency Medical Service (responsible for coördinating all local emergency medical facilities);
2. Local Medical Advisory Council on Civilian Defense (includes representation from the health department, hospital field, local Red Cross chapter, and municipal and volunteer agencies);
3. Emergency Medical Field Units.

Under each subheading the functions of the several divisions are described in detail.

The pamphlet prescribes the personnel of the Emergency Field Unit, divided into squads on call for each twelve-hour shift, including physicians, nurses and nursing auxiliaries.

The squads are designed for communities of varying population—25,000, 50,000, and 100,000.

The pamphlets described are being distributed to state defense councils through which they will be available to local defense councils and municipal authorities.

Revocation of Licenses

Acting to throw the full support of municipal executives throughout the country behind efforts of Leon Henderson, administrator of the Office of Price Administration, to prevent inflationary price increases, Mayor LaGuardia, acting in his capacity as president of the United States Conference of Mayors, announced he would recommend revocation of municipal business licenses in cases of persistent violation of federal price ceilings.

Mayor LaGuardia pointed out that in most communities the power to issue and revoke municipal licenses is vested in the chief executive. The United States Conference of Mayors is composed of the chief executives of more than three hundred communities of over 30,000 population.

"It is my purpose to call to the attention of executives who are members of the United States Conference of Mayors all cases of willful and persistent price ceiling violation which are certified to me by Mr. Henderson," Mayor LaGuardia said.

"In these instances, I shall recommend that the violators be cautioned against continuing their infractions. Then, if they still persist, I shall recommend that the full powers of the municipality be exercised to revoke the licenses of the offenders.

"I have been informed by Mr. Henderson that the most careful investigation of complaints reaching his office will be undertaken before I am requested to make my recommendations.

"It is my belief that the coöperation of municipal executives throughout the country in Mr. Henderson's efforts to keep prices down in the face of inflationary pressure will be an invaluable contribution to the entire defense effort and will meet with the hearty approval of the American people.

"By exercising the powers of their office to revoke licenses of those who place personal gain during this national emergency above their obvious duty, municipal executives will be assisting patriotic business men to coöperate with our government and the public in the defense effort."

THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from Page 589)

Princeton University to collect, organize, and analyze existing data on the problem of cities. Melville C. Branch, Jr., an architect who formerly served with the National Resources Planning Board, has been named director. Functions of the bureau, as listed in its prospectus, are to include "a special analytic reference to documents concerning urban problems and their interactions; creative research designed to discover more of the underlying structural inter-relationships and form of cities, and to stimulate such research elsewhere; clearing house of urban information and research for those concerned with city problems." Conferences and advisory assistance to governmental officials and agencies are planned for the future.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Budget

Research in Public Budget Administration—An Outline of Suggested Research Topics. Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1941. 37 pp. mimeo.

Governmental Research

Case Studies in Governmental Research. Governmental Research Association, Detroit, 1941. 37 pp. mimeo.

Legislation

1941 Laws Affecting Cities. Association of Washington Cities in Coöperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Seattle, 1941. 62 pp. mimeo.

Personnel

Baltimore City Personnel, Its Administration and Cost (in three parts). *Your Tax Dollar,* The Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., Baltimore, August 30, September 2, and September 3, 1941. 13 pp. mimeo.

Police

The Organization and Operation of Police Reserves in Three Oregon Cities. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Coöperating with the League of Oregon Cities, 1941. 20 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

The Relief Problem in Minnesota. Minneapolis Research Bureau, an affiliate of the Minneapolis Civic Council, August 1, 1941. 14 pp. mimeo.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Long acquaintance with the excellent work done by O. Garfield Jones in Toledo, in developing his intensely practical program "Effective Citizenship" for college students, has led many people to appreciate profoundly the excellent work which these courses of laboratory investigations represent. It is unfortunate that the same methods are not followed more widely in other colleges and universities. Of course, they depend for their success largely on the right kind of leadership—the kind which Dr. Jones has furnished for many years.

But in his enthusiasm Dr. Jones seems to overstate the case in his letter published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for August. Referring to the new practice of observing an annual citizenship day for young people who attain their voting majority of twenty-one years, he says "this is no contribution to the citizenship training of college students." On the contrary, the measure of contribution furnished depends on the amount of preliminary training, class work, etc., which the local committee may provide prior to the citizenship day with its big celebration.

Manitowoc, Wisconsin, has set a national pace by its reasonable observance of citizenship day. Many other cities in adopting the idea have emphasized chiefly the ceremonial pageant of the day itself. Even that observance calls attention to the importance of citizenship and therefore is worthy of commendation. Where training classes often in small number are organized, certainly the whole procedure, though not as effective as the Toledo system, should not really be despised and rejected because it does not accomplish everything that might be desired. "This ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone."

WILLIAM P. LOVETT, *Executive Secretary*
Detroit Citizens League

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

To many of your readers, no doubt, the letter of Edward C. Donnelly, Jr., president of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America, in your September issue, seemed a dispassionate and fair defense of the billboard industry's position. Lacking the experience of those who for years have been fighting the billboard blight along the American highway and on the American landscape, they would not catch the significance of many items in his argument. Space fails for an adequate discussion of the many points Mr. Donnelly makes, but certain of them appear in a new light when some of the things Mr. Donnelly omits are supplied.

Mr. Donnelly declares that the billboard industry opposes "legislation which is intended to restrict unduly the outdoor medium." The catch there is "unduly." Now, as always, the industry refuses to define what is "due" or "undue" restriction except in terms which, as a practical matter, would permit billboards *anywhere and everywhere* except in thickly-settled districts legally zoned for residence only. In other words, the industry reserves to itself the right to veto as "undue" any legislation it pleases; and thus far any legislative regulation of the billboard nuisance that has become law, has been passed over the veto of the industry. Its consistent policy has been to block any and all regulation by law, no matter how mild.

Mr. Donnelly repeats the claim that

all attempts to regulate the business are really attempts to destroy. I have been familiar with the billboard fight ever since Mrs. Lawton started it eighteen years ago. I know of no antibillboard organization in all that time which has adopted, or does now adopt, the purpose Mr. Donnelly attributes to such organizations. The policy of the National Roadside Council is, and always has been, to restrict the business of outdoor advertising to genuine business districts—control not destruction.

Mr. Donnelly suggests that the industry would be willing to accept "non-discriminatory" legislation. That is not surprising in view of the industry's avowed concept of "non-discriminatory." By that the industry means the possession of a legal right, fortified by legislation, to put a billboard anywhere that any other business of whatever nature goes. Many other businesses may be excluded from a district, but if any kind of business whatever remains, billboards must come in. Every gas station, essential even on the most scenic roads, must be flanked by billboards if the industry so chooses. A group of cabins for tourists, although every other form of business be excluded, must open the neighborhood to billboards. Under one of the industry's recent applications of the principle, a single roadside fruit or honey stand would convert a rural district for a half-mile on both sides of the highway into a "business" district. When it is understood that the seemingly fair term "non-discriminatory" means a universal privilege for billboards accorded to no other business, and that only discrimination in favor of billboards is "non-discriminatory," does not the statement take on a different meaning?

"Reasonable" regulation, please note, must also be based upon the consent of the local landowners. By that Mr. Donnelly means the consent of farmers who receive a few dollars for allowing billboards on their highway frontages. The motorists and other taxpayers who pay for the farmers' highways are to have no voice. This local "consent" condition is an adjournment of the matter to the Greek kalends, for unanimous consent can never be obtained. If there are *any* refusals the local landowners have not "consented."

Moreover, "property owners" associations are created and financed by the billboard people, and all the "property owner" need do as a "member" is to write letters to legislators protesting against whatever regulatory legislation happens to be up at the moment whenever the billboard men notify him to write and supply the copy, often over the signature of some dummy in the catspaw organization. I have seen some of these letters written by the billboard people to go out over the name of these pretended organizations.

Mr. Donnelly makes much of the Pennsylvania attempt at coöperation—obviously an attempt to stave off regulation by law. First, let me say that any "coöperation" on the part of the billboard industry there or anywhere is merely a concession under pressure. The growing indignation all over the country against the billboard usurpation of our highways and the widespread bedevilment of the American landscape is having an effect. "Coöperation" on the part of the industry is pure appeasement, without any genuine interest in good planning. Second, the touted Pennsylvania "coöperation," after a year's trial, has not produced satisfactory results from the public point of view, and may yet turn out to be a dismal failure, because the billboard industry, now as ever, will move only so fast as it is shoved.

ALBERT S. BARD, *Counsel*
National Roadside Council

News in Review

City, State, and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

St. Louis Adopts Merit System

Also changes from election at large to ward plan

AT AN election on September 16 the voters of St. Louis, Missouri, adopted two charter amendments of outstanding importance. The total vote was not heavy, despite much newspaper publicity and active work by interested organizations and individuals. Each amendment, however, received affirmative votes amounting to more than 60 per cent of the total vote cast (60 per cent being necessary for adoption).

An amendment establishing a city-wide merit system carried by 73,035 to 43,747; the other, providing for election of councilmen by wards, carried by 79,187 to 38,313. Total city registration is about 413,000.

The civil service amendment was energetically advocated by a Citizens Committee and the League of Women Voters, and received strong newspaper support. It is regarded as a thoroughly workable and carefully safeguarded arrangement, and a great advance for the city.

On the ward amendment there were sharp differences of opinion among many groups. Under the present sytem election is at large, although one person from each ward is chosen. In the absence of true proportional representation the new amendment is expected to provide a somewhat more representative council than the present system.

Los Angeles Creates Office of Zoning Administrator

Under a recently revised city planning organization, Los Angeles has established the office of zoning administrator —a unique step in municipal zoning and planning, according to the American Society of Planning Officials. This new administrator will relieve the City Planning Commission of the task of dealing with zoning problems brought about by the large building program under way in the Los Angeles area—a task which has been taking most of the commission's time.

Under the new procedure petitions for use of property for a purpose not permitted in a particular area under zoning law will be filed with the zoning administrator, who is authorized to issue a zoning variance if he makes a finding that certain exceptional conditions prevail. Any appeal from the zoning administrator's action will be heard by a newly formed Zoning Board of Appeals. Formerly the City Planning Commission issued variances, which action was reviewed by the City Council.

Departmental Council Established in Milwaukee

On September 10, Mayor Carl F. Zeidler of Milwaukee organized a Council of Departmental Administration (CDA) to consist of the forty or more department and bureau heads of the city government, with Mayor Zeidler as chairman and Norman Gill, municipal reference librarian, as secretary. This council is to become a regular part of the city administration. Its purposes are to confer with the mayor on interdepartmental administrative problems; to determine efficient and economical methods of operation of the city government; to consider possible economies in the 1942 municipal budget; to devise ways and means of solving some of the critical problems arising out of the effects of the national defense program upon the city government, such as scarce materials, priority lists, personnel needs, etc.; and to formulate recommendations for the consideration of the city's legislative body, the Common Council.

At the first meeting of the council on September 12 the Mayor appointed a committee to study the possible use of substitute materials in municipal public works; and the extent to which maintenance and repair work on existing municipal structures should be curtailed because of the prior needs of the national defense program.

Council-Manager Plan News

A petition for a vote in **Schenectady, New York,** in November, on repeal of the present city manager form of government (Plan C) in that city, has been declared invalid by Justice E. C. Lawrence of the Fourth District Supreme Court. The petition contained 4,779 signatures, of which 1,070 were disallowed by the court, leaving 3,709 valid signatures as against 3,904 required. More than half of those disallowed were stricken because they were not the signatures of qualified voters or were not signed by the actual person. The court stated that any doubt was resolved in favor of the petition. There appears to be no possibility of such an election for at least the present year.

Alderman Ralph T. Mazza, a candidate for the Republican nomination for mayor of **Ithaca, New York,** advocated that the manager plan be studied by the citizens and their representatives with a view to adoption if the claims in its favor are found justified.

In **Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,** H. D. Denny, Jr., candidate for the Republican nomination for mayor, endorsed the manager plan for that city.

The **Ishpeming, Michigan,** Industrial Association advocates a referendum on the establishment of the council-manager plan. A committee of the association has submitted a report on the plan, including methods of bringing it before the people.

The Civic Forum of **Seattle, Washington,** is launching an educational campaign for council-manager government.

Nominating Petitions Contested in New York

Indications of widespread irregularities in nominating petitions affecting both the Republicans and Democrats in New York City caused rapid-fire court action just prior to the primary held on September 16. The petitions of John R. Davies, contending for the Republican nomination for mayor with Fiorello H. LaGuardia, were characterized by Justice Ferdinand Pecora of the First District Supreme Court as "saturated with fraud". The petitions had been largely circulated by professional petition-gatherers, and certain petitions showed so many irregularities that Justice Pecora considered them invalid in their entirety, declaring, however, that he did not hold the candidate responsible. He was overruled in quick succession by the Appellate Division and the Court of Appeals, who took the position that there were sufficient valid signatures, including some on the petitions disregarded by Justice Pecora, to authorize a place on the ballot for Davies.

At the primary LaGuardia defeated Davies by a majority of 19,820 in a total vote of 106,672—only 14 per cent of the Republican enrollment.

A somewhat similar controversy arose over the nomination for president of the borough of Brooklyn. John Cashmore, the Democratic incumbent and nominee, ran in the Republican primary against Matthew J. Troy, who is an independent Democrat, endorsed by the American Labor party. Cashmore's petitions were attacked; the trial court and the Appellate Division found many irregularities but decided there were sufficient valid signatures. Troy won the nomination by a narrow margin.

Municipal Law Officers Queried on Public Strikes

A survey based on questionnaires sent by the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers to city attorneys throughout the country indicated their overwhelming opinion that cities do not have power to enter into contracts with labor unions and that city employees do not have the right to strike. The report, which was issued September 2, states: "Out of 385 municipal law officers to whom the questionnaire was forwarded not one expressed an opinion that a collective bargaining agreement could be lawfully entered into by a municipality."

The questionnaire replies and other data as compiled by Charles S. Rhyne, executive director of the Institute, are briefly summarized as follows:

1. No city has ever signed a collective bargaining agreement with a labor union representing city employees similar to the agreements entered into between private industry and labor unions.
2. Agreements have been signed between a few cities and representatives of labor unions of city employees containing general expressions of policy or good will and good intention toward such employees.
3. Legal opinions of the courts, city attorneys, and state attorneys general declare that cities do not have the power to sign collective bargaining agreements with labor unions representing municipal employees for the following reasons:

a. Power to sign such collective-bargaining agreements has not been delegated to cities, except in a very limited way by the state of Washington.

b. Such agreements would be unlawful and unauthorized delegation of public power to the union, a private organization, over which there is no public control.

c. Such an agreement would, in effect, vest control of the municipal government in an unelected and uncontrolled private organization (the union) and take control from the officials who have been chosen by the public and whose conduct is regulated by law.

d. Such an agreement if it contains a "closed-shop" provision, discriminates between citizens in violation of the federal and state constitutions by preventing all citizens not belonging to the particular union holding the municipal labor contract from having an equal opportunity to obtain public employment. A closed shop is incompatible with the public service as it substitutes the test of union membership for the usual tests of ability, education, efficiency, etc.

e. Such an agreement would supplant civil service requirements with union control in direct violation of law.

f. The declared public policy of the federal, state, and municipal governments is opposed to collective bargaining agreements in public employment.

g. Federal legislation providing for collective bargaining for private industry employees expressly provides that the legislation does not apply to cities and their employees.

h. City employees have no right to strike to enforce collective bargaining agreements with the city.

4. Differences in the nature of public and private employment make different legislative treatment of such employments a necessity.

5. Public policy makes collective bargaining between government and unions an impossibility.

6. Some city employees belong to labor unions and some city administrations discuss employee problems with union representatives. It is only when formal union recognition or a formal union contract is sought that the problems herein discussed arise.

Chicago's Institute of Public Service

The University of Chicago has announced the establishment of an Institute of Public Service to make special training in various aspects of government available to public officials, public employees, and others in the Chicago metropolitan area. It will be located at the University's downtown college, 18 South Michigan Avenue, and classes, opening October 7, will be held evenings. A certificate of public administration will be awarded students who have satisfactorily completed an approved course and who have attained a bachelor's degree or an acceptable equivalent in terms of public service.

According to President Robert M. Hutchins, the institute is designed for educational assistance to the 125,000 men and women already in the public service in and around Chicago, whether elected or appointive or civil service employees, and also for the thousands of citizens who are responsible for quasi-governmental or civic affairs in Chicago, or who, as experts in business and labor, are subject to governmental regulations or are dependent upon the widening range of governmental functions and services in order to carry on their daily work.

The institute will be headed by Dr. Albert Lepawsky, lecturer in political science at the university, with an advisory committee of twelve experts in governmental, legal, sociological, and educational fields.

Formal courses will include municipal government to be presented by Jerome G. Kerwin, associate professor of political science; public administration, government of Chicago, and defense administration, by Dr. Lepawsky; techniques of public management, by Dr. Clarence E. Ridley, director of the International City Managers' Association; public law and public utility administration, by C. Herman Pritchett, assistant professor of political science; election and party administration, by Harold F. Gosnell, authority on voting practices and associate professor of political science; governmental accounting, by Carl H. Chatters and Irving Tenner, executive director and staff accountant, respectively, of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association; governmental planning, by Walter H. Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials; and governmental reporting and communications, by Don Price, assistant director of the Public Administration Clearing House. There will also be public lectures by guest authorities.

Students in the institute may also take complementary courses offered by the School of Business and Division of the Social Sciences in related professional and non-professional subjects.

Pennsylvania Municipal Finance Officers to Train

Preparations have been under way

for some time for the establishment of zone training schools throughout Pennsylvania for municipal financial officers, and for the secretaries and clerks of boroughs—a class of municipality that has existed for 250 years in that state. This is the first training ever to be provided for borough financial officers. Plans were originally laid for the organization of zone schools at a meeting on July 2 in Harrisburg, called by the Public Service Institute of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.

Preliminary work includes the preparation of manuals as texts for the classes; this has been in progress under the supervision of the Public Service Institute, headed by Dr. Fred W. Hosler. One manual is for general classes in municipal finance, which include financial officers of counties, cities, boroughs, and townships. A manual is also being prepared for borough secretaries and clerks by William Walker of the University of Pennsylvania for the Public Service Institute; he has visited many boroughs in developing the material.

Merit System League in California

In order that appointment and promotion in the public service shall be so far as possible on the basis of merit, to direct public attention to the patronage evil, and to study new methods and procedures in public administration, the California Merit System League was recently formed by civic-minded private persons and representatives of various public personnel agencies and employee groups. The temporary president is Professor John M. Pfiffner of the School of Government, University of Southern California.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

Chalk up another citizen victory for good government. . . . This time it was the **St. Louis Citizens' Committee for the Civil Service Amendment,** with the Mayor of St. Louis as its chairman, which conducted a strenuous campaign resulting in the adoption of a modern civil service amendment to the city charter on September 16.

Never one to let an election or primary day go by without some good advice for the voters, the **Citizens Union of New York** announced its preferences in the limited number of contests in the New York City primaries on September 16. Of chief significance was the union's strong support of Mayor LaGuardia in the Republican primary where his nomination was being contested (unsuccessfully, as it turned out) by John R. Davies.

The **Kiwanis Committee Program for Clubs in 1941** contains as its first plank "participation in every effort . . . to educate for self-government." To carry out this purpose local clubs are urged to sponsor the so-called Manitowoc Plan, the citizenship training program for twenty-one-year-old citizens which culminates in a one-day celebration. Recognition of the importance of all elections is also emphasized and the clubs are advised to promote coöperative movements among all civic clubs to register and get out the vote. The program includes, in addition, recommendations on the holding of open forums, scrutiny of public expenditures to prevent waste, and a number of items not so closely connected with citizenship and local government. All in all, the program strikes us as an excellent one—specific enough so that any club can get into action immediately, and broad enough to enlist the interest and support of many groups.

A notice in the September 1 issue of the *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* publication of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** states that the alliance now has available for sale in book form a summary of all laws passed by the 1941 state legislature. The summary contains a brief statement of the content of each law and a cross-index. . . . At a time when state legislatures are passing more and more laws each year, which busy citizens can scarcely hope to keep up with, the publication of an inexpensive summary such as this one (price fifty cents) sounds like a particularly worthwhile idea.

Once again the **National Association of Civic Secretaries** is making plans for its annual meeting, to be held as usual in conjunction with the National Municipal League's annual Conference on Government. This year's dates, November 17, 18 and 19; the place, St. Louis, Missouri. Any program suggestions will be gratefully received by President Allen H. Seed, Jr., of the **Minneapolis Civic Council.**

R. M. W.

California Commonwealth Club One of Largest in U. S.

The **Commonwealth Club of California** is one of the oldest civic organizations in the United States and unique in its record of membership expansion and influence.

Founded thirty-eight years ago as a "Public Service Club," it soon took its present name, was finally incorporated in 1926, and now has more than four thousand members from all parts of the west.

From the first it was destined to be a medium to which interested citizens could turn to "find the truth and turn it loose on the world." Intelligent political service to the community and to the state became a real possibility as the club developed under the journalistic creed "Get the facts," taken from its founding father, Edward F. Adams.

Plan of Action

The founders recognized the need of intelligent leadership and acknowledged that good men are bound to disagree on many questions. They had entire confidence in each other's regard for the public welfare, however, and desired to organize "to investigate and discuss problems affecting the welfare of the commonwealth and to aid in their solution." The club has maintained itself in an impartial position as an open forum for the discussion of disputed questions. There has never been an attempt to promote ideas or conclusions. It has depended upon the search for and publication of truth as the best means of assisting in the solution of public questions.

Although the club holds lecture luncheons, section luncheons, monthly dinners, and social evenings, it is not a luncheon or dinner or social organization. It is today, what its founders hoped it would be, a purely investigating and reporting body.

Members of the club, exclusively men, are carefully chosen from business, professional, industrial, educational, financial, governmental, and scientific groups in the western part of the country. Naturally, most of the active membership is from the San Francisco Bay area. Members may attend all the meetings of the club including luncheons, dinners, and study section meetings. They also receive all the publications of the club, have use of a well stocked library on public questions, and take advantage of the instruction and inspiration of noted speakers and specialists.

Friday luncheons are perhaps the most widely known, but not the most important, activity of the club. These luncheons, which were inaugurated in 1908, have been maintained in unbroken sequence. Last year sixty-six luncheon meetings were held with a total attendance of over twenty-six thousand—an average of 397.

More than a thousand prominent citizens of the United States and every civilized country have spoken at these luncheons on vital questions of the day. This roster will include every president since McKinley, cabinet officers, royalty, statesmen, foreign diplomats, and professional and business men, yet no speaker has ever been paid an honorarium or expenses.

This forum has been a very desirable sounding board and has provided an excellent field for launching trial balloons. Mr. Roosevelt's keynote speech in 1932 and the trial sound-off of Mr. Willkie before the club in the early spring of 1940 will be remembered by many. Excepting candidates for the presidency, however, the club's forum is traditionally closed to candidates for public office.

National Broadcasts

Friday luncheons are carried by the National Broadcasting Company as a public service feature and are the first of such character to be accorded regular radio time. No restrictions whatever have been placed upon any speaker as to his theme or method of handling his material. No advance script has ever been required. Of over a thousand speakers this freedom has been abused on only two or three occasions when the bounds of good taste and radio standards have been exceeded.

There are twenty-four study sections which held 387 meetings during the past year with a total attendance of well over seven thousand members. These sections, studying almost every conceivable public question, usually meet at lunch and hear speakers on all sides of the problems before them. The deliberations of the sections, usually over a year or longer, will be summarized and discussed, before all the members of the club who wish to attend, at a monthly dinner meeting. These meetings constitute an open forum for presentation of arguments and debate on the more important questions before the club. Reports and all extemporaneous remarks are recorded stenographically and appear in the monthly issue of the *Commonwealth.* They are afterwards bound with the progress report or history of the club for the year in the annual *Transactions.* These *Transactions,* 365 issues since 1925, cover some twenty thousand pages and over three hundred topics.

An important and distinguishing element in the work of the club is that it has always required its study sections to hear all sides of each subject, irrespective of the opinions of the section members. No section or members are allowed to use the name of the club as an endorsement of their ideas. The opinion of the whole club, usually obtained by a postcard vote, can be stated and published only by a vote of the Board of Governors.

Among the concrete accomplishments which have grown out of Commonwealth Club section studies are the state budget law, the small claims court, the office of public defender, the judicial council, permanent registration of voters, absentee voting, state and county civil service laws, convenient voting hours, jury reforms, direct primary, and a new plan for the selection and retention of the judiciary.

It is needless to add that the general reputation of this club throughout the state and country has been sufficient to place it in the forefront as a leader of public opinion, an *in absentia* influence on the legislature and administrative officers, and an ever-present adviser and help to the voter in facing a long list of initiative or referendum measures presented for his decision. The members of the club are thus carrying on the dual civic duty of instructing themselves in matters of social importance and aiding their fellow citizens in governmental problems.

Edwin A. Cottrell
Stanford University

Self Government Committee Urges Democracy in the Schools

My experience in organizing the New York Good Government Clubs had shown the total lack of responsibility for government in the average citizen. In 1903 I urged President Eliot of Harvard, then at the head of the National Education Association, to give me a place on the program of its annual meeting in Boston to discuss self-government in the public schools as a means of civic training. Such a flood of correspondence followed my address that the **National Self Government Committee** was organized to distribute literature and spread far and wide this idea so essential in a democracy.

The late U. S. Commissioner of Education, William John Cooper, said that he was "unable to see how one could train for citizenship in a democracy through a school which was autocratically administered." Since 1904 this committee has carried on a persistent campaign to induce teachers gradually to drop autocratic methods and to develop the spirit of alert citizenship needed in a democracy. This sense of responsibility should be taught by throwing responsibility on the boys and girls so that they acquire the habit and attitude of young citizens coöperating in their own school community, no longer slaves under a dictator but proud to say: "This is our school! We help run it! We are proud of it!"

Teachers, having thus laid a foundation in the early school years, very soon should widen the horizons of their pupils, remind them of their responsibilities when they reach voting age, and interest them in the actual government of their community. Of what use is flag-saluting and teaching government as it is supposed to work without teaching how it does work, and how to prevent the bosses' stranglehold?

No New Idea

The founders of our country five generations ago blazed the trial for a perfectly new kind of public school:

Franklin: "for public service"

Washington: "an enlightened opinion on self-government"

Adams: "for civic and moral duties"

Madison and Monroe: "for government"

Jefferson: "to know what is going on and to make each his part go on right."

They expected us to teach not only the machinery of government but the technique of politics and the part each citizen must take throughout the year in every step leading up to and including the final vote on election day; but as the late Dr. William McAndrew, distinguished educator, said: "The school teachers fell into the old rut of European scholarship standards, syntax, cube root, and other frills, and the democracy planned by the Fathers *has not even been tried.*"

"Be ye doers of the Word and not hearers only, *deceiving your own selves,*" of course merely means that the best way of learning is *by doing.* Autocratic teachers have failed to make their pupils doers of the word (democracy), and have failed to build the cooperative spirit. These teachers have been deceiving their "own selves." When once the students have got the attitude and spirit of democratic coöperation through actual practice, they soon realize that it is *their* government they are living under, and interest in the affairs of their own town or county soon follows.

Learning by Doing

How better can a young man be impressed with the need of honest elections as the cornerstone of democracy than by taking a hand in a hotly fought school election and, if he sees his side losing, resisting the temptation to make a false return of the vote?

Under Dr. Schlockow's system of student government, a committee of boys of P.S. 109, Brooklyn, marched down to the City Hall and got the bureau in charge to repave the school street which was full of mud-holes—all this without Dr. Schlockow's knowledge. Space forbids multiplying such instances.

Not only has the National Self Government Committee pioneered in distributing literature to teachers and students, advising how to begin student government, addressing teachers groups such as the National Education Association, and conducting surveys, but it is a clearing house for data on student government and civic training. Requests for information come from teachers and students in all parts of the world.

The committee now has over six thousand associate members, chiefly high school teachers, principals, and college professors, who receive its publications. Two notable pamphlets might here be mentioned: *Civics As It Should Be Taught—Truth About Politics for Tomorrow's Americans,* and *Student Coöperation,* a study of student government in high schools enrolling nearly two million pupils, by Dr. Earl C. Kelley of Wayne University. The committee's chairman meets with discussion groups of high school students thirty or forty times a year in New York City schools.

In the teacher training field Dr. Ambrose Suhrie of New York University, founder of the Eastern States Association of Professional Schools for Teachers, has visited every teacher training college in the country on behalf of this committee, aiding them in their student government problems.

The committee for several seasons organized in a number of towns Junior Cities for young people under voting age, enrolling thousands, to develop an interest in community affairs and fill the gap between leaving school and voting. This project took more time and money than the committee could afford but it should be revived.

The authorities are forever sidestepping the job of making the schools a practice ground for coöperative democracy because so much scholarship is required. They protest that citizenship is the chief aim, yet by their examinations they give scholarship the right of way, in fact the whole road. As no recognition comes to a teacher who devotes extra time to student coöperation and character development, how can we expect any better results?

Of course, back of the apathy of the schools lies the great apathy and ignorance of the public who pay the taxes for education and to whom education simply means "book learning." This public is still shouting to the world our pride in free public education, but in our failure to demand that the schools turn out alert and responsible citizens, are we not deceiving ourselves?

Richard Welling, *Chairman*
National Self Government Committee

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

New York Assured of County Reform Vote

Mayor signs two bills passed by city council

THE Democratic majority of the New York City Council has passed and Mayor LaGuardia has signed two county reform bills which must now be submitted to the voters in November for final action.

The bills would abolish the offices of the four county registers and the five county sheriffs as of January 1, 1942, and transfer their functions to the respective county clerks and to a city-wide popularly-elected sheriff. It is estimated that the change would save from $250,000 to $500,000 annually.

The bills represent the Democrats' alternative to the county reform measures sponsored by the Citizens' Nonpartisan Committee, the League of Women Voters, the Citizens Union, the New York Lawyers Guild, and other civic groups, which proposed single city-wide offices of register and sheriff to be filled by the mayor from civil service lists. The latter measure has received the number of signatures required to place it on the ballot in November, but it is possible the courts again will find defects in the petition procedure.[1]

Although Mayor LaGuardia signed the Democratic measures in spite of the protest of the citizen groups, he announced his preference for the latter's proposal. He stated that he wished to insure that at least one plan would be submitted to the voters this November.

Needs of Green County, Wisconsin, Surveyed

The Green County Land Use Committee recently issued a report in which it reviewed the problems believed to be typical in southern Wisconsin rural counties. Major points emphasized included the following:

1. Classification of lands by types and their proper uses;
2. Methods of control of wind and water erosion and the conservation and development of forest lands;
3. Weed and rodent eradication;
4. Improvements in farm buildings, use of fertilizers, dairying methods, and general farm management;
5. Extended use of farm credit agencies;
6. Extension of the activities of AAA, REA, and the WPA as a farm employment office;
7. Development of long-term farm leases to encourage the tenant to maintain the farm in better condition; and
8. Improved education through extension of 4-H work and consolidation, building modernization, and revised curricula in the schools.

Colorado Counties Join Tax Collection Campaign

With a total expenditure of $900—$720 by the counties and $180 by the state—Colorado has collected between $500,000 and $1,000,000 in delinquent personal property taxes during the first two months of a joint "advertising" campaign. As reported by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, the campaign consisted of one notice in each of the 171 newspapers of the state to the effect that personal property taxes were due, and spot broadcasting over the fourteen radio stations throughout the state.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1941, p. 447.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Defense Public Works Program Begins

Federal funds aid cities in construction made necessary by national emergency

FEDERAL aid for the numerous communities unable to cope alone with public construction necessitated by the national defense program began in earnest on August 18, when the government announced presidential approval of the first group of applications made available through a $150,000,000 Congressional appropriation. To September 16 a total of 121 projects had been approved, involving an estimated $31,557,931 of improvements.

The federal appropriation was made at the insistence of representatives of municipal officials and other organizations who pointed out that in many communities local resources were not adequate to handle additional water, sewer, school, highway, hospital and other construction necessitated by the national defense program. Many small towns found themselves forced by the erection of a military camp or big industrial plant to provide facilities and services for many times their normal population, while not a few larger communities had to undertake expansions far in excess of any requirements which might be expected to develop within decades. In some of the situations it was wholly out of the question for local government to finance the required construction. In others, it could be done only by straining local resources to the breaking point for what is essentially a nation-wide purpose.

The projects approved to mid-September reflect the purposes of the appropriation and give also some indication of the most urgent needs. Of the 121 applications approved, forty-nine were for new schools or school additions, and twenty-eight were for water, sewer, and combined water-sewer systems. Thirty were for recreation or community center buildings or additions in communities where army camps nearby pose urgent leisure-time problems for soldiers and government officials alike. The remaining fourteen projects were varied, with hospitals, hospital additions, and health centers predominating.

Funds Distributed

A few days after approval of projects began, the actual allocation of funds got under way. By September 16 funds had been allocated to sixty-six projects, for a total of $14,564,497. Of this amount $11,028,190 represented grants (and in a few cases loans) of DPW funds, and $2,345,647 was the sponsors' share, the difference representing additional assistance to come from the federal agency later on.

A sampling of the projects for which funds have been allocated provides an interesting commentary on the apportionment of funds to the various types of construction. Out of thirty-six projects having an estimated cost of $8,250,000, nineteen having an estimated cost of $4,634,000 were schools, seven were water and sewer systems having an estimated cost of $2,565,000, six were recreation projects estimated to cost $511,000, and the remainder were hospitals and health centers. Sponsors' shares of the school projects totaled $1,229,000 and of the water and sewer systems $447,000; the recreation centers were financed entirely by the DPW.

Most of the projects will be operated by the sponsor without additional help from the federal government, but not a few of the projects, especially schools, will require DPW assistance for operation and maintenance. The recreation centers will be operated in the main by the USO or by local civic groups.

Applications for grants exceed many times the funds available, according to Federal Works Administrator John M. Carmody, who is in charge of the defense public works program also. Applications to mid-September totaled close to $500,000,000. It is said, however, that a large number of the applications are for projects plainly outside the purposes of the appropriation, many communities having apparently failed to grasp the purpose of the program.

Long-Term Financial Programs Studied

The long-term spending programs developed since 1916 by a number of cities to help them through depression and prosperity years can be used as models by cities planning for operation on a pay-as-you-go basis during the national emergency period, says the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada in discussing a recent study by the Milwaukee Municipal Reference Library.[1]

Cities would avoid difficulties in obtaining needed public works materials scheduled for other purposes under the priorities system and would bolster their post-war economy by putting such programs into operation immediately. Such a program, properly developed, would give public officials a means of controlling capital expenditures. It would enable cities to take advantage of a general economic situation, spending in times of depression and conserving in times of relative prosperity.

The Milwaukee Municipal Reference Library's study of long-term spending programs in thirty cities shows that agencies undertaking long-range programs vary from city to city; finance officers, mayors, city managers, commissions, planning boards, and public works officials have all been sponsors. The present tendency is to make the city council or the chief executive responsible for determining over-all policies, with technical responsibility resting with the finance and budget officers, the public works department, and the city planning agency.

Previous to 1930 the usual practice was for cities to prepare long-term programs for a fixed period of time—five to ten years. Since then a majority of the successful programs have been of the continuous type; the program is reviewed and revised annually and a year added to replace the year just elapsed.

Scope of Programs

Improvement programs cover a wide scope—from plans covering activities in a single department or function, such as those of the Library Board in Seattle and the School Board in Milwaukee, to comprehensive long-term plans embracing all financial operations of a city. Between, there have been plans for improvements financed exclusively by bonds or special tax levies or covering all improvements or all capital expenditures. Methods of partial financing include the levy of a special millage tax for improvements or allocation of a fixed sum over a period of years to be obtained by special levies.

Illustrations of the size of improvement programs of the past are St. Louis' six-year non-continuous $76,000,000 program of 1923; Kansas City's ten-year non-continuous $50,000,000 program of 1933; Dallas' five-to-nine-year non-continuous $24,000,000 program of 1927; and the original figure of "desirable improvements" totaling $55,000,000 listed in the 1936 Milwaukee program, which was reduced to a recommended $17,000,000 in the final program submitted to the Board of Estimates.

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[1] *Long Term Improvement Programs in American Cities.* By Norman N. Gill. Municipal Reference Library, Milwaukee, 1941. 20 pp. mimeo.

Examples of long-term financial programs cited in the Milwaukee study include:

Dallas: 1940 six-year continuous program prepared by the assistant director of finance—the administrative head of the finance department—assisted by the National Resources Planning Board. The program covers all revenues and all expenditures and is administered by the city manager.

Washington, D. C.: 1933 six-year continuous program prepared and administered by the city commissioners, covering all revenues and spending.

New York City: 1938 six-year continuous program prepared and administered by the city planning commission on an annual capital budget review and revision basis, covering all revenues.

Spokane: 1939 six-year continuous program prepared by the public works commissioner, administered by the commissioner and the city finance director, covering all expenditures and revenues.

Seattle: 1940 six-year non-continuous program prepared and administered by the city library board, covering library revenues and expenditures.

Cincinnati's Joint Plan

An example of long-term programming carried on jointly by independent but overlapping units of government is in the Cincinnati area. A joint bond program committee, representing the city, the school district, and the county, prepares each year a combined five-year bond improvement program for the three governmental bodies. The committee coördinates the three programs so that improvements will be constructed in order of importance yet insure a reasonable tax rate. The joint committee, in preparing a five-year bond program each year since 1927, considers the priority of improvement projects to be financed by bond issues and the effect on future tax rates of bond issues.

Historically, the 1916 Milwaukee and Minneapolis school building programs are believed to be the first long-term financial and improvement plans prepared in the United States, and the 1919 Newark program apparently was the first to include all expected income and outgo of municipal revenue. Following the World War many cities, faced with unusual public improvement needs due to capital expenditure moratoriums during the war, developed long-term programs, including St. Louis, 1923; Dayton, 1924; Detroit, 1925; and Toledo, 1926.

Examples of plans prepared during the "prosperity" years are the programs of San Francisco, Buffalo, Dallas, and Duluth. all in 1927; St. Paul and San Diego, in 1928; and Los Angeles, 1929. During depression years programs were prepared by Kansas City, 1931; Detroit, 1937; Washington, D. C., 1933; and Boston, 1939.

Fiscal Effects of Gas Rationing Studied

Imposition in the eastern seaboard states of the gasoline curfew, followed by the actual rationing of dealers' stocks, has led to a great deal of speculation regarding the possible effects of reduced gasoline consumption on state gasoline tax receipts. Fortunately—for the matter is important—there is now available a brief but comprehensive survey evaluating the potential problems which severe gas rationing might pose for the seventeen eastern states affected.[1]

Starting out to examine the degree by which gasoline tax revenues might be diminished by a hypothetical 30 per cent reduction in gasoline consumption in the eastern states, Miss Edna Trull, who prepared the study, points out that the problem is really one of state revenue structures or systems. The gasoline tax, translated into terms of governmental revenues, is varied in its impact from state to state. It is significant, however, that in only one state, South Carolina, would a 30 per cent drop in gasoline consumption be accompanied by gas tax revenue constriction which would pose a problem too difficult to be temporarily solved by a reduction in highway construction. Elsewhere gas tax revenues pledged for highway debt service as well as other fixed commitments would be adequately if not always generously covered despite the hypothetical reduction, especially with curtailment of part of the ordinary highway construction programs.

Staunton's Quarter Century of Self-Insurance

During the past twenty-five years Staunton, Virginia, pioneer manager city in 1908, has been carrying on a remarkable experiment in self-insurance. In 1916 the councilmen of this Shenandoah Valley community of 13,337 inhabitants, feeling that the cost of insurance with private carriers was out of proportion to the benefit received, resolved to establish the insurance sinking fund on which the present scheme is based. Today the fund has a balance of $62,300, although the city's contributions have totaled only $48,000. Interest from the fund not only has paid all claims charged against it but also has added $14,300 to principal.

The Staunton insurance sinking fund embraces all types of coverage except fire insurance. City officials, however, deem that the time is nearly ripe to extend the coverage so as to include fire insurance, too. When this step is taken Staunton will have a complete system of municipal self-insurance.

The plan of the founders of the insurance scheme was to make an annual contribution to the fund of $1,000. After two years, however, as a result of a statute requiring the city to carry workmen's compensation insurance, the contribution was increased to $2,000. Each year since that time this sum, along with the interest from the preceding year, has been deposited in the fund. Last year the interest on that portion of the fund which is invested in United States treasury bonds amounted to $1,120.

For the past ten years total claims against the fund have averaged $639.17 per year. Workmen's compensation claims have accounted for 61.7 per cent of this amount, public liability claims 20.5 per cent, and court costs the remaining 17.8 per cent. Nine tort claims have been paid from the fund. These have ranged from 49 cents to $600, with the average claim amounting to $145.78. The cost of similar coverage in a private company would have been in excess of $3,000 per year. By carrying its own insurance, the city has enjoyed a savings of about 80 per cent, not including interest.

George A. Warp
Bureau of Publio Administration
University of Virginia

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[1] *The Effects of Gasoline Rationing on State and Local Governmental Finance*: A Survey of Potential Problems in the Atlantic Seaboard States. Municipal Service Department of Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., New York, 1941. 26 pp. mimeo.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Approaching P. R. Elections

An Answer to Dr. Hermens
P. R. Meeting in St. Louis

ON NOVEMBER 4 seven American cities will hold their regular biennial P.R. elections. All will elect city councilmen by P.R. and Cambridge, Massachusetts, which will be using the method for the first time, will elect school committee members by P.R. also.

The "Plan E" law under which Cambridge is operating makes nomination exceptionally easy, only fifty signatures of voters who have signed no other petition being required, and a large number of aspirants is in the field. The Cambridge Committee for Plan E, which led the campaign for the adoption of the plan under the chairmanship of Dean James M. Landis of Harvard Law School, is preparing to back a representative slate of not more than nine candidates on whom it hopes to concentrate the support of the forces of good government.

Similar efforts are being made by citizen committees in most of the other P.R. cities.

In New York the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, with a distinguished personnel headed by Thomas D. Thacher, chairman of the commission which drafted the present charter, and including Samuel Seabury, Charles C. Burlingham, and Charles E. Hughes, Jr., is backing a fusion council ticket against the Democratic organization majority for the third time.

The ticket is a strong one made up of regular nominees of two of the three recognized parties, the Republican and American Labor, and independent members of all three. It includes Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs of Manhattan, who was denied renomination for his present office by the Republicans and is running independently for council; the council's minority leader, Mrs. Genevieve B. Earle of Brooklyn, independent Republican, and Councilman Robert K. Straus, independent Democrat, both of whom have been twice elected under P.R. without major party organization support; Councilman Harry W. Laidler of Brooklyn, who has been denied a redesignation as an official candidate of the American Labor party but is generally considered one of the council's ablest and most conscientious members; Frank S. Hackett of the Bronx, founder and head master of the Riverdale Country School; Dr. George S. Counts of Manhattan, professor of education at Columbia University and president of the American Federation of Teachers; former Minority Leader Andrew R. Armstrong of Brooklyn and Councilman Salvatore Ninfo of the Bronx, labor union leaders; former Councilman Charles Belous of Queens, running as a candidate of the City Fusion party.

In Cincinnati the Republican organization and the City Charter Committee, supported by Democrats and independent Republicans, each with four present councilmen, are once more the chief contenders, with Rev. Herbert Bigelow, independent, also running for re-election.

In Yonkers the City Manager League with two present councilmen, the Democratic organization with two, and the Republican organization with one, are each presenting tickets. During the past two years the three party regulars on the council have stood together against the two independents on most controversial issues. A spirited battle for control is under way.

The other cities with P.R. elections are Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio; and Boulder, Colorado.

A Book Against P. R.

The following letter was printed in the *New York Times* of August 7:

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I noticed your recent review of the book *Democracy or Anarchy?* by Dr. F. A. Hermens of Notre Dame, crusader against proportional representation, and have since been reading the book.

By an amazing line of argument Dr. Hermens tries to beguile workers for better city government back to support of the plurality system and to a belief that P. R. is an obstacle to their progress. He even goes so far as to argue that opponents of Tammany Hall would have been better off here in New York without P. R. in the "off-year" election of 1939, when the Democratic organizations made a clean sweep of every office in the city that was elected by the plurality system, but had to yield one-third of the places on the City Council to representatives of minorities under P. R.

On this point the "municipal reformers" themselves, in the cities that have had experience both with P. R. and with plurality elections, are better authorities than Dr. Hermens. They are almost unanimous in their support of P. R. And the voters like it too. P. R. has been upheld in twenty-one of the twenty-three referenda so far held on its retention in American municipalities.

Actually nearly all of the American cities which have P. R. councils are among the best-governed cities in the country. And in all of these cities except New York the quality of the whole city government is dependent on the P. R. council, because the council not only determines policies but hires a city manager to carry them out.

More Representation Obtained

Your account quotes Dr. Hermens as "pointing out that with 27 per cent of the first preference vote in 1937, the independent vote did not elect a single candidate." This apparently refers to the various unattached and unrelated candidates who were not designated on any ticket, though for some reason it arbitrarily excludes James A. Burke, who ran with no designation whatever after his name and was easily elected.

It is of course absurd to consider this miscellaneous group as if it were a party or slate, for no one was urging support of it as such. A large part of those who cast the first preferences in question cast other choices for regular Democrats, Republicans, Laborites, or Fusionists and got representation by helping to elect them. In all a half-million more voters got representation that year by voting successfully for councilmen than were ever able to help elect aldermen under the old system.

Your paraphrase of Dr. Hermens' argument goes on to cite his contention that P. R. "operates against the more loosely organized reform groups," presumably because they scatter their votes more than the regulars and more of their ballots become exhausted through having no choice marked for a candidate with a chance of election. But, in spite of exhausted ballots, the opposition to the Democratic organization elected a full half of the council under P. R. in 1937, while the same day under the plurality system it elected only one-fifth of the city's assemblymen and one-eighth of its delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

Your account then proceeds with Dr. Hermens' statement that "Detailed proof of alphabetical and racial voting was found by a committee of the State Constitutional Convention." The committee referred to was not a committee of the convention but a committee, of which I was a member, appointed by Governor Lehman to prepare material for the use of the convention. The committee did not act on the P. R. chapter referred to, but simply asked Assemblyman Steingut to present the case against P. R. and me to present the case for it.

Mr. Steingut presented figures on the transferred votes to show that substantial numbers of voters, though still a decided minority of the whole, had expressed a subsequent choice for a candidate of the same racial origin as a candidate for whom their ballots had been counting before he was defeated. It would have been surprising, in the light of racial influence in other elections, if this had not been so.

He also showed that when a candidate was declared defeated, the candidate just below him frequently got a considerable number, though seldom a really large percentage, of his votes on transfer. This does not seem to me to indicate blind alphabetical voting, as Mr. Steingut and Dr. Hermens assumed, but rather that some of the voters had little choice among some of the candidates they liked and so numbered them in the order in which they appeared on the ballot.

Dr. Hermens' whole argument is strictly a case of special pleading. Whenever anything goes wrong in a place using P. R., it is laid at the door of P. R. Whenever anything goes right, it is explained by other causes.

Eire's Experience Cited

Thus in his native country of Germany, which had an inferior form of party list system of P. R. (very different from the system used in New York) under the Weimar Republic, the advent of Hitler is charged to the supposed divisive effects of P. R. But in Eire (Southern Ireland), which under a form of P. R. similar to ours has progressed in the direction of the two-party system and now has a strong single-party government with a large working majority, P. R. is given no credit for the development. The very brief use of a list system of P. R. in Italy before Mussolini—too brief to prove anything—is magnified, while the notable successes of P. R. governments over many years in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, and Switzerland are minimized.

Dr. Hermens' theory boils down to a contention that people must not be given freedom to elect the representatives they really want on any basis they may choose, as they can under P. R., because if they can they will be sure to use their freedom unwisely and follow after all sorts of false gods; they must be forced to compromise and be represented by some one who can be accepted by a plurality of those in their particular district—only thus can a desirable unity be developed.

This philosophy of unity through compulsion is strangely akin to the totalitarianism which Dr. Hermens, like the rest of us, detests. He has insufficient faith in the fundamental soundness of civilized people. He does not really think they can be trusted.

When forced by the election machinery that Dr. Hermens favors to put up with representation by the largest organized group, as in the old Board of Aldermen or the present Jersey City Commission, our people have frequently suffered from political dictatorships that were little credit to democratic institutions, and, far from uniting them behind the government, developed feelings of hopeless frustration or cynical indifference. But when allowed a free choice of representatives in proportion to their numbers they have invariably, in spite of some mistakes, chosen representative bodies of better calibre than they were able to under the plurality plan.

The unity and strength of free citizens fully represented and openly debating their conflicting claims transcends anything that can be secured through the compulsion of an election method that wastes your vote if you don't go with the crowd. As Canon Luce, professor of moral philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin, put it in summing up the effect of P. R. in Ireland:

"The voice of reason is heard, and the gun is silent. P. R. deserves much of the credit; for P. R. produces contented and loyal minorities, whereas the other system breeds muzzled, sullen, discontented minorities, predisposed to doctrines of violence. P. R. has been a unifying force and unity is strength."

GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR., *Secretary*
Citizens Union of the City of New York

St. Louis Adopts Ward Plan

St. Louis voters adopted the ward plan of electing councilmen at the special election on September 16.[1] This postpones the immediate consideration of P.R. predicted in our last issue by Father Edward Dowling, in case the ward plan were defeated; but since it represents a successful revolt against political machine monopoly of the council under the block vote plan, it may be expected, in the opinion of P.R. advocates, to pave the way for a further step to P.R. as soon as the usual shortcomings of the ward plan develop.

Annual P. R. Meeting

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, Inc., now operating as a department of the National Municipal League, will be held at the Hotel Statler, St. Louis, on November 18, in connection with the National Municipal League's Annual Conference on Government to be held at the same place November 17-19. The program, which will be sent shortly to all members and interested persons, will include reports on the P.R. elections to be held in seven cities on November 4.

Any member of the National Municipal League may become a member of the P.R. League, with the right to participate in the annual election of trustees and other League business, by sending his application to Elsie S. Parker, National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York City.

CITIZEN GROUPS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 578)

ment is a history of the intermittent rise and fall of indignation associations. Too often have a few prominent persons led the hosts of reform to rise and crush the "city hall gang"; then, for the want of a continuing program, the leaders retire and the organization disbands.

The moral seems to be that, if the citizen organization in Hometown is to be a permanent instrument and is to remain a potent factor in municipal politics, it must have more than a negativistic nucleus. It must have a continuing program of constructive proposals to engage its energies the year round.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first section of a comprehensive article on citizen organization. The second and final installment will appear in the November issue of the REVIEW.

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[1] See also p. 595 this issue.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Public Relations of Public Personnel Agencies. A Report Submitted to the Civil Service Assembly by the Committee on Public Relations of Public Personnel Agencies, William E. Mosher, Chairman. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1941. xviii, 259 pp. $2.50.

Governmental public relations practice is emerging from the kindergarten stage, and this book is the happy, tangible token of the promotion. Elton Woolpert's pamphlet on *Municipal Public Relations* (reviewed in these pages January 1941) was the first indication that governmental units are interested in going to "school" to learn how they may reach that all-important democratic public. This Civil Service Assembly report takes a long stride forward, for in addition to presenting an intelligent armchair discussion of what's to be done by the agency along the lines of reports, the newspaper, the radio, movies, personal contacts, speeches, exhibits, it scratches the surface of practical experimentation to determine what the *public* wants done along those lines.

The emphasis on the "two-way street" that is governmental public relations is probably the book's most important contribution. The authors, who include persons highly qualified in research, civil service, and public relations, are strong in the realization that there are many different publics to be reached by a personnel (or any other governmental) agency; that the knowledge, attitudes, habits, desires, and needs of those publics must be a prime consideration in the shaping of any public relations policy. Highly interesting is the account of various polls and surveys undertaken lately under the auspices of the Maxwell Graduate School at Syracuse University to determine public reaction to several civil service reports and to civil service practice in general. While admittedly inadequate because of the small, unrepresentative samples which were used, the surveys are a genuine pioneering effort.

Those chapters which are devoted to the principles of public speaking, radio programming, newspaper technique, and the like are the weakest in the report. Soundly intelligent though they may be, they are still in the main statements which are to be found in any good public relations text of general application.

The book is strong in its suggestions for methods of reaching particular publics who are already for one reason or another interested in good government, civil service, or government jobs. Lacking is a forthright attack on the problem of reaching the man or woman in the street who pays the bills, pulls down the levers at election time, and spends his spare time not at meetings of civic groups nor even in listening to educational programs on the radio, but at the movies or with the evening paper. The report skirts this question many times, admits that most of the techniques discussed will not register with the average John Jones, stresses that the support of this amorphous public is essential to the merit system (or to any other government enterprise), yet never embarks on a full discussion of what is to be done. This is, perhaps, a job for the next public relations pioneer.

In general, however, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that *Public Relations of Public Personnel Agencies* is a "must" handbook not only for civil service officials but for all government officers who care about the be-all and end-all of their jobs.

M. R.

British Cities at War. By James L. Sundquist. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. 110 pp. $1.

This is a highly instructive and timely publication. Its value lies in what it reveals about a government structure forced to perform mightily under conditions of great stress. It not only presents an insight into the techniques developed to handle the multitude of confusing emergency problems arising out of economic and military mobilization and aerial bombardment, but it shows how the whole war situation has brought into sharp relief the structural and functional weaknesses of English local government.

The document is made up largely of direct quotations from British periodicals supplemented by interviews with first-hand observers and other available materials. The material is organized to focus on certain key problems—planning, organization, finance, volunteer work, and special problems. The "pre-raid" civil defense structure is compared with the "post-raid." This comparison illustrates the complex confusion of English local government to begin with, the values and inadequacies of plans for coördination confined largely to paper, the difficulty of foreseeing and realizing the chaos created by large scale modern bombing, the failure to anticipate certain types of problems all together—such as providing information centers to direct the homeless and inform relatives and friends about persons in bombed areas.

A great many of the problems dramatized by the emergency lie in the realm of interjurisdictional relations and were present in peace-time though often easily ignored. All sorts of horizontal relations were involved in policing, fire protection, first aid, salvage, and the like. Likewise the relations between local and central governments were forced to undergo substantial change. The cost of raids, destruction of life and property, obliteration of large portions of local rate-paying capacity, the uneven distribution of the loss among local governments, and other factors placed great stress on the development of more adequate systems of financial aid for local governments.

In addition to matters of this sort the report explains the very important part played by volunteer organizations; presents the controversy over types, locations, and equipment of air raid shelters; describes the handling of particular problems such as evacuation, blackout, care of homeless and injured, etc. A chapter is devoted to what is happening to "normal municipal functions."

It is this reviewer's opinion that this valuable report should be read for what it has to teach about government rather than for specific techniques on what to do in an air raid. In the United States the civil defense movement has already over-emphasized the example of London and the fear of physical invasion or possible bombing. Our problem is to tackle those governmental problems a solution for which will strengthen the whole fabric of government for the performance of its regular work and for meeting either a war crisis or a post-war crisis.

HARVEY PINNEY

New York University

Additional Books and Reports Received

Accounting

Governmental Accounting Bibliography. Chicago, National Committee on Municipal Accounting, 1941. ix, 61 pp. Fifty cents.

Assessments

A Decade of Assessed Valuations: 1929-1938. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, 1941. 31 pp.

Citizenship and Democracy

The American Citizens Handbook. Arranged by Joy Elmer Morgan. Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1941. 366 pp.

Democracy in American Life. By Avery Craven. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. xi, 150 pp. $1.

Educating Youth for the Responsibilities of Citizenship. Proceedings of a Conference Held in Rochester, New York, May 8, 1941, under the Auspices of Educational Policies Commission and the Rochester Public Schools. Washington, D. C., Educational Policies Commission, 1941. 33 pp. mimeo.

How to Be an Active Citizen in a Democracy. A Directory of Agencies Through Which Citizens May Work Voluntarily in the Service of American Democracy. With an Introduction by George V. Denny, Jr. New York City, Town Hall, 1941. 104 pp. Fifty cents.

An Organized Proficient Electorate the Only Answer. By Clifford R. Allen. Washington, D. C., 1941. 78 pp. $1.25. (Apply to author, International Building, Washington, D. C.)

Debt

American State Debts. By B. U. Ratchford. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1941. xviii, 629 pp. $5.

Defense

After Defense What? Full Employment, Security, Up-Building America. Post-Defense Planning. By National Resources Committee. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. 19 pp.

Effect of Defense on Municipal Finance. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, August 1941. 32 pp.

Guns, Planes and Your Pocketbook. By Rolf Nugent. New York, Public Affairs Committee, 1941. 32 pp. Ten cents.

Portsmouth and National Defense. A series of articles reprinted from the *Portsmouth Herald*. Portsmouth, N. H., *The Portsmouth Herald*, 1941. 95 pp.

Elections

Presidential Elections by Pennsylvania Counties 1920-1940. By H. F. Alderfer and Robert M. Sigmond. State College, Council on Research, Pennsylvania State College, 1941. vi, 61 pp. Fifty cents.

Housing and Rent Control

Graded versus Proportional Rents in Public Housing. A Discussion of Their Advantages and Disadvantages with Fourteen Plans Proposed or in Operation. By Beatrice Greenfield Rosahn. New York, Citizens' Housing Council of New York, 1941. 59 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

Housing in Denver. A Report on the Real Property and Low Income Housing Area Survey. Prepared with the Coöperation of the Housing Authority of the City and County of Denver and the Work Projects Administration. Denver, Bureau of Business and Social Research and the School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance of the University of Denver, 1941. 56 pp.

Rent Levels During the Defense Program. A Study on Rent Regulations. By Julius Fischer. New York, 1941. 68 pp. mimeo. (Apply to author, New School for Social Research, New York City.)

Labor

Power of Municipalities to Enter into Labor Union Contracts—A Survey of Law and Experience. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington, D. C. National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1941. 78 pp. $2.[1]

The Public and Strikes. New York, Council for Democracy, 1941. 38 pp. Ten cents.

State Government

Final Report of Committee on State Organization to the Governor and the Legislature of California. A Voluntary Study with Recommendations by a Committee of Citizens, Based Mainly upon Reports and Recommendations of Griffenhagen and Associates. San Francisco, Interim Committee of Twenty-five of the California Conference on Government and Taxation, 1941. 90 pp.

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[1] For a discussion of this publication, see p. 597 this issue.

Taxation and Finance

Income Taxes in Oklahoma. A Study of Taxable Corporation and Individual Returns. Compiled by Division of Research and Statistics. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1941. x, 55 pp., tables. mimeo.

Long Term Improvement Programs in American Cities. Report Submitted at Request of Board of Estimates. By Norman N. Gill. Milwaukee, Municipal Reference Library, 1941. 20 pp. mimeo.[2]

A Majority of New Jersey Municipalities Again Reduce Their Property Tax Levies. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1941. 8 pp. mimeo.

Wrestling with Excises. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 16 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Tort Liability

Local Government Responsibility in Tort in Louisiana. By Jefferson B. Fordham and William T. Pegues. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1941. 38 pp. 25 cents; additional copies 10 cents.

Trailers

House Trailer Regulation. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1941. 48 pp. mimeo. $1.

Mobile Homes: A Study of Trailer Life. By Donald Olen Cowgill. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. vii, 127 pp. $2.00.

Suggested Ordinance for the Regulation of Trailer Coach Parking and Trailer Parks. Washington, D. C., Consumer Division, Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, 1941. 12 pp. mimeo.

EFFECTIVE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND HOME RULE

(Continued from Page 567)

to undertake ventures which are opposed to the greater welfare of the state as a whole. Yet it is equally unjust, as well as inefficient, to subject—as is done in the case of my own city—an area of three and a half million people to the arbitrary rule of the same number of people outside the city.

What is true in the case of Chicago applies with equal force to smaller cities. Municipalities are the hubs of defense production. Huge arsenals and munitions factories and automotive works are located within their boundaries. To deny these cities the right to administer their local affairs as befits local conditions is not only an injustice, it is in these times a bottleneck of defense activity. It is in a large sense an obstruction to our declared national policy of all-out preparedness.

Our legislators are faced with many grave duties in these trying times. But despite their efforts to aid in the nation's defense, they will be remiss in their duty if they fail to give the cities of America an opportunity to carry their share of the defense responsibility. For the whole can be no greater than the sum of its parts; and the success of the nation's defense efforts depends, in a final analysis, upon the ability of our cities to coöperate in every way possible in these efforts. Any restrictions upon the capacities of American cities in this grave emergency represent a danger to the republic and a threat to the very concept of effective democratic action.

Home rule in 1941 is more than a phrase. It is, and it can be, a powerful instrument of national policy. Upon whether we use or continue to ignore this instrument may depend the future of American cities.

Editor's Note.—A second article by Mr. Hodes on municipal home rule will appear in our December issue.

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[2] For a discussion of this pamphlet, see p. 606 this issue.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Philadelphia Is No Defense "Boom Town"

Editorial

Playing Politics with Public Health

Arthur W. Bromage and Mary C. Bromage

Blighted Areas Get a New Chance

Thomas C. Desmond

Citizen Groups in Review

Howard M. Kline

Democracy Is for Fighting Men

William McCleery

November 1941 Vol. XXX, No. 11

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Municipal Reporting Consultant Service for California

The Columbia Foundation in San Francisco has made a grant to the National Municipal League to assist in establishing a Municipal Reporting Consultant Service in California, which will be under the direction of Miss Miriam Roher. The service will offer to cities, public agencies, and civic organizations help and advice in planning and preparing reports, newspaper material, leaflets, direct mail "advertising," radio programs, and other devices designed to tell citizens what their government is doing and why. Miss Roher, former publications editor of the National Municipal League and a contributing editor to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has spent the past year conducting a series of field experiments in California to test the effectiveness of various municipal reporting methods.

New Model City Charter Published

The fifth and most completely revised edition since 1900 of the *Model City Charter* has been scheduled for publication November 15 after more than four years of work by a committee appointed by Harold W. Dodds, then president of the National Municipal League. Richard S. Childs is chairman of the committee.

Since the *Charter* made its first appearance in 1900, it has increasingly become the working tool of legislative draftsmen and a textbook on municipal administration for students of the subject within and without our schools and universities. It has had more influence on efforts to improve local government than any other single document.

This edition of the *Model City Charter* has been completely rewritten and reorganized in order to take full advantage of the progress made during the last decade in administration, financial planning, fiscal control, personnel, city planning, zoning, housing and slum clearance, election methods, public utilities, and special assessments. All of these subjects have been restudied by groups of eminent specialists coöperating with the committee. The provisions of finance, for example, have greatly benefited by the services of seventy additional specialists who are members of the League's Committee on a Model Fiscal Program which is revising the League's series of model fiscal laws.

Model State Constitution Revised

The fourth edition of the *Model State Constitution*, originally published in 1921 and revised in 1928 and 1933, is scheduled for publication November 15. The revision has been carried on by the League's Committee on State Government, of which W. Brooke Graves of Temple University is chairman, and which was appointed in 1939 by C. A. Dykstra, then president of the

(Continued on Page 647)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Philadelphia Is No Defense "Boom Town"

THERE is a limit—or ought to be—to the propositions which are to be permitted to march in, line up, click their heels together, and yell, "Here, sir!" when someone calls the role of vital defense projects.

It is now proposed that, in the name of defense, the United States government help modernize the water and sewage systems of Philadelphia. That Philadelphia needs these facilities is no secret to any resident or visitor who possesses a sense of smell or who considers water something to drink. In these matters Philadelphia's needs are more desperate than most cities, more desperate than any other large city. But it is pertinent to examine a few facts.

First, Philadelphia is no "defense boom town"; it is not comparable to communities whose populations have grown in a few weeks from hundreds to thousands. On the contrary, Philadelphia's billion dollars worth of defense orders have been a boon by increasing employment.

Second, the United States government's money is the money of all the country's people, *including* the people of hundreds of places which long ago had the courage and intelligence to kick out political plunderers and install sound management.

Third, it is patently unfair to say, in effect, to the hundreds of cities which have gone through the arduous process of putting their own houses in order—and footing the bill themselves—"Philadelphians haven't the courage to do this for themselves, so now you'll have to bail them out."

The deplorable state of Philadelphia's services, basic equipment, and sense of civic morality is nothing new. Someone should have come to Philadelphia's rescue years ago, and that "someone" is none other than the people of Philadelphia!

But the time for change apparently is not yet. The city has had and still has notable, high-minded civic leadership, but, one way or another, the politicians have been too resourceful. If the venality of state legislatures has not nullified local efforts to straighten out the mess, political bosses with an eye to possible loss of strength in national contests have said "no" to anything which might weaken the traditional spoils system by which party workers are paid at public expense.

A year or so ago 75 per cent of the people of Philadelphia were ready to vote for a new charter[1] which would have helped meet the difficulties, but entrenched bossism in the state legislature laughed the enabling act down. Will the people vote these legislators out of office? Not if they follow their usual habits.

So, as a result of countenancing generation after generation of political plunderers, Philadelphia's borrowing ability is complicated and exhausted—the natural result of past behavior. It has hocked its gas plant revenues. It has been driven to the desperate expedient of a payroll tax.

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[1] According to a Gallup poll.

Now there is no desire here to wish Philadelphia any bad luck. After all, Philadelphia was the birthplace not only of the United States constitution but also of the National Municipal League. For the first twenty-five years of the League's life it was our "home town." But now that we are forty-eight and have been away from the "City of Brotherly Love" for more than twenty years, we can be forgiven a bit of seeming ingratitude if we raise a questioning eyebrow over this proposal to bail her out at the expense of others.

It would be very wholesome indeed for Philadelphia to get herself out of her own mess. One piece of help from her rich old uncle won't produce a real solution of what ails her. The road to municipal competence and a sense of civic responsibility is a steep one and one which must be travelled alone to procure lasting benefit. It won't be healthful to repeal the old adage, "As ye sow, so shall ye reap."

Priorities for City Services

IT IS imperative that the system which has been set up by the Priorities Division at Washington to enable cities and public utilities to keep essential municipal services operating be made to work automatically, with a minimum of red tape.

This is no more than recognition of the obvious fact that local communities are the roots of our entire system. The *Toledo City Journal* states the case well:

"A nation that is sick in its civic, industrial, and commercial life, a nation that is not able to keep the machinery of production and transportation working smoothly, is one that is marked for defeat in any major conflict, irrespective of how many men and cannons are put in the field.

"Cities, in turn, are the agencies by which the commercial and business life of the community functions. Cities are needed for the maintenance of highways and water lines, of sewers and power lines, of communication cables and alarm systems, so that large groups of people can crowd about production centers to turn out the necessities of war and move them to the front. . . . It is important that every supply or every bit of equipment a city may consider essential to its smooth operation be made available during this emergency with as little effort as possible."

Official remote control of our communities is none too healthy a thing and, unless a lot of needless pulling and hauling is really eliminated, it can be damaging not only to the defense effort itself but also to the basic principle of local home rule and responsibility. The tendency of governments to be unwilling to relinquish controls once established is disquieting. After achieving some success in the long effort to run their own affairs without having to trot to the state capitol for permission, cities will scarcely want to find in a post-war period that they must get approval from federal bureaus for everything they want to do.

Playing Politics with Public Health

Long continued action by interested citizens of Washtenaw County, Michigan, finally successful in replacing township health units with single county board under competent jurisdiction.

By **ARTHUR W. BROMAGE** and **MARY C. BROMAGE**
University of Michigan

NO MATTER within the political purview touches voters more closely than public health. Disease is international in character; interstate, intercounty, intervillage, and intertownship as well. When bacteria travel by air from one hemisphere to the other what is there to stop them from traveling the horse and buggy route? An epidemic of poliomyelitis, rampant in one township, does not halt at the grass-grown boundary line. One tubercular cow, grazing in an upstate pasture, may carry the fate of city folk resident hundreds of miles away.

The state of Michigan was not slow to follow the example set by the state of Washington in 1911, where Yakima County created a full-time health department to combat a siege of typhoid fever. Approximately four-fifths of Michigan's eighty-three counties have now coordinated their individual health programs under medical direction since the opportunity was offered them by state law in 1927.[1] Such measures, though made possible by state legislation, are put into practice only at the instigation of each county's board of supervisors.

In the fertile and diversified belt of southern Michigan, not far from Detroit, lies one of the state's most flourishing counties. Washtenaw not only comes within the orbit of the world's largest automobile city, but its twenty townships contain—besides two cities, one fifth-class city and four villages—the state university, a state normal college, state hospitals, two airports, diversified industrial plants, and extensive farms. With the construction in 1941 of a Ford bomber plant for some 60,000 workers on government orders, the locality has become a hive of defense activity.

The county's wealth, industry, agriculture, educational development to the contrary notwithstanding, Washtenaw remained one of the few counties which repeatedly refused to adopt a county health department.

The Board of Supervisors of Washtenaw County harbored a variety of reasons for opposing citizens who demanded a better bill of health. Fear of state domination made them hug their local prerogatives in this as in other fields. Penny wisdom prompted them to pound foolishness in refusing to appropriate money for adequate health protection; while huge sums were yearly expended for hospitalization, next to nothing went for preventive work. Doubting Thomases among them wanted guarantees of the permanence of outside subsidies for a health program. Above all, many supervisors remained convinced that the old way was best.

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[1] Michigan, *Public Acts,* 1927, No. 306.

Score of Local Boards

What was the old way—almost as old, in fact, as the state itself? There were throughout the county more than a score of health boards—one for every township, village, and city. Each health board was locally chosen, and each board appointed its own health officer. In the townships the general township board served *ex officio* as the health board. The permissive statute passed in 1838 providing for such a system was affected by later legislation making it mandatory for the local board of health to appoint as health officer a "well educated physician" except where this was not practicable.[2]

More than half a century ago, Detroit's first health officer declared that "the township health unit was almost worthless." He continued: "The only remedy is to enlarge the territorial unit of sanitary administration so that a health officer may be employed who can give his entire time and energy to his official work."[3]

In Washtenaw County before this decentralized structure was changed, out of twenty township health officers only five were doctors. Out of the fifteen who were not doctors eleven were the supervisors themselves and thereby partly self-appointed. Compensation for the services of these officers, fixed and paid by each township individually, varied from about ten to fifty dollars.

It was the duty of these health officers, many of whom were farmers and primarily occupied in earning their families' livelihoods, to execute within their petty thirty-six square miles of jurisdiction all state rules and regulations regarding public health, which were legion. Little wonder the average lay health agent in the township took his job with a grain of salt.

Under this old-law situation, was the county a salubrious place in which to live?[4] While neighboring counties with health departments were reducing their death rates, Washtenaw's infant mortality in the rural areas rose from an average of 37 per 1,000 live births in the years 1929-31 to an average of 59 in 1935-37. In 1939, when the average of the state as a whole was 41.85 infant deaths for every 1,000 live births, rural Washtenaw County averaged 51.22.

Some cases of communicable diseases went unreported. Tuberculosis increased. "Considering only those counties with fairly large populations it is found that, in comparison with the Washtenaw . . . [death rate from tuberculosis] of 26.1, Kent County showed a rate of 24.2; Bay County, 21.5; Ingham County, 18.3; Jackson County, 16.8; and Oakland County, 13.0. The last named county with a rate that is half that of Washtenaw is a county with a high concentration of industry. It also has a high concentration of tuberculosis control activities."[5] The average death rate in 1939 in the state as a whole was 10.2 per 1,000 persons, in Washtenaw County as a whole it was 11.69, while in the rural sections of the county it was 13.8.

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[2] Michigan, *Revised Statutes,* 1846, chap. 35, sec. 2.

[3] Dr. O. W. Wight, in *Tr. Mich. State Med. Soc.,* 1886, VI, 270. Quoted in *Public Health Reviews,* Ann Arbor, Mich., April 15, 1937.

[4] Many of the facts and figures cited were collected by the Citizens' Committee of Washtenaw County and made available by its chairman, Dr. John S. DeTar.

Other Counties Progress

Counties with full-time public health facilities offered Washtenaw a study in contrasts. In Ottawa County, before a health department came into being, babies under one year of age died at the average annual rate of 47 per 1,000. A few years later, after a health program got under way, the number fell to 35, due to prenatal, maternal, and infant care. The Iron County Health Department reported that its death rate among infants dropped from 74 per 1,000 in 1935 to 20 in 1939.

In the district covering the four counties of Antrim, Emmet, Otsego and Charlevoix, the infant mortality was brought down from an average of 85.5 deaths per 1,000 annually before intensification of health activities to 57.6 deaths afterward. Whereas this district suffered from 104 cases of diptheria between 1925 and 1928, there was not a single case between 1932 and 1936.

The more apparent the need for consolidated reorganization became to Washtenaw's leading citizens, the more obdurate their elected representatives became. When, back in 1929, provision had been made by state law to extend to counties establishing health departments an annual grant not to exceed $3,000, the local supervisors had not risen to the bait.

In the following year, not only was a motion favoring the health unit tabled indefinitely but all motions relating to the subject were stricken from the record of the supervisors' *Proceedings*. The challenge of that action precipitated renewed indignation over unhygienic and unhealthy conditions. A committee of the Board of Supervisors in 1931 recommended adoption of a budget and appointment of a designated staff for a health department in a report which was subsequently and repeatedly placed on the table.

There the matter rested for all official purposes for the next seven or eight years. An offer of over $17,000 to be used for health measures, made in 1931 by the Children's Fund, a private foundation, was withdrawn when the supervisors failed to act. Subsequently, the national government under the social security act authorized the appropriation of a sum of money to subsidize such work within the subdivisions of the state, but the Washtenaw supervisors, having avoided state and private aid, still adhered to their time-honored, time-worn health functions.

The aroused citizenry ceased to fulminate and in 1939 became, in the words of the courthouse, a pressure group. Under the leadership of a young, country practitioner — the president of his county medical society—groups of women banded together in one-room school districts throughout the county. They approached their supervisors individually and collectively, in meetings, on the street, in the kitchen, and through the mail box. They reported to the Citizens' Committee failure to quarantine contagious cases in their neighborhoods; pointed out a case of active tuberculosis in one who held an important township office.

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[5] *The Ann Arbor Survey; A Study of the Social Welfare, Recreational and Public Health Program.* Ann Arbor, Mich., 1940. p. 75.

Citizens Organize

A speakers' bureau was organized, petitions were signed, material was secured from the state capital, pamphlets were distributed with funds privately contributed. The deputy state health commissioner, upon local invitation, made a three-day speaking tour of the county. A sound truck carrying special exhibits and movies to show progress in public health administration and sanitation visited all corners of Washtenaw.

Civic organizations were polled and American Legion posts, farm bureaus, women's sewing bees, medical and dental societies, men's service organizations, child study clubs, granges, chambers of commerce, and secret lodges went on record in favor of the reform. While out-county men and women were at work in the villages and on the farms, an urban group rolled up its shirt-sleeves at the county seat in Ann Arbor. This city seats seven supervisors out of the thirty-three on the board.

The issue was again laid at the door of the supervisors in October 1939, when the Citizens' Committee sent a representative to appear before them. In addition, a communication was addressed in writing to the board. The letter, signed not only by those at the head of the Citizens' Committee but by 250 members as well, concluded: "This committee, working entirely in the interests of better health in this county, has no desire for reward, jobs, positions, or patronage. . . . If a county health department is not provided for by this session of the board, the members of the Citizens' Committee will, before the April meeting, intensify efforts in the townships and wards where the understanding of its efforts is not complete."

After this communication had been referred to the Health and Finance Committees of the Board of Supervisors, the Health Committee recommended adoption of a health department. The board, by a vote of eighteen to fourteen with one absent, adopted this recommendation which included a budget slightly lower than that advanced by the Citizens' Committee, and by the same motion referred it to the Finance Committee.

The supervisors' discussion on the proposition was shot through with all the old taboos, some suspicions of socialized medicine, and a charge that the idea was "based on the Soviet setup." Insinuations were levelled at the citizens "pressure group."

Less than a week later the Finance Committee made its general report for the year without recommending any appropriation for the anticipated county health plan. The supervisors then voted that the whole matter be reconsidered and referred to a special committee, thus postponing once again the advent of public health administration at the county level.

Meanwhile, the City Council of Ann Arbor indicated its intention to remain out of the proposed health agency.[6] Subsequently, all seven of Ann Arbor's representatives on the Board of Supervisors voted against the proposed county health department. Early in the year 1940 the City Council put its part-time health department on full time, the effect of which under state law, so long as it endured, would serve to exclude the city from any county program which might come into being, unless the city should elect to join with the county health organization.

Meantime, the special Health Committee of Supervisors, to which the board had referred the matter in October 1939, was at work. These special investigators proceeded to take their duties seriously, and, driving in a sheriff's car with a deputy at the wheel, departed on what the *Ann Arbor News* called "junkets." When this body was ready to report back to the supervisors in January, 1940, they pointed out that, in the counties visited, most of the original health-unit appropriations had been raised from year to year; that hospitalization costs had mounted; that a county health department must, in any case, be paid for in years to come. Their statement made no recommendation and was placed on file.

The pressure group, as the Citizens' Committee had been labeled by its opponents, outmaneuvered by the events of 1939-1940, retired to gather up its forces. The young doctor, early in 1941, turned the leadership over to a revamped group summoned specifically to continue the struggle with new weapons.

New Tactics Adopted

Instead of working in the open under the glare of as much publicity as possible, the committee adopted new tactics of discretion and subtlety. The inner council determined to carry the issue back to the ward primaries and township caucuses, as their communication to the board had promised. Picked candidates secured party nominations for positions on the county board. Certain city wards became hotbeds of contest at election time with a doorbell ringer in every disputed block. As a result of more than one election, a woman was elected in one ward, the first to serve on the board in her own right and the wife of a distinguished surgeon; other city supervisors were replaced, the newcomers including a physician from the state university's student health service.

Afternoon tea-parties were held at which country women met city women to exchange reports of contagion, exposure and lack of sanitation in the county. The *Washtenaw Post-Tribune,* weekly county newspaper, swung its editorial and news columns into the attack.

In the spring of 1941, with pressure being brought to bear from rural and urban sides alike, with new supervisors installed on the board, with Ann Arbor's relation to the situation clarified if not solved, the new Health Committee of the Supervisors, itself divided, succeeded in inviting the deputy state health commissioner to present the matter afresh to the board.

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[6] Ann Arbor Common Council, October 24, 1939. The council defeated a peculiar motion that the Board of Supervisors add to their budget enough to take over the health unit of the city of Ann Arbor.

This official outlined a plan for a county health department pared to the bone, with a budget of $17,600—far less costly and comprehensive than any previous estimate, but a plan whereby the county could qualify to receive state and federal aid. The work must be financed coöperatively in the first instance out of county funds; but if the sum of $525 were to be added to what the supervisors already were allocating for health, it would be sufficient to warrant the state's subsidy of $3,000 and federal money in the neighborhood of $4,500. Under no circumstances could the proposed executive health office draw upon county funds over and above the appropriation.

At the center of the proposed system, as in all county departments, stood the full-time health officer, a doctor specially trained in public health and chosen by the county board with the approval of the state health commissioner. The outlined minimal staff subordinate to the health officer consisted of a sanitary engineer, four nurses, and a clerk. Office space meant only a desk and telephone. Nurses already on the job would be re-engaged.

The work of the staff would mean a program of infant, pre-school, maternal, and adult hygiene; active control of communicable diseases including tubercular and venereal cases through early discovery and checkups; clinics, immunization, laboratory services, diagnostic consultation, rigorous enforcement of health laws and regulations; scientific collecting and reporting of vital statistics; sanitation of water and milk supplies, restriction of sewage and garbage disposal; inspection of schools, resorts, slaughter-houses, eating-places; abatement of nuisances; and community education.

Before the new plan was put to a vote by the supervisors, the old controversy renewed itself and the tricks of the trade were called into play. An attempted motion to adjourn the board's session nearly cut debate short. Could a health department, once established, be abolished if the supervisors so desired? They were reminded of the previously delivered opinion of the attorney-general saying such action could be taken at any time, and that refusal to appropriate annual funds would amount to the same thing. As a matter of fact, not one county in Michigan with a health department has ever abandoned it.

Another ghost which had to be laid was the threat to local autonomy. The state, the board was assured, would merely advise, not supervise. Nor could the state force an increase in the county's appropriation from year to year, however much changing conditions might render it advisable.

Do township health officers automatically lose their jobs under a health department? The supervisors were answered with an emphatic "no," although the law permits a township to delegate its health functions to the county department. If township health officers continue to act, the central health officer is none the less responsible for coördinating the entire county.

Will the federal subsidy be withdrawn, another supervisor asked? Repetition of a statement from the office of the surgeon-general of the United States Public Health Service cleared up this moot point: "In this regard it can only be said that like all other governmental activities, continuance is dependent upon appropriating bodies. However, it also can be said that the federal government, through the authorization set forth in the federal social security act, and previous federal enactments, has been definitely committed to a program of federal aid in this field of public health."[7]

A Favorable Vote

By a vote of twenty-one to eleven with one absent, the board went on record in May 1941 as favoring a county health unit to be set up at the beginning of the state's fiscal year, July 1, 1941, and referred the question to its Finance and Health Committees for report at the next session of the board.

In June the substance of the favorable committee report was adopted by the board, but only after a last fling by filibuster was the minimal budget adopted by unanimous vote. The Health Committee of the board was empowered to engage a director (to be approved by the board); to assist him in organizing the department; and to supervise its operation. For the past few months now Washtenaw County has been operating a full-time health department under a trained director.

This Michigan county was peculiarly reluctant and slow in translating a democratic demand into an administrative reality. No one reason tells the whole story, but several factors add up to explain this failure.

(1) Washtenaw County is wealthy as compared with certain upstate counties which were quick to accept state, federal, and private aid for amelioration of their health conditions. The Washtenaw supervisors could afford to do more talking about local self-government, freedom from state interference, and the dangers lurking in federal influence. A gift from such sources was looked upon as the poisoned apple which they, unlike Snow White, were not going to eat.

(2) The City Council of Ann Arbor, which was the county seat, was more interested in preserving its own municipal health department than in a coördinated city-county program.

(3) The time lag between the initial proposal of a county health department and the crystallization of public opinion was considerable. When the idea was first advanced ten or more years ago, it had the backing of professional students of public health administration, political scientists, and laymen and laywomen who could have been counted on the fingers. However qualified this group was technically in advocating transition from the township to the county basis, it was not intimately associated with the life of the region as a whole. As a result the preliminary skirmishes were headlong encounters between the experts on the outside

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[7] Statement contained in a letter dated January 19, 1940, from the office of the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service. See Citizens' Committee, *Facts Concerning the Question of a County Health Department,* Washtenaw County, 1941.

and the rural members of the county board. The experts did not wait to build their political fences before assailing the courthouse powers. It was not until 1939 that the core of informed opinion grew to include natural community leadership.

(4) After popular sentiment became articulate throughout the townships, it was still difficult to correlate this with the political process proper. Few of the incumbent supervisors could be immediately brought to accountability in their constituencies for their votes in the general sessions of the board. In some sections election of new members was the only recourse. Success at the polls is related to a multiplicity of factors including party and length of tenure. For some time the Citizens' Committee shied away from direct political intervention, but direct action in securing favorable representation became necessary. The structural setup in Michigan does not lend itself to a situation where candidates for the Board of Supervisors campaign on issues. Instead, they stand on personal and party lines in small territorial units. Once elected, the individual's part in policy formation may be lost in the shuffle, particularly if he is a newcomer, relegated to unimportant committee assignments. A small county board, elected at large on nonpartisan lines, might promote correlation between issues and elections. In the absence of such a scheme the citizens, once driven to seeking new supervisors, had to work through a complex pattern of representation.

The *dénouement* of this serial story was eventually accomplished by a combination of methods. The citizen-backers tried and tried again with new tactics till they climaxed a varied and ramified campaign with success. They capitalized on the protest-value of existing, unhygienic conditions. *Vox populi* is louder over perpetrated outrages than when raised in behalf of an abstract ideal.

Formulation of a positive program, ready for concrete action, requires discreet leadership and comes as the second stage. People *en masse* rally best around a specific cause, and once aroused can function effectively only if assigned definite tasks leading toward the clear-cut goal. Intelligent citizens, once convinced, seek rather than resent regimentation under confidence-inspiring direction. The organization must remain malleable and retain the urgency of its appeal.

Existing groups, habitually meeting for social or other purposes, may offer a better medium than a new and superimposed organization, for once persuaded of the need they operate along lines familiar to themselves; each speaks its own language whether it be a sewing circle or a secret order.

Utilization of these natural facilities adds the advantages of new and successive approaches to the problem at hand. In the long run of the Citizens' Committee of Washtenaw County a succession of persons and groups were involved; new waves came where others left off. Men and women functioned to secure better public health, rural and urban residents worked, Republicans and Democrats, ministers, doctors, lawyers, business men, teachers, nurses, farmers, and last and most numerous, the housewives.

Blighted Areas Get a New Chance

"New York law is an experiment with a new and hopeful method for treating the cancerous disease of blight."

By **THOMAS C. DESMOND**
Chairman, New York State Senate Committee on Affairs of Cities

BLIGHT and decay in the central areas of American cities have now achieved the position and prestige of old familiar problems. We have been talking and reading about them with increasing frequency for some years. But only since the New York State legislature enacted the Desmond-Mitchell Urban Redevelopment Corporations Law and the Governor signed it on May 1, 1941, has a statewide, official attack on the problem anywhere been made. The New York law is an experiment with a new and hopeful method for treating the cancerous disease of blight. It is a method not for rehousing *slum dwellers* so much as for rehabilitating *slums*. It places new responsibilities and opportunities before municipalities.

The New York Urban Redevelopment Corporations Law is not self-operating. It is permissive legislation in that it merely authorizes each city to give a specific form of tax exemption to redevelopment corporations and to designate an agency to supervise their projects. The law does not require any community to take such action, but municipal officials will do well not to reject lightly the advantages which can be secured by encouraging private groups to undertake redevelopment projects in their slum areas. The powers and responsibilities of city officers under this new law have considerable significance not only for those in New York State but also for those in cities throughout the country where the same problems of blight are causing local groups to study possible solutions.

The New York statute is an attempt to strike a balance between privileges and inducements granted to private capital to attract it to the new corporations on the one hand, and standards and restrictions necessary to insure that redevelopment projects will be of permanent benefit to the community on the other.

In order that those with funds available may wish to form redevelopment corporations and undertake projects, cities are authorized to enact local laws which will limit the taxes to be paid on the property of redevelopment corporations. The city can specify a period of years, not more than ten, during which taxes payable by the redevelopment corporation will be limited to the same amount as was payable at the time the property was acquired, thus in effect exempting from taxation any increase in value caused by the rebuilding and improvements of the corporation. Each city must decide for itself whether it will pass such an ordinance, and for what period of years. It will have to weigh the advantages of replacing slums and obsolete, disease ridden, and often tax delinquent areas with new buildings against the possible cost of this limitation on tax revenues. Consideration must be given in this connection to the fact that the new corporations' acquisition of property will normally involve paying up all tax arrears.

Provisions have been placed in the new law to insure so far as possible that these corporations will be soundly financed and managed so as to be able to pay all future taxes when due.

Limited Dividends

The dividends which a redevelopment corporation may pay out during the period of tax exemption are limited to 5 per cent of the project's development cost. This provision, coupled with a requirement that a special reserve against increase in taxes at the end of the exemption period be set aside each year, will mean that the redevelopment corporation must be conservatively managed and cannot be operated on the sole basis of securing early speculative profits.

A second method for attracting capital to rehabilitation projects is included in the law. The new corporations are authorized to obtain land through power of condemnation. This is one of the basic points in the whole plan. One reason why there has been so little rebuilding of blighted areas in most cities is the fact that the typical block of slum property is divided up among a great many owners. A person or firm planning the sort of project which will be of real help in reviving the neighborhood—one that is large enough in area not to be swamped in the sea of decay around it—must negotiate with many different owners, sometimes unwilling, sometimes out of town and almost impossible to locate, sometimes holding out for a wholly unrealistic price either through unwillingness to abandon long held hopes of increased value or through sheer profiteering because of their ability to stop the whole project if their terms are not met.

New York's new law recognizes the problem by its grant of condemnation powers. But it hedges the grant about to prevent abuse. A redevelopment corporation must acquire 51 per cent of the site proposed for its development—measured both by area and by assessed value—before it can use these powers. Moreover, a public hearing must be held by the local city planning officials before a development plan can be put into effect, and all those who consider their interests affected by the operations of the redevelopment corporation can make their opinions and complaints known. Considering these two factors it seems clear that high-handed or unwarranted use of this large power will be impossible.

As an alternative to condemnation proceedings by redevelopment corporations, the law permits cities themselves to condemn property and then turn it over to such corporations. Such procedure can be used, however, only when the redevelopment corporation so requests.

Balancing these special inducements to the promoters of rehabilitation projects are other provisions intended to insure that projects stimulated by the law will be of real public benefit. Unless they improve the community and make a real contribution to the curbing of blight, they will not serve the purpose for which the law was enacted and for which tax exemption and power of condemnation are given. Our cities naturally want no more mushroom subdivisions built by speculators who take their profit quickly and leave the scene before their shoddy houses have time to fall apart. Back in the 20's New York State experimented with a plan of straight tax exemption of new homes without any form of control, and it is not likely to repeat the error.

Planning Commission Approval

No project can be started which is not approved by the city planning commission. As a preliminary step the planning commission must determine that certain parts of the city are, in the language of the law, "substandard or insanitary, so that the clearance, replanning, rehabilitation, or reconstruction thereof is necessary or advisable." Projects cannot be approved unless they lie within such an area. After that point has been covered, the city planning commission must then consider the details of the proposed development scheme as submitted by the redevelopment corporation.

The law requires that the plan submitted must cover a list of points considered essential if the community interest is to be protected, such as a list of existing buildings which it is proposed to demolish, to renovate, or to retain unaltered; a description of the proposed new buildings, their size, type of construction, and proposed use; a statement of spaces which are to be left open as park, playground, or parking space; and a list of the number of existing dwelling units within the development, their rental, and the number of persons living in them, to be compared with a description of the new housing which is to be provided, rent levels in the new housing, etc.

The planning commission is charged with another important responsibility, which was placed in the law only after much discussion and at the urging of important civic groups. It must determine, before approving a development plan, that there will be available, for occupation by any families living on the site, housing which meets all legal requirements and which rents at a "substantially similar" figure to that which the families have been paying. Such housing may continue to be available within the development area or may be outside it, but in either case the planning commission must be satisfied that no family will be forced to move out without alternative accommodations.

These requirements seem reasonable and necessary when it is recalled that present conditions of blight and decay have been caused, at least in large part, by poor planning and failure to consider future needs and changes. For the same reason it is important that city planning be strengthened in those many communities where it is even now treated as a stepchild of municipal government. Whether slums are to be rebuilt under a statute like New York's Urban Redevelopment Corporations

Law requiring action by city planning officials, or whether the ordinary processes of unaided private enterprise do the job, permanent benefit to our communities cannot be secured except as new building and rehabilitation are guided by long-range planning.

Supervising Agency

A further measure of control over redevelopment corporations is provided by the law's requirement that they be subject to a "supervising agency." This agency is to be "the official, bureau, commission, or agency appointed, established, or designated by the local legislative body." In New York City the Board of Estimate is specified to act as supervising agency.

The agency must approve the development plan on such points as the probability that the corporation will be able to finance or arrange to finance its proposed scheme and the quality of management personnel which the corporation has designated for its first year. It is required to approve changes in the development plan, all sales and transfers of real property or mortgages placed on it, leases of an entire building or improvement by the corporation to a single person or corporation to prevent the purposes of the act from being evaded, and arrangements made in case of future dissolution or reorganization. It has general supervision over the corporation's use of its powers of condemnation, and, through financial reports and information which it is authorized to require at semi-annual intervals, over the general financial operations of the corporation including its observance of the restriction upon dividends and of the reserve requirements. In general, the supervising agency oversees that part of the redevelopment corporation's operations which are not in the field of city planning.

City officials, it is clear, must assume a considerable amount of responsibility if and when a group comes forward in any community with plans for forming a redevelopment corporation. The actual formation of such an organization is not, of course, in the hands of the city. Moreover, once it has been chartered by the state, the redevelopment corporation automatically obtains the power of condemnation. But no actual operations can take place without the support and participation of the municipality. In the first place, it is almost a certainty that no projects will be built unless the city in question grants the tax limitation permitted by the law. Moreover, building cannot start until a project has been approved by a city planning commission and a supervising agency. Cities without planning commissions must do without redevelopment projects until planning bodies are set up. Each city must take action to designate a supervising agency, since only in the case of New York City is one defined in the law.

These will prove weighty decisions and responsibilities as the time approaches when specific proposals for redevelopment projects are made. Cities will do well to acquaint themselves with the provisions of the law,

(Continued on Page 640)

Citizen Groups in Review (Part II)

"The trophy rooms of citizen groups contain not only evidence of constructive reforms won and of harmful proposals defeated, but additional medallions for significant modernizations."

By **HOWARD M. KLINE**
University of Maryland

Editor's Note.—This is the second and last installment of a comprehensive article on citizen organization. The first installment appeared in the October issue of the Review.

THE list of local problems which the National Municipal League says that a citizens organization "may profitably investigate and bring to public attention" is synonymous with what the textbooks on local government call modern administrative practice. This list includes the merit system, council-manager plan, budget methods, administrative management of indebtedness, integration and coördination of governments in a metropolitan area, scientific assessment, centralized purchasing, proportional representation, adequate city planning, scientific trial procedure, bail system, jury system, probation and parole and pardon, reorganization of prison and correctional systems, recreation programs, health and sanitation, housing, relief administration, citizenship training in schools, child welfare.

What of tax reductions, measures to conciliate business, picketing and handbill ordinances, vice drives, new public buildings, spot zoning, tax exemptions, traffic regulations, new schools and equipment, improved street pavings and sewer extensions, liquor licensing policies, better bus and street car services—the matters which, the country over, scores of citizens groups are seeking to wrest from their city officials?

The League's is a list of important local government reforms toward which citizens groups *ought* to be working: the other emphasizes what they are actually doing. The latter may be short-sighted and immediate issues as distinguished from more basic and long-range objectives, but they are the ones on which many citizens groups are spending their full energies and funds today.

This situation has led Mr. James L. Baldwin to criticize contemporary citizens groups because their motivation is symptomatic rather than fundamental. After discussing the work of a particular local group which he describes as the oldest citizens group in the United States, Mr. Baldwin says:

> This worthy group has accomplished some notable local reform or betterment every year or two since its founding. Nevertheless, their city remains one of the most viciously and wastefully mismanaged in the country. All the piecemeal savings achieved by the above long-laboring civic group are swallowed up in new forms of extravagance and corruption. . . . If half the effort of the above group had been expended to modernize its local government and make it responsive to the public will, most of the evils it has fought would have

been automatically eliminated, and other reforms would be vastly facilitated.

Similarities Among Groups

Despite the huge variety of organizations which take a more or less active interest in local government problems, there are some important points of similarity and some important points of difference which are fundamental to efforts to correlate the various organizations into a central citizens council or federation.

As to the similarities: *First,* all local citizens groups are devoted to the same general causes, namely, good government, promotion of good (or more effective) citizenship, more intelligent and effective citizen participation, economy without the sacrifice of essential services.

Second, local citizens groups are predicated upon the existence of a political machine of some kind which is either bad, and thus needs reform, or is in danger of backsliding, and thus needs reassurance.

Third, many citizens organizations are of the single-purpose variety, that is, they spring up to secure, or to defeat, some pending issue such as municipal ownership, charter revision, excessive expenditure, and the like. Once that issue is settled the group is faced with the necessity of broadening its program or of folding up.[1]

Fourth, by contrast, many other citizens groups find common ground in the fact that their programs are very broad and are spread thin, so that a substantial showing in behalf of any part is difficult, and enthusiasm fizzles out for this reason. The president of so formidable a national organization as the League of Women Voters felt the danger of "too much program" so great that she devoted a substantial portion of an address[2] to cautioning against it.

Fifth, though a matter of opinion, it is often true that the leadership of citizens groups is more earnest and sincere than imaginative and resourceful. One writer has said it is a case of the blind leading the blind! Merely because a prominent citizen is whole-heartedly devoted to the cause of government improvements and has given generously of both his time and funds, it does not follow that his leadership is adequate to the task in hand. A full-time professional secretariat has become standard equipment with many of the larger and wealthier groups but, where none exists, the president or appropriate committee chairmen must perform the duties usually associated with the secretaryship.

Sixth, with or without a paid secretary, citizens groups almost universally complain of the lack of adequate financial support. Dues from members and contributions from a mere handful of citizens form the war chest for most citizens groups: all have the common problem of finance.

Seventh, in the main membership

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[1] Indeed, one criticism of citizens groups is that they are held together by programs of only momentary significance and, after the moment is passed, interest dies out and the organization collapses. This is especially true of organizations raised for housecleaning at city hall.

[2] See *A Portrait of the League of Women Voters,* National League of Women Voters, Washington, D. C., page 10.

is drawn from the middle class and, as among members of the middle class, principally from business and professional men. A classification of the members of such groups as taxpayers leagues, chambers of commerce, voters leagues, women's clubs, luncheon clubs, and civic clubs, for example, indicates that the middle class dominates both in the total number of memberships and, what is more important, in the leadership positions. An analysis of 1,300 members of one of the largest civic clubs in the east shows that over half its total number come from the ranks of attorneys, manufacturers and merchants, bankers, insurance and investment brokers, educators, physicians, and engineers. The essential characteristics of this club have not changed during at least twenty years.

Differences Among Groups

The important differences, or dissimilarities, among citizens groups arise from the fact that most of these organizations were founded to work toward a series of fairly narrow objectives, only a few of which touch local government reform or involve contacts with local government problems only incidentally. For example, perhaps the most universal form of citizens groups is the neighborhood improvement association. Primarily these associations are seeking additional advantages for their limited community in the form of schools, sewers, bus service, zoning protection, and whatnot. They wait upon the public officials at city hall or their own councilman from time to time, but their concern with the broad objectives previously noted is casual. A similar situation obtains in the case of many other organizations such as the chamber of commerce, taxpayers association, voters league.

Thus the *first* dissimilarity is the fact that many citizens groups are active in behalf of a number of objectives only a few of which include local reform.

This basic difference of objective, if only one of emphasis, suggests a *second* important difference, namely, that some groups are pledged to programs which are in direct opposition to those sought by other citizens groups. For example, chambers of commerce and taxpayers associations are, in general, dedicated to tax reduction (or at least to prevention of tax increases), whereas the parent-teachers associations, women's clubs, social and child welfare agencies, municipal employees unions, planning associations, and neighborhood improvement associations are squared off for further expenditure in behalf of their particular interest, or at least for the maintenance of present appropriations. That these competing demands may be easily resolved by a citizens council, if one exists, is a soothing thought, if not an altogether practical one; such cases have more often resulted in the citizens council taking no action at all or in deferring recommendation. The practical difficulties presented by these inter-tribal conflicts are in part diffused, however, by the fact that many of the community leaders in business and in the professions belong to several citizens groups and open internecine opposition may be avoided through their influence.

A *third* important difference among citizens groups relates to the differences in method of carrying out programs. If citizens groups agree on general civic objectives, they differ widely in how far they will go and by what methods they will proceed. Given a specific public issue, the following methods of procedure are apparent, bearing in mind that some groups use one, some another, and some use several in combination: (1) holding public or semi-public meetings to hear advocates and opponents; (2) calling upon public officials to find out the official point of view; (3) appointing a special committee, or directing a standing committee, to consider and report to the whole membership; (4) discussing, adopting, and forwarding resolutions urging a specific course of action; (5) publishing of findings, conclusions, and recommendations in group's own publication or in public press; (6) appearing before officials publicly or privately to urge specific course; (7) applying sundry forms of more outright pressure, such as actively campaigning for proposed reforms, seeking the support of other citizens groups, appealing to political leaders for concessions, or, in pressure terminology, "building home fires" behind elected officials; (8) waging an active campaign for the group's own slate of candidates.

Some of these methods overlap and no one of them describes fully the work of all citizens groups. The range of activity is sufficiently well represented, however, to impress the fact that there is not a standard pattern of procedure. Whether the particular method(s) followed by any given group was dictated by its own previous experience, the experience of like groups in other communities, the result of carefully laid plans, the wishes of some dominant personality, or mere happenstance, is not clear.

Conclusions

The citizens group is a wholesome democratic institution, for the accomplishment of democratically-determined objectives, by democratic means, for the benefit of the local democracy. The history of every hamlet and metropolis alike contains instances of beneficial legislation promoted, harmful legislation prevented, and administrative practice improved by local citizens organizations.

Every citizens group has a prospectus of some kind and the self-portrait painted there often fails to recount defeats and disappointments. But the significant thing is that there have been victories.

Many citizens organizations, handicapped by the lack of brilliant leadership and adequate funds and publicity, are still chasing rainbows. They have enthusiastically formulated programs which are impossible of fulfillment in this generation. In a few instances civic directors have considered their prime function to be one of constant irritation to public officials. That their attacks on party leaders and the administration are blatant and unremitting is not so much a measure of their alertness as of their lack of finesse and studied tactic. Fortunately, the citizens group movement enjoys only a few such cases.

The fact-finding or research organizations point to the number and intensity of their researches, but it is difficult to secure any measure of their use. Someone has said that the municipal wastebaskets across the country are full of good research. Nevertheless, those same studies have unquestionably provided data upon which hosts of other groups have been able to hang up a victory. There exists today a nice controversy among professional research men on the very question of whether research includes fact-finding and interpretation alone or whether it includes also the not-too-black arts of propaganda and pressure with which the conclusions of those researches are put into practical operation. Regardless of the controversy, the elemental facts constitute the only reliable basis upon which citizens groups can proceed and whatever group turns up the ammunition renders therewith an important service.

Many of the accomplishments of citizens groups are negative in that many of their most spectacular victories have been preventive. The specific issues involved are as diverse as the subject matter of local government. There is no way of discovering how many unwise measures were conceived but remained undelivered because of the vigilance of citizens groups.

On the positive side, it is not too much to say that local citizens groups have been instrumental in every important legislative and administrative improvement made in at least our larger cities during the last decade. (In some cities the period extends farther than ten years.) The word "instrumental" is used advisedly because the influences in public opinion are subtle and it requires a confident man to claim full credit and responsibility. None the less, fundamental civic reforms do not "just happen" and one searches the country in vain to find instances of the adoption of the manager plan, for example, where one or more citizens groups did not play a prominent rôle.

The trophy rooms of citizens groups contain not only evidences of constructive reforms won and of harmful proposals defeated, but also additional medallions for significant modernizations. An out-of-date law or an ancient administrative method is almost as bad as none at all. Election codes, financial and bookkeeping systems, records and forms, for example, have a tendency to remain unchanged and become inadequate, once established. Citizens groups have more than once advertised such a situation to the point of correction.

In addition to the many tangible accomplishments there always remain an unknown quantity of intangibles. The present science of government knows no devices which measure such tributes to the citizens group movement as the general improvement in the temper and tone of civic interest, the closer affinity and increased respect of the citizen for his official servants, the better appreciation by the citizen of the multiplicity and complexity of local problems, the increased respect of officialdom toward citizens with both information and perspective. Observers agree that these tendencies exist and that local citizens groups are at least partially responsible.

Democracy Is for Fighting Men

By **WILLIAM McCLEERY**
Sunday Editor, PM

YOU will never read about this in your history books because it never happened, but one evening just after Cornwallis surrendered to General Washington a widely assorted group of "Americans" met in a big smoke-filled room and sat down around a table.

It had to be a very long table because there were many men present and some of them didn't like each other too well and didn't want to sit too close to each other. As a group they must have been fairly influential because many of their ideas finally got into the constitution. Other ideas were rejected at first and written in later. Others are still pending.

Something to Ponder

They saw that a new country was about to be started, and they pondered the following question:

"How can we build a country that will never grow flabby and decadent, but will always be young and vigorous and dynamic?"

They agreed that a nation takes its character from the men who populate it—and they believed that only if America were populated by fighting men could it remain forever young and vigorous and dynamic.

One citizen said that, if America were constantly fighting foreign wars, that would assure a high percentage of fighting men among its people, but another citizen, who had done some thinking, replied as follows:

"You can't keep fighting foreign wars forever. Eventually you either get licked, or you lick everybody else, or you get into a stalemate. In any one of those eventualities the fighting stops, and flabbiness and decadence set in. We want to provide for our people a kind of fighting that will go on forever."

"We could persecute people," suggested a horse-faced citizen with long gray hair. "We could persecute Jews and Negroes and bald-headed men and bow-legged women. This would give our fighting men something to do. Keep them alive on their feet."

Not the Same

The first citizen shook his head and said, "Bullying is not the same as fighting. Bullying doesn't keep you on your toes. You have to pick on somebody your own size."

"I think the first thing we must decide," he went on, "is what kind of weapons fighting men can use that will gratify their love of conflict, win them something they desire, give expression to their cussedness—and still not put an end to future fighting."

This was agreed upon as the important objective and they went to work on it.

They ruled out knives and clubs and other lethal weapons because they saw that if you kill off your opponent you can't fight him anymore.

Somebody suggested that loud and violent *talking* was one effective way for a fighting man to work off steam and keep himself awake and cause considerable anguish to his opponent. The horse-faced man objected to this on the ground that it was bad for a man to speak ill of his brothers.

"Look," they told him. "We are not trying to start a new religion. We are trying to design a house in which fight-

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Editor's Note.—We are reprinting this article because it appeals to us as a fresh and original treatment of an essential part of the democratic concept which is too often forgotten. It appeared first in *PM's Weekly*, published in New York, Sunday, August 24, 1941.

ing men can live and fight without tearing the house down. We are not saying what it is a man should fight for. We believe that men are essentially good and that if allowed to fight with the right kind of weapons they will fight for good things. You evidently think men are essentially bad and should be kept in chains. You may be right but you are outnumbered."

The horse-faced one said O. K., he would go along on letting people talk freely about each other, but certainly not about the government.

This was shouted down at once because everybody else felt that talking against the government was even more fun than talking against your fellow man.

"All right," said the horse-faced one. "But you can't *write* that kind of stuff."

"Listen," said another. "You seem to forget that our idea is to see how *many* weapons we can put in the hands of our fighting countrymen—not how *few*. We are ruling out only those weapons which would put an end to the fighting."

A business man then spoke up.

"So far," he said, "you have taken damned good care of the literary people—the orators and the writers. What about me? I can't talk very well and I can't write very well. How do I fight?"

For Accommodation

To accommodate this man and all like him the group decided that merchants and business men could fight among themselves—cutting each other's throats figuratively but not literally, driving one another out of business, having a whale of a time.

"Of course," said the first citizen, "we want this fighting, too, to go on forever. *So we can't allow any one business to get so big or so powerful that the fighting stops.*"

"There—ah—will be, I assume," said the business man, "no fighting between employer and employee."

"No?" said Citizen No. 1. "Why not?"

"Well," said the business man, "it makes for conflict, and. . . ."

"Conflict is what we're aiming to provide," he was told.

"Yes, but it's inefficient," said the business man.

"We're not trying to lay out the most efficient country possible," said Citizen No. 1, "but a country in which men will forever remain alive because there is so much fighting to do."

"I think," said the horse-faced one, "that the government should always be on the side of—"

"No," interrupted the first citizen, "the government will not *always* be on the side of any one group, unless you consider the under-dog to be a group. It's inevitable that at times one side may get so far ahead in the fight that fighting will get pretty tame. In such cases, the government ought to side with the under-dog to get the fight going again."

A Favored Few

Then they agreed that one side, having won a victory, must not take any of the weapons out of circulation. (What we now think of as the Bill of Rights was, at this point, merely a guarantee that talking and writing and assembling and such things were inalienable weapons of fighting men who wanted the fighting to go on forever.)

The horse-faced one, now thoroughly unpopular, suggested that only certain people be allowed to use the weapons; only persons owning so much land or people of such-and-such ancestry or faith.

That, he said, would keep the fighting on a more genteel plane.

Very loudly and very patiently they explained to him that genteel fighting was not what they were looking or planning for. They wanted good, hard fighting—and the best and hardest fighters might be born rich or poor or Jew or Gentile or black or white. Everybody should have a chance to fight. (As I said before, not *all* of the ideas proposed by this particular group were embodied in the constitution or practiced in the country's early days.)

It was agreed that no group of people in this fighting-man's country should ever be allowed to grow too weak from hunger or sickness or hopelessness to fight with the prescribed weapons.

They also recognized that a man had to be able to worship God as he pleased. As one citizen put it, "The most spirited men will be the best fighters in this nation of fighting men—and will have the most trouble with their spirits. If they need religion to keep themselves in fighting trim, they will have it."

One man who had been silent finally said, "I personally want peace and contentment and not all this fighting forever."

"It is your right," said the first citizen, "to fight for peace and contentment."

The silent citizen thought for a moment and then nodded his head. "O. K.," he said.

"Well," the horse-faced citizen said, "what happens if, while Americans are learning to fight with these new non-lethal weapons, some other nation concentrates on getting more adept with their lethal weapons? We lose our skill at killing and they increase theirs. They attack us—and then what?"

This is what they told him:

"It will take our fighting men a long time to become handy with their new weapons, but it never takes long for a good fighting man to learn how to kill.

"At first, if anybody ever theatens us, we will fight like hell among ourselves—with our talking and writing and public assembling—over whether we really *are* threatened. Once we get a yes decision in *that* fight, it will take us hardly any time at all to re-learn the art of killing. When that stupid temporary fighting is over we will get back to our own brand of permanent fighting. And maybe some day the whole world will see the value of fighting—not temporarily, in wars, against strangers—but permanently, in democracy, among people you know. It could be."

BLIGHTED AREAS

(Continued from Page 632)

as well as with the blight and slums within their borders.

New York State communities may be called upon at any time to decide upon a proposal for rebuilding part of their blighted sections under this new law, and if they are not ready to facilitate the operations of any redevelopment corporation which comes forward with a sound plan, they will be guilty of obstructing efforts to cure one of the most serious problems which cities face. If New York proves successful in its approach to the problem of blight, other states will copy the plan.[1]

The disease of blight will not be cured by talking about it. It is still continuing to spread. We have passed the stage for further refining the diagnosis, and in New York State we have set up a method of treatment. In a sense New York will serve as an experimental laboratory for the rest of the country. Only the future will show whether we have the foresight and enterprise to use the remedy and to save our cities from the fatal plague of blight.

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[1] See also NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for July 1941, p. 435, and for September 1941, p. 540.

Contributors in Review

A HUSBAND who is an authority on county government and a wife active in community social service joined hands to produce *Playing Politics with Public Health.* **Arthur W. Bromage** is professor of political science at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and is the author of *American County Government* and *State Government and Administration in the United States,* and co-author with Thomas H. Reed of *Organization and Cost of County and Township Government.* **Mary Cogan Bromage** started as an assistant in the department of English at the University of Michigan and a reader on the *Early Modern English Dictionary,* but later branched out into such activities as vice-presidency of the Ann Arbor Public Health Nursing Association, membership on the Citizens Committee on County Health, and vice-presidency of the Ann Arbor Community Fund.

REBUILDING of blighted areas is a problem with which **Thomas C. Desmond** (*Blighted Areas Get a New Chance*) has had much to do, in a variety of capacities, ever since, during the last war, he headed a firm which built housing for shipyard workers in Newburgh, New York. During the 1920's he was identified with the building of such housing projects as those at Sunnyside, Queens, L. I., and Radburn, New Jersey, both in the New York area. As New York State Senator since his retirement from business in 1930, Mr. Desmond was one of the sponsors of the New York State Public Housing Law of 1939, as well as of the Urban Redevelopment Corporations Law which is the subject of the present article.

NO MAJOR additions to his life story have developed since last month, reports **Howard M. Kline** (*Citizen Groups in Review—Part II*). For details as of four weeks ago, readers are therefore referred to the October issue of the REVIEW, which carried installment No. 1 of Mr. Kline's current article.

William McCleery *(Democracy Is for Fighting Men)* takes his dynamic approach to democratic processes straight from his own observations as editor and writer for the past ten years in New York and Washington, D. C. He is former executive editor of the Associated Press Feature Service, member of the editorial staff of *Life* magazine, and is now Sunday editor and picture editor of New York City's newspaper *PM.*

Researcher's Digest: November

A Far West edition featuring the fourth annual WGRA convention, California defense publications, case load experiments in the California State Relief Administration, Oregon findings on parking meters and housing, Washington libraries.

A RECORD number of researchers—125 strong—participated in the fourth annual convention of the **Western Governmental Research Association,** held in Sacramento, California, on October 23, 24, and 25. Highlights of the meeting were an exhibit of research reports produced by Pacific area governmental agencies, a come-in-and-see-what-we're-doing tour of state departments, a round of three-minute oral accounts of their year's work by some thirty-five different research organizations, and a repeat performance of last year's popular "Information Please" session.

Over 250 reports contributed by approximately forty agencies comprised the reporting display. Each agency was asked to submit material considered to be typical of its work. Accompanying every pamphlet and book was a statement of costs of production, types of distribution, typography, and special features.

On their afternoon open house tours the researchers visited the State Department of Employment, featuring inspection of the second largest machine tabulation installation west of Chicago, the State Printing Plant, the Department of Motor Vehicles with its "chamber of horrors," the Department of Public Works, the California State Library, and the Governor's office.

Panel sessions dealt with problems of administrative research, the sampling technique, research in probable post-emergency conditions and needs, and effective research reporting. Most of these topics grew out of problems raised at last year's convention.

Two luncheon sessions heard Samuel Moment of the Market Development Section, Bonneville Power Administration, speaking on past and future research in the field of northwest resources, and Richard Graves, executive director of the California State Council of Defense, who called upon researchers to turn from "introspective" research to research upon pressing defense problems of the present and future. The banquet speaker was Dr. Charles-Edward A. Winslow, Yale University professor now serving as visiting lecturer in the public social services at the University of California. His topic: "Our Objectives in Post War Reconstruction."

Frank M. Stewart, director of the Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles, was elected president of the WGRA for 1941-42.

California Is for Defense

Burgeoning also with defense publications is the Far West. A new one is *Organizing for Defense,* A Manual for the Cities and Counties of California, prepared by the **California State Council of Defense** and containing that comparatively rare thing, a description of all defense agencies—federal, state (California), and local—with a discussion of their inter-relationship. The California State Council of Defense is also responsible for a biweekly mimeographed *California Defense Digest,* now in its sixth issue, which reports defense news of interest in California and summarizes significant defense publications and articles. Another new defense pamphlet which should be of nationwide usefulness is *Official Defense Publications,* edited by Jerome K. Wilcox for the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California.** Organized in two parts—state publications and federal publications—the checklist covers the period from June 1940 to August 1, 1941. The publications of all the states are included in some 106 pages of listings.

Small Loads Save Money

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** is responsible also for the long awaited account of measurement experiments in the field of public welfare: *Determining Work Loads for Professional Staff in a Public Welfare Agency,* by Herbert A. Simon, William R. Divine, E. Myles Cooper, and Milton Chernin. The study grew out of the joint efforts of the Bureau of Public Administration, which is conducting a comprehensive three-year program of administrative measurement studies, and the desire of the Division of Planning and Research of the California State Relief Administration to measure its own efficiency as an agency whose purpose was to establish eligibility for public relief and periodically to check that eligibility.

Actual experimentation with case loads of different sizes was done by the four investigators, and the findings are based on the activities of seventy-two professional workers who, during the period of the experiment, handled 2,771 applications and 7,346 active cases. Their work was evaluated by means of an estimate of the effect upon expenditures of increased accuracy in eligibility determination, and an estimate of the adequacy with which the clients' needs for service referals were met.

Findings of the study underlined the often expressed but hitherto untested belief that low case loads make for both savings and efficiency. "In the case of qualifiers and carrier workers, the improved performance which accompanied the lowest loads tested (fifty applications per week and sixty active cases, respectively) was sufficient to justify the increased operating cost. In the case of field intake workers there was no marked improvement in performance with lower loads, and the findings did not justify a quota of less than sixteen applications per week."

(An ironic footnote to this story is that shortly after completion of the experiments the state legislature abolished the State Relief Administration and turned relief back to the counties.)

Researching in the Northwest

To move further north on the Pacific coast, research blossoms substantially in Oregon and Washington too. The **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon,** cooperating with the **League of Oregon Cities,** has two new reports on *Parking Meters* (with special reference to their operation in three Oregon cities) and *A Survey of Housing Authorities in Thirty-Three Cities.* Parking meters in the three cities have brought beneficial results, it is reported; likewise, thirty-two of the thirty-three cities surveyed throughout the country returned questionnaires which expressed the belief that their housing programs are worthwhile.

Washington's newest contribution is a pamphlet called *Serving the Unserved,* dealing with problems connected with extending library service to those now unserved. It is a summary of the proceedings of the library section meetings sponsored by the Washington Library Association at the Institute of Government, University of Washington, in June. Publisher is the **Bureau of**

(Continued on Page 665)

National Defense and the Cities

Pamphlet explains effective air raid warning system; educators organize for protection of schools and pupils; fire defense committees.

By **DANIEL W. HOAN**
Consultant, Office of Civilian Defense

A comprehensive pamphlet entitled *Air Raid Warning System,* prepared by the War Department under the supervision of the Chief Signal Officer, U. S. Army, with suggestions of the National Technological Civil Protection Committee, has been issued by the Office of Civilian Defense.

The foreword to the pamphlet declares:

"The effectiveness of the entire scheme of civilian defense depends largely upon the effective organization and functioning of the civilian air raid warning system.

"An understanding of how, when, and where the military aircraft warning service is coördinated with the civilian air raid warning system and of how the latter functions with the whole scheme of civilian defense is essential to the successful organization and operation of any of these defense agencies.

"The data and information contained herein are based upon the latest and most authoritative information available upon the date of publication, and are intended as helpful suggestions, many of which may be modified and adapted to each local situation and to specific installations. However, care must be taken to be certain that no modification of essential procedure is introduced.

"In no sense should issuance of this pamphlet be construed as a signal to start work immediately upon installations. Using the material in this pamphlet as a guide, studies of existing installations and plans for extending or adapting them can be initiated by responsible agencies. The Office of Civilian Defense will announce when the actual installations should be made."

The pamphlet contains five chapters under the following heads: General, The Military Aircraft Warning Service, The Civilian Air Raid Warning System, Public Warning Systems, and Training. Under the subheading "Purpose" the first chapter declares:

"This pamphlet is furnished primarily as a guide to aid local civilian defense organizations in the proper and efficient discharge of their duties with the air raid warning service in the event of air raids, and its purpose is twofold:

a. To furnish a set of instructions to local civilian defense organizations for the installation and operation of a civilian air raid warning system;

b. To explain how the civilian air raid warning system will be coordinated with the military aircraft warning service."

The pamphlet is complete with charts and maps describing telephone and communication systems, as well as organizations of the various civil, official, and military divisions. It also includes specimens of forms to be utilized throughout the service. The pamphlet was distributed to the governors of the states and subsequently will be available to local defense councils through their respective state defense councils.

Protection of Schools and Pupils Planned

Methods to protect the lives of elementary and high school pupils and school properties were recently adopted by a committee of public, parochial and other private school administrators, meeting as a committee under the auspices of the Office of Civilian Defense.

James Marshall, president of the New York City Board of Education, chairman of the committee, said that the committee felt its first obligation was to create a nation-wide consciousness of the importance of protecting the lives of the nation's school children in an emergency.

"School administrators always have been prepared to protect children from such dangers as fire hazards," Chairman Marshall said. "We have met here to consider ways and means of protecting children from other hazards which might affect our city."

Mr. Marshall said the committee studied methods of organizations for such protection locally as well as nationally and with relation to all defense councils and agencies.

An official statement of the committee said: "We cannot wait until catastrophe strikes to make our plans. At least there are many phases of the program of preparedness that can be and must be made in advance if they are to be made at all. The personnel of school staffs must be organized to perform their respective functions. Some must be given special technical training, such as first aid; that requires months. Buildings must be equipped with special apparatus and materials to deal with bombs and their effects. Unusual means of communication with and between the parts of the school system must be established. Centralized organization and control must, in certain respects, give way to decentralization. Children and those in charge of them must acquire new habits and abilities necessary in this new kind of emergency—old fire drills are not enough. Plans must be made for children to reach their homes or to stay in school under unusual time and space conditions. School buildings must be studied and charted to determine their usable parts and facilities in case of emergency."

The committee's final report, which will go into detail as to methods of special training and organization of teachers and school personnel, will be available shortly for distribution.

Fire Defense Committees Active

Subcommittees of the Advisory Committee on Civilian Fire Defense recently named by Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, director of the Office of Civilian Defense, are engaged in the preparation of a national civilian fire defense program. In addition to the study of fire prevention and protection, the committee will study such questions as procurement, production, and maintenance of auxiliary fire fighting apparatus.

George W. Booth, chief engineer of the National Board of Fire Underwriters, was elected chairman of the committee, and William T. French, liaison officer, Office of Civilian Defense, secretary.

Letters to the Editor

A Plea for Realism on the Defense Issue

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Professor Mosher's article in the September NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW pointed out that local defense councils could find a "man-sized job worthy of their mettle" if they turned their attention to the inefficiency and cost of local government. "Slackness, wastes and inefficiences should not be tolerated . . . under the pressures of national defense."

I think that Dr. Mosher might have added that concentration at this time on creating auxiliary fire services and air raid services, on designing costumes—functional yet zippy, in short, on plans which rest on the assumption of an early attack on the United States, are wasted effort and perhaps even dangerous to morale. There will be time enough for this sort of thing and for preparation against actual attack when competent military authorities are thinking of "invasion" and "air raids" as physical threats instead of games for the training of men.

I fear that emphasis at this time on enrollment of defense wardens of one type or another will, in the future, ruin civilian morale instead of raising it. The college football coach knows how difficult it is to bring a "stale" team back to a fighting pitch. Civilian defense groups may likewise grow stale. *Life* magazine concluded that one important contributing factor to low army morale was the lack of plan as to just what the men were being prepared for. Mayor La Guardia recently issued an order compelling all municipal employees under thirty-five years of age to report for training in some civilian defense activity. When such activities are based on the assumption that attack is imminent—and military authorities think it is not—they not only lower morale but have a tendency to make the public take its eye off the ball—which at the moment continues to be aid to the "democracies."

An article in *Army Ordnance* of October 1941, by a member of the General Staff Corps, says that invasion across the sea in the face of land-based air power is no longer in the book of possibilities. When the majority of our people are convinced that invasion and air raids are in the realm of possibility, there will be no difficulty with morale. The regular police and fire services can and should make their plans toward organizing the public if and when danger threatens.

In the meantime, let us be realistic, as Professor Mosher is, about the jobs that face local defense councils. They can better direct their efforts toward making our democracy efficient and effective in the field of local government.

CARL MARCY
The College of the City of New York

We Stand Corrected

To the Editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

Correction, please!

Stanley High, October REVIEW, page 562: "Business men, through the Chamber of Commerce and in a number of independent organizations, put the microscope on the city's finances."

True, the Chamber of Commerce was one of five or six participating organizations represented on the Citizens Audit Committee. But this came only after—grew out of the fact that—the Civic Research Institute, *alone, unaided,* and substantially unencouraged, stepped out and mortgaged itself and its future to the point of actually engaging auditors to conduct an independent audit of the city; fought the proposal of the city administration that they would hire their own auditors, run their own audit; agreed to withhold its independent audit and avoid a duplication *only* on condition that a representative, independent citizen audit committee be created to have entire control over hiring of auditors. This proposal was, in turn, accepted by the city administration on the condition that the auditors so engaged *not* be those retained by the institute. From these facts was created the Audit Committee of which the Chamber of Commerce was *one* of the constituent organizations.

Another point cannot, perhaps, be challenged as a correction to be noted —being within the rights of each author. Yet, many Kansas Citians to whom the last ten years still are vivid memories, who are wondering from what source similar unquestioned leadership can be expected in the future, certainly would note the fact that among the garlands strewn was a gaping omission—Hal W. Luhnow. I believe the simplest test check procedure would establish the fact that there —and there alone—rests prime credit for the events in Kansas City; that this was the constant energy, the refusal to quit, the tone of evangelicism or idealism that won the confidence to bring success. Particularly is this omission deemed significant because of the significance of the event itself. Hal Luhnow heads the corporation bearing the name of the community's most outstanding philanthropist—but a corporation in which Kansas City represents a relatively small share. Luhnow himself has been a member of the community a comparatively few years—might logically be expected to have far less community obligation and responsibility than many other "community leaders" who had been content to sit placidly by, if not actively acquiesce in conditions.

Perhaps Kansas City would have its chin up without Luhnow—but I doubt it from all I've heard from a wide variety of witnesses.

Loren B. Miller, *Director*
Civic Research Institute
Kansas City, Missouri

LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 618)

National Municipal League. While individual members of the committee have been responsible for the preparation of the various articles of the *Constitution* and of the accompanying explanatory discussions, the entire committee and many specialists in various fields have coöperated actively. The *Constitution,* which for two decades has had marked influence on thinking in the field of state constitutional law and the relation of states with local government, provides for a unicameral legislature, legislative council and continuous legislative process, improved legislative procedure, administrative responsibility, an administrative manager, unification of the judiciary, new financial controls, stronger civil service, flexible welfare provisions, elimination of barriers to intergovernmental relations, and self-executing provisions for constitutional amendment.

Howard P. Jones, *Secretary*

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Santiago Conference Fosters Inter-American Understanding

Merit system, planning, budgeting, accounting among matters discussed

THE Second Inter-American Congress of Municipalities, which met in Santiago and Valparaiso, Chile, September 15-21, adopted some thirty-eight resolutions, recommendations, etc., covering a wide range of municipal interests.

The recommendations of the first congress, which met in Havana, Cuba, in 1938, were reaffirmed. Among fundamental matters affirmatively covered were municipal autonomy, universal suffrage, appointments to the public service based on merit and protected by tenure, civic education and administrative research, and encouragement of democratic principles and practices.

Uniform budgeting and accounting systems were recommended, and the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation was asked to compile municipal statistical information on budgets and public services, both publicly and privately owned or operated. Establishment of mixed economic enterprises was favored as a transitional phase in the rendition of public services. Coördination of local and regional planning, recognition of community social influences, and popular education as to urban planning were recommended.

The Congress unanimously adopted a program for municipal coöperation in promoting Inter-American friendship. The following recommendations were included:

Exchange of municipal officials among the Americas;

City officials to suggest to newspapers that they exchange writers among the Americas;

Designation by cities of certain of their municipal officials to facilitate visits and studies by persons from the other Americas;

Celebrate Pan-American Day (April 14) more enthusiastically in all of the municipalities of the Americas;

Encourage freer education and popularization in each country of the history and institutions of all the Americas;

Encourage and teach the need for freer exchange of goods and of the products of labor of the masses among the Americas. Unless our common citizenry understand this necessity, lasting good will is hardly possible.

Hon. Daniel W. Hoan, formerly mayor of Milwaukee and now consultant to the Office of Civilian Defense, president of the American delegation, reported that "it was the unanimous feeling that the Congress has done a good deal to overcome the intensive work which has and still is being perpetrated by the Nazis, and that the Congress is likely to wield a fine influence in all future dealings in those countries."

Cities and Priorities

With increased scope and intensity of the national defense program cities as well as private industries are facing great difficulties in obtaining many materials and supplies; and basic municipal services, essential to the well-being both of defense workers and the general public, are handicapped.

Early in October the Office of Production Management established in its Division of Civilian Supply a State and Local Government Requirements Branch, headed by Maury Maverick, ex-mayor of San Antonio, Texas, to aid governmental agencies in solving problems of procurement and supply and expedite action on specific applications for priority ratings. Other purposes of the new unit are to promote the conservation of strategic materials by a broad program, to foster standard specifications for governmental purchasing, and to further the use of suitable and available substitutes where serious shortages of particular materials develop.

The Supply Priorities and Allocations Board in October urged all governmental agencies, including cities, to refrain from issuing permits or other authorizations for construction work not vitally needed and as to which priorities assistance would have to be denied.

The Office of Production Management, through its director of priorities, Donald M. Nelson, eased the situation somewhat by its preferred rating order P-22 of September 9, which gave an automatic A-10 rating to materials needed because of actual or imminent breakdown of property or equipment used for fire or police service, highway maintenance, schools, hospitals, and public transportation. Supplies for operation were not covered, however, and if not available from suppliers' stocks, have required individual preference rating certificates.

In cases of extreme emergency higher ratings were to be granted without requiring formal application if adequate information is supplied.

On October 16 a comprehensive revision of the P-22 order was issued, extending A-10 rating to all maintenance, repair, and operating supplies requirements of cities and other governmental bodies—with a warning against unnecessary applications.

On September 17 another order was issued (preference rating order P-46) extending the A-10 rating to materials and supplies for water, gas, electric, and steam heat utilities and sewerage systems, and covering operating supplies and maintenance and repair material for essential public service, but not to be used for the purpose of plant expansion.

New construction and expansion can be aided by project ratings, under preference rating order P-19; they are obtained from the Projects Priority Group of the Division of Priorities, OPM.

Council-Manager Plan News

The manager plan has aroused active interest in **Concord, New Hampshire**, where a group of leading citizens has explored the possibilities of bringing it to a vote this fall. It was decided, however, that the attempt should not be made at this time, but that a further study of the question would be carried on.

The Town Affairs Committee of the **Glastonbury, Connecticut**, Chamber of Commerce, is studying various forms of town government and has arranged for outside speakers. An unsigned form letter to Glastonbury voters, advocating the town manager plan, was recently circulated by unknown parties.

The Citizens' League of **Margate, New Jersey**, on October 7 voted unanimously in favor of replacing the existing commission form of government by the manager plan, to obtain expert full-time administration. Petitions have been circulated and a referendum has been set for November 18. The *Press* of adjacent **Atlantic City** suggested a unified government for that region.

The Lions Club of **Ponce, Puerto**

Rico, is evidencing an active interest in the manager plan.

The radio station KFJI in **Klamath Falls, Oregon,** where a new charter is in course of preparation, is promoting the manager plan for a combined city and county government.

In **Tompkins County, New York,** H. N. Gordon was nominated for county supervisor from the town of Ithaca on the Republican ticket, after a campaign in which he advocated the county manager plan.

Interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Santa Monica, California.**

City Manager Whitney of Yonkers, New York, was host on October 1 to a meeting of managers of various municipalities within approximately 150 miles of New York City; these included Larchmont, Scarsdale, and Schenectady, New York; Hackensack and Teaneck, New Jersey; and Bloomfield, Connecticut.

District Managers Urged in Maine

At the closing session of the Maine Town and City Managers' Association, held in Portland early in October, Fred D. Farnsworth of Bangor, president of the association, reported that thirty-two towns and cities in Maine have managers, and an additional twelve have town agents, making a total of forty-four communities, with a combined population of over 254,000, which have appointed chief executive officers. He noted that the county manager movement had made progress elsewhere, stating, however, that it is not likely to develop in New England, where the county performs few functions. He continued:

"But I do look to a district unit of local government in the future where sparsely settled areas and small villages are common. A number of these grouped together in a district under one manager is, I believe, the solution if insolvency is to be further avoided, as already too many towns have been taken over by the state and where this is done the citizens very largely lose their right to determine the administration of the fiscal and prudential affairs of their own municipality.

"A beginning in the direction of districts has already been made by the action of the 1939 legislature in legalizing the union of two or more towns, with standard charters, under one manager."

City Revitalization Urged by Land Institute

A conference on city replanning was held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 15-17, by the Urban Land Institute, an organization founded two years ago by leaders in real estate, finance, manufacturing, merchandising, public administration, and civic groups.[1] It was attended by about 100 public officials, planning authorities, real estate representatives, civic leaders, and others interested in urban land problems.

The obsolescence and inadequacy of the existing physical layout and governmental organization of our cities and metropolitan districts were subjects of special emphasis and attack. It was indicated that unless positive steps are taken soon to stop the ravages of blight and decay we can expect a process of gradual urban disintegration—physically, politically, and socially — with continually declining land values and increasingly unfavorable neighborhood and family environment.

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[1] See "Drastic Changes Urged in Boston," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1941, p. 111; "New City Plan Urged for Cincinnati," April 1941, p. 223; and "Decentralization in New York City," May 1941, p. 292, for accounts of special studies of various cities by the Institute.

Urban land uses and traffic systems must be realistically replanned, with emphasis on the development of wholesome home neighborhoods; any piecemeal attack on the housing question which ignores the basic need of city replanning can have only partial success and may aggravate blight, according to the conference leaders. Metropolitan communities must devise governmental machinery capable of supplying public services over their entire areas.

Walter S. Schmidt of Cincinnati, president of the institute, stressed the objective of making cities better places in which to live and do business, with financially sound governmental organization. Charles T. Stewart, the institute's administrative secretary, criticized the overlapping of governmental jurisdictions and proposed various measures for consolidating municipal functions.

Arthur W. Binns of Philadelphia, chairman of the committee on housing and blighted areas of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, presented proposals for a federal land commission, as part of a land conservation department, to exercise the right of eminent domain in the assembly of areas large enough for redevelopment purposes, with local city plan commissions functioning thereunder; the assembled land to be leased to private persons or organizations, redevelopment by whom would be financed with a 90 per cent insured under FHA regulations.

Gordon Whitnall, city planning consultant for the Institute, discussed the need of revised zoning policy and the possibilities of neighborhood units in replanning.

Louisiana Reorganization Unsettled

The state reorganization act passed by the 1940 Louisiana legislature, based on the comprehensive reorganization constitutional amendment previously adopted in that state, has been left in an uncertain status by the decision of the Louisiana Supreme Court that the amendment is unconstitutional. A ruling by the court as to the effect on the reorganization act is hoped for shortly; meanwhile state officials, and also the lower courts, do not know how much of the act may be valid, and the state government is correspondingly hampered.

Jersey Constitution Taken for a Ride

The aged constitution of New Jersey, drafted in 1844, had its first ride since that time—from Trenton to Orange—on October 1 in the automobile of Secretary of State Joseph A. Brophy. At the Orange City Hall the constitution was appropriately greeted by two women in antique costumes in a horse and buggy and taken to the Orange Adult Education Center, where it was subjected to an ordeal of ridicule by several speakers who advocated a constitutional convention to modernize the state's basic law.

At the state convention of the two major parties, held late in September, the Democrats adopted a plank calling for a convention, and the Republicans, after being told that similar action by them would be a victory for Governor Edison and his party, voted in favor of revision by the process of amendment.

News from New Hampshire

Town report contest: The Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire recently announced awards in the town report contest in thirteen classes ranging from towns of less than 250 population to towns or cities exceeding 20,000. The communities winning awards, arranged in order of population, were as follows: Randolph, Richmond, Harrisville, Loudon, Andover, Rollinsford, Hopkinton, Hampton, Wolfeboro, Hanover, Lebanon, Rochester, and Concord.

Concord not only won the award for the best report of large cities but the first award for the entire state. Fifty-nine cities and towns—almost one-third of the total in the state—entered this first contest conducted in New Hampshire. From the interest aroused it is expected that a much larger number will enter next year's contest for 1941 reports.

Police active: New Hampshire state and local police during the month of September showed an unusual interest in obtaining information on the solution of problems facing police during the present crisis. Approximately thirty state and local police attended a police school held at the University of New Hampshire from September 8 to 12, where emphasis was placed on legal and traffic problems. The following week the New England Association of Chiefs of Police held its eighteenth annual convention at Bretton Woods. National defense problems constituted the central theme of this year's program. The more serious aspects of crime detention and legal procedures, however, were abandoned by the New Hampshire Police Association when it met for its annual outing at Portsmouth on September 19. In these schools and conferences both state and local police turned their attention to the problems of police protection which face them in a country geared for national defense.

Constitutional convention: New Hampshire's twelfth constitutional convention sitting in special session passed a proposed amendment to the state's constitution limiting the size of the lower chamber of the legislature to 400. Specifically the measure would fix the membership at "not less than 375 or more than 400," which in effect is a freezing of the size to slightly less than it has been during the past decade. Many plans for reduction of the house have been submitted in previous conventions but failed of ratification at the polls because of fear by the towns that they would lose representation and power in the legislature.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

Eastern States Ratify Fisheries Compact

Climaxing six years of effort by commissioners on interstate coöperation of the participating states, the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact goes into formal effect this month. The compact was signed in September by the governors of Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and New York. Of the remaining Atlantic coast states, according to the Council of State Governments, Rhode Island has ratified the compact, Virginia and South Carolina are expected to ratify it in their 1942 legislative session, and Florida, Georgia, Maine, and North Carolina in 1943 since their governing bodies do not convene in 1942. Connecticut voted against the plan but may reconsider its action.

Under the compact a commission will be appointed to develop a fourteen-state fish conservation program, and to study and recommend methods or types of regulation best designed to preserve the Atlantic coast fishing industry.

The commission will have no executive powers, but will confine itself to recommending action to the legislatures of the various states. It will be financed by annual appropriations made by the participating states in proportion to the primary market value of the products of their fisheries.

The states earlier this year received congressional approval, required by the federal constitution, to enter into the compact.

Public Housing Constitutional

The Supreme Court of the United States on October 13, in a suit against the Alley Dwelling Authority for the District of Columbia, declined to review the decision of the Court of Appeals that Congress, in the District of Columbia, as well as the legislatures in the various states, may validly provide for low-rent housing projects and authorize the condemnation of land for that purpose. Slum reclamation or slum clearance, in connection with low-rent housing, which has been involved in various lower court decisions favoring public housing legislation, did not enter into this case as a basis for the court's decision.

Social Science Fellowships

For the academic year 1942-43 the Social Science Research Council offers a number of predoctoral field fellowships and postdoctoral research fellowships, and also grants in aid of research by mature scholars without age limit, all of these being for work in political science and other social sciences. The predoctoral fellowships are a new undertaking of the council and are intended to foster realistic field research, such as direct contact with governmental agencies and their work would facilitate. Application blanks for fellowships must be submitted to the council's fellowship secretary at 230 Park Avenue, New York City, by February 1, 1942, and for grants in aid by January 15.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

ALL too frequently citizen groups organized to achieve a specific governmental reform go out of existence once that reform has been accomplished because they feel their function is over. . . . So we were particularly pleased to learn from the first issue of *The Citizen* that the recently organized **Citizens League of Port Huron, Michigan,** has no such intention. In fact, it is embarking on a campaign of expansion to make a success of the new city manager charter which it helped to secure.

Every four years the **City Club of Albany** adopts a Citizen's Platform as a program of action for the succeeding four years. The 1941 platform is broken down by subject matter—child welfare, finance, housing, library, etc. Under each heading, in addition to recommendations, there is a summary of progress since 1937. The inclusion of this latter item strikes us as a particularly good idea, since it gives club members some basis for comparing what has actually been accomplished with what they have been shooting at over a four-year period.

On October 29 the **Yonkers Committee of 100**, which as a matter of policy does not take a stand on candidates for local office, held a "Town Meeting." Candidates for the city council were present and answered questions submitted to them about their plans, if elected, for the conduct of the affairs of the city. . . . We are heartily in favor of this idea or any similar one which gives citizens an opportunity to get a look at the individuals who are running for office and hear what they are thinking about public affairs.

Another method of accomplishing the same result is for the citizen group to send a questionnaire to candidates and then publish its findings. . . . As in the past, the **Citizens Union of New York** sent such a questionnaire this year to candidates for mayor, comptroller, judges, the city council, etc.

You'll also be interested in seeing the nineteenth edition of the *Voter's Directory* published by the **Civic Club of Allegheny County** (Pittsburgh). Voters who wanted to know about their candidates prior to Pittsburgh's election November 4 could get an impartial opinion at a glance.

One reason for the continued success of the **League of Women Voters** may be the willingness (even eagerness) of its members to admit how much they have to learn. . . . In Illinois where the first item in the program of action for 1941-42 is "Taxation and Defense," twenty-one local leagues are holding one-day tax schools in their own communities. In preparation for the schools a three-day training course for leaders was held at state headquarters in August.

Have you seen the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy's** new guide book for voters? Large, clear print, good composition, and quick reading time insure its usefulness in the committee's perpetual campaign for clean elections and intelligent voting. The material covers twenty pages of a booklet that will fit an ordinary envelope. These are among the headings that challenge the reader: "Your Responsibility," "Your Vote and Practical Politics," "Ward and City Committees," "State and National Committees," "Voting Procedure," "Election Crimes and Penalties."

The **Citizens League of Cleveland** devoted an entire issue of its bulletin, *Greater Cleveland,* to the need for county charter revision.[1] A reprint of the ballot on page one showed the voter how to approve the election of a commission to rewrite the charter from the league's own slate of candidates for the job. The issues of revision were outlined clearly and simply, to give the voter background on the question.

About Doing Something for Democracy

We believe you'll want to follow the development of Kansas City's new Public Affairs Forum and are therefore carrying this outline of its background and future. It is from the bulletin of the Civic Research Institute, directed by Loren B. Miller, which is sponsoring the project.

The plan strikes us as well suited to the times, and the philosophy of citizen action behind it seems flawless.—THE EDITOR.

For the past twenty years the **Civic Research Institute,** like similar organizations in other cities throughout the country, has functioned as an independently supported, citizen fact-finding or research agency.

Ever-growing magnitude and complexity of urban government created a widening and bewildering chasm between the citizen and his government. The citizen research bureau was designed to bridge this gap by offering a competent source of impartial information.

Research bureaus have had other subsidiary roles: the citizen watch-dog on the city hall steps, the helping hand to conscientious officials too busy with doing things to worry much about how they were being done.

These purposes have assumed varying importance under differing circumstances. Yet the fundamental purpose of citizen research has remained that of being an agency to furnish analysis of governmental problems and thereby to assist in maintaining citizen control of government. And citizen control of government is, after all, the essence of democracy.

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[1] See also p. 658 of this issue.

Parallel to this function of research, as an additional implement to the operation of a democratic government and the maintenance of citizen control, the Civic Research Institute now is adding a new service and function.

Citizen Discussion

Sponsorship of the recently initiated program of citizen discussion known as the **Public Affairs Institute** has been assumed by the Civic Research Institute.

It will be continued under the name Public Affairs Forum as having greater connotation in itself to the average citizen.

It will be continued as a program of discussion to create broader understanding of the problems—local, state, national, and international—confronting a citizen in a democracy.

Broadly speaking, the Public Affairs Forum is a program of citizen education by discussion designed: to assist and encourage the average citizen to think—to become informed—about public matters, to determine a viewpoint or opinion by a logical and factual process, to exchange opinions with others.

The key role played by the citizen in a democracy is obvious. Because of the very nature of that role, the degree of adequacy with which it is fulfilled must determine results achieved, actions taken, directions assumed. Nothing can be substituted for it and still retain a democratic process. Yet little—or much too little—has been done to aid its fulfillment.

In its basic features the Public Affairs Forum is an effort to recapture the tradition and essence of early "town hall" meetings. The essential contribution made by that early social practice was first the determination of public questions by a thorough process of discussion; and second, through this process, establishing an informed, interested citizenry.

The citizen retained a direct interest —and a broadly social interest—in his government because he still could feel that he was a part of the government, that his influence could reach that government, that in effect he and his government were but reflections of the same thing—not separate and distinct entities.

Today, the scale of proportions is immensely larger. Yet the need remains the same; and if the scale has increased, so also have the methods and techniques that can be applied. Certainly little will be gained without trying.

Proposed Program

Specific aspects of the program will be:

- — To encourage the formation of citizen groups for discussion of public affairs,
- — To assist in the conduct of such discussion meetings,
- — To indicate sources of factual material pertinent to the subjects of discussion,
- — To assist in the training of effective discussion leaders,
- — To conduct sectional and city-wide conferences or forums for the presentation and discussion of citizen problems.

In assuming sponsorship of this program as a parallel to the research function, the trustees of the Institute do so in the belief that it fills an essential need in the continued and successful operation of a democratic government and something more must be done than merely to wish democracy "well," that it offers a significant contribution to community life.

It also is appropriate that the Civic Research Institute should undertake these dual services to the community. In a number of respects the program of citizen research and citizen education complement and parallel each other.

As one example, while research must be factual else it is not research, discussion must be open to all points of view else it is neither discussion nor education. It is only by the rigid maintenance of these standards that these functions can stand either alone or together. It is equally imperative for both.

Other advantages also accrue. Being allied with a broad citizen discussion program will offer the research function a natural opportunity for the more effective use of its research materials—having them reach the citizen for whom they are intended.

At the same time, being thus allied with the research program will offer the Public Affairs Forum facilities for obtaining the factual material and factual viewpoint necessary to the maintenance of that program.

It is a program of broad citizen interest. Only by broad citizen participation will its full effectiveness and benefit be realized.

When It Comes to Logic We'll Take Satire—

> For years New York has been talking and writing about why and how it should get rid of useless sheriffs in the counties which go to make up the greater city.
>
> The public finally got a chance to vote on the issue November 4, with benefit of this one-paragraph summary from the *New Yorker* magazine of October 18.
>
> *Moral*: One paragraph of satire may be worth more than a book of logical arguments.—THE EDITOR.

Commissioner William B. Herlands [New York City Department of Investigation] has dug up at least thirty cases of alteration of records and embezzlement of petty cash by County Sheriff Finn's aides, not to mention evidence of some very tricky voting from false addresses by a deputy sheriff and his family. What appeals to us about this is the attitude Sheriff Finn has taken toward the disclosures. He is not so much upset by all the skulduggery as by the fact that no one bothers to tell him what's going on, or even lets him see the data of the investigation. "I should think," he told the papers plaintively, "that as sheriff of New York County I was entitled to this information."

We like the vision of our sheriff, his badge tarnishing with disuse and the seat of his pants shiny from inactivity, hurt and unhappy because no one will let him play sheriff in investigating his own office. All the picture really needs to make it perfect is Victor Moore, his small, round body bristling with righteousness, his moon face aglow with eager innocence, and clearly knowing less about what's up than the ladies in the chorus.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Wisconsin Enacts Laws on County Finance

Additional counties now subject to budget law

THE 1941 session of the Wisconsin legislature passed several laws relating to county government in the state. From the standpoint of improving county administration probably the most important of these is the expansion of the law requiring budgetary procedure to include all counties having a population of less than 300,000. The law specifically requires that the budget document show comparable figures for the two previous years as well as estimated receipts and expenditures for the budgeted period, and that adequate public hearings be held prior to adoption. The state municipal accounting office is directed to assist in the installation of improved budgetary procedures.

The problem of tax-delinquent lands and their disposal continues to confront the state and especially some counties. Among several acts relating to the disposition of such lands through tax sales, one is of particular interest as an experiment in controlling land use and forestry practices through deed restrictions. Under its provisions county boards may dispose of any county-held real estate (except that donated to be held for a specific purpose) and may restrict the right of the grantee to cut timber on forested areas to trees that have a minimum diameter of six inches at a point two feet above the ground. Liberally used, this device appears to have great promise as an approach to the solution of the cut-over and second-growth timberland problems of the state.

Minor legislation affecting counties includes laws permitting county participation in food stamp commodity distribution plans, regulation of auto junk yards in unincorporated areas, and expansion of the county zoning power in areas surrounding airports. The last named law permits height, location, and area restrictions near public or private flying fields and permits counties to use the power of eminent domain in removing obstructions existing prior to adoption of the restrictive ordinances. As was true in the previous law, zoning regulations affecting towns must be approved by the respective town meetings for final adoption.

The movement for general reform of county government received a setback when the latest motion for a constitutional amendment to permit optional forms of county government failed to receive consideration by the Senate before it adjourned. The state Supreme Court has held that optional forms of town and county organization are inconsistent with the present constitutional requirement that a uniform system be maintained. Even if adopted at the next session, the plan could not go into effect for five years since the constitution requires passage by two successive legislatures and a general referendum.

Robert M. Mangan

Pennsylvania Townships Brought under Merit System

Under a law enacted by the 1941 Pennsylvania legislature first class townships are grouped with cities and boroughs regarding the establishment of a merit system for police officers. All townships of the first class employing more than two policemen are required to set up civil service commissions to select police personnel. Since many townships at present are at a loss regarding proper procedure, they are turning to the state civil service agency for coöperation and guidance.

Draft Revelations Impose Duties on Counties and Townships

As a result of an announcement made recently by President Roosevelt, counties and townships soon may be engaged in new and enlarged activities in the fields of curative medicine and adult education. The President stated that in the administration of the selective service act the rejection of nearly half the young men examined as unfit for military service constituted a severe indictment of America, and that a long-range program requiring the coöperation of states, counties, cities, and townships would be initiated shortly in an attempt to remedy the underlying causes. Twenty per cent of the rejected men have physical defects which can and will be cured immediately with the cost borne by the federal government. Seventy per cent will require a longer period to effect a cure or are classified as incurable; the remaining 100,000 men are disqualified because they do not have the necessary equivalent of a fourth-grade education. For most of the larger municipalities this announcement will mean merely an expansion of present functions, but for most counties and townships it will mark their entrance into a new activity on an extensive scale.

Corruption Stirs Wicomico County, Maryland

Wholesale corruption may result in reorganization and reform of government in Wicomico County, Maryland. The five county commissioners have been found guilty of misfeasance and the clerk of the board has pleaded guilty to forgery, larceny, and misappropriation of county funds. Further indictments may be in process.

Public interest in the manager plan, which could be obtained under Maryland's constitutional county home rule provisions, is rising rapidly. Interest in the plan was given its greatest impetus when the grand jury bringing the indictments declared the governmental structure to be outmoded and recommended adoption of the manager system.

Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Votes on Charter Commission

Voters of Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) have just defeated a proposal to elect a commission to draft a new charter for the county.

According to the Cleveland Citizens League, the question of electing a county charter commission, and choosing fifteen commissioners to serve on it, was the major issue on Cuyahoga County's ballot this fall. The Board of Trustees and the City-County Charter Committee of the Citizens' League supported the question and placed a strong slate of candidates for the commission on the ballot.

Said the League in its bulletin, *Greater Cleveland,* for October 16:

"The existing form of county government, framed eighty years ago to meet the needs of sparsely populated rural counties, is wholly unsuited to the needs of a populous county like Cuyahoga, with greatly diversified functions, and full of municipalities.

"County government in Ohio is headless. No responsible officer or authority is provided by law to direct and supervise the expenditures in this county of nearly $20,000,000 annually for county purposes alone, by the fifteen separate and largely independent county departments and offices.

"Local government in the county is scattered through 103 political subdivisions which, together with the county, are spending in excess of $105,000,000 annually for local government.

"Cuyahoga County is in great need of a simplified, unified, and more efficient form of government."

County Reform Votes in New York

New York City had three proposals on the November 4 ballot for reform of county government within the city.[1] The first proposal, supported by numerous civic groups, won by a decisive majority; the other two, supported by the Democratic machine, were defeated.

In Westchester County, New York, civic groups failed in their efforts to cut the size of the Board of Supervisors from forty-four to eleven.[2]

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[1] See October REVIEW, p. 604.

[2] See September REVIEW, p. 545.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

National Defense Effort Hits Local Finance

Municipal bond sales show marked decrease

As THE year moved into its fourth and final quarter the effects of the national defense program on local government became more pronounced. And nowhere did coming events cast their shadows more plainly than in the field of local borrowing.

The slackening of new bond issues by states, counties, cities, school districts, and other local units has been increasingly evident in recent months, but by early October it was striking. Municipal bond sales in September 1941 were only $46,000,000 as compared with $77,000,000 in the same month last year, according to the *Daily Bond Buyer,* financial paper of the local bond field. The first week in October the *Bond Buyer's* tabulation of the visible supply of long-term municipal bonds showed only about $25,000,000 of local borrowing in sight, whereas a year earlier the amount had been $120,000,000. With financing for the first nine months of 1941 at about $981,000,000 as compared with $1,033,000,000 for the same period in 1940, it was evident that the curtailment of long-term local borrowing—probably to last for the "duration"—had set in.

The fall elections, usually the occasion for sizable bond authorizations, present a bare contrast to most recent years. To date only one major improvement program has been authorized, that of Houston, Texas, which early in October voted $8,470,000 of general improvement bonds for a long-term program of street, sewer, flood control, airport, and similar construction made necessary by the city's recent rapid growth. The largest issue on the November calendar is upwards of $50,000,000 electric revenue bonds to be voted on by San Francisco, where a municipally-owned power distribution system must be acquired if the city is to keep its franchise to draw power and water from the Yosemite National Park. No other impressive issues have been announced, and even elections on small issues are few and far between.

One striking indication of the paucity of new issues, especially high-grade issues of interest to fiduciaries and other critical investors, occurred in connection with the U. S. Treasury's $1,500,000,000 bond sale on October 9. At the opening of subscriptions for the issue New York's City Comptroller Joseph McGoldrick appeared with a $10,000,000 certified check as deposit on a $100,000,000 subscription for New York City sinking funds. The issue was greatly oversubscribed, and the city got only $12,500,000, but its readiness to take the large block of 2.5 per cent long-term obligations showed both its need for suitable investment outlets and the pressure for yields even moderately above those resulting from recently prevailing high bond prices.

Reasons Cited

Causes for the falling off in local borrowing are not hard to find. Uncertainty about ability to get materials to carry on construction has been a deterrent for some months now, as has the general tendency to curtail commitments in view of revenue uncertainties during coming and more critical years. The OPM's September and October priorities regulations on new construction will effect further curtailments, since materials will now be released only for urgent needs and projects intimately connected with national defense. A further factor is that the public works programs of recent years, accompanied by attractive federal grants and loans, had in many localities pretty well taken care of urgent needs even before that program was slacked off and national defense came to the fore.

Hence many communities find themselves in an excellent position to sit tight, restrict capital outlays to amounts which can be handled from current revenues, and plan a reservoir of new public works to take up the employment slack when the post-war readjustment period begins.

Conferences Discuss Matter

Further evidences of the impact of the national defense program on local finance came as the fall series of conventions and conferences of local officers and experts began. At New York, on September 3 and 4, a seven-state meeting of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada heard officials and other experts on the role of the municipality in national defense. Officials were present from Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. The National Tax Association, meeting at St. Paul October 13-16, discussed the problem. And at Knoxville on October 17 and 18 the Tennessee Municipal League and the University of Tennessee sponsored the second annual Southern Institute of Local Government, with problems posed by the defense program conspicuous in the topics to be discussed.

In all these gatherings the shapers of local fiscal policy were urged to get their financial houses in order to withstand the fiscal crisis which the experts virtually unanimously agree will accompany and follow our defense effort. Cutting of "non-essential" expenditures will be urged, a "moratorium on borrowing" will be proposed, and there will be no lack of exhortations to give the property taxpayer a "breathing spell" that he may brace himself for the next storm.

A Few Suggestions

Not to be outdone, this department has several concrete suggestions respecting 1942 budgets to pass along:

1. Curtail operating expenditures to the lowest limit consistent with the stable employment of those in the public service. Priorities unemployment is no longer around the corner—it is here; and expenditure slashing which drops jobs is just going to add to unemployment relief.

2. Budget for every needed maintenance expense, planning ahead for substitute materials and methods where priorities are likely to affect normal procedures. A good share of the borrowing of recent years has been to catch up on deferred maintenance: now, in a period of rising national income, is the time to avoid this burden in the next fiscal crisis.

3. Undertake no new capital improvements or extended services except where they are unavoidable because of population additions. Numerous defense centers, with a great influx of workers and their families, have no option; but extensions of facilities and services to realtors' speculatively-conceived subdivisions, to cite just one example, are now indefensible.

4. Appropriate for every penny of debt service which may legally be included in the budget. Debt retirement must be the order of the day; if bonds can be called prior to maturity, levy as much as taxpayers will stand to call them; if bonds are term, build sinking funds to required levels; if bonds are serial, meet every maturity during the coming year from current revenues.

The postponement of retirement by refunding will be inexcusable during 1942.

5. Balance the budget with a vengeance by making every estimate of revenues conservative, and by budgeting for every accumulated deficit. Cut out all appropriations from "surplus." Nineteen hundred and forty-two may be the last year of lush revenue collections—inflated revenue estimates or a carryover of deficiencies into 1943 may well mean serious trouble later.

The five points above add up to just one total—the accumulation of *reserves* to cushion what may be ahead. Hewing to the line on "ordinary" expenditures gives the taxpayer his breathing spell, which, theoretically at least, permits putting the private house in order. Meeting regular maintenance now gets it out of the way before revenue problems are critical; later, there may be no option about deferring it.

Debt retirement means the accumulation of an additional credit margin against which the community will have to borrow to meet post-war adjustment programs and perhaps even to meet war-time emergencies. And a budget conservatively balanced, without inflated revenue estimates, means the opportunity to accumulate a cash surplus in the municipal coffers to meet extraordinary demands as they arise.

If the experience of the early 1930's taught us anything, it was that the time to prepare for financial difficulties is in the years of high national income, not after the problem becomes acute. Hence a low tax rate for 1942 is not so important for local governments as is a tax rate high enough to put the local house in order.

State Taxes in 1941 up 7 Per Cent

State tax collections for the fiscal year ending in 1941 will approach $4,500,000,000, increasing 7 per cent above 1940, according to a preliminary report of *State Tax Collections: 1941*, released by the Bureau of the Census. This figure, which reflects the rapid acceleration of business activities in connection with national defense, is based upon trends from collections reported for the states in which 1941 fiscal years have already ended.

Most striking increases occurred in collections of state income taxes, which rose 17 per cent, and general sales taxes, which were up 13 per cent over last year. Other sales taxes also showed increased collections: from gasoline 8 per cent, alcoholic beverages 8 per cent, and tobacco products 6 per cent. Total collections of all types of sales taxes combined increased 9 per cent over 1940, or from $149,000,000, to a total of $1,796,000,000. Unemployment compensation taxes increased 4 per cent over 1940.

Among the states with fiscal years that have already ended all but Delaware reported increased collections. Thirteen states reported unusual gains over last year as follows: Michigan 18 per cent, Virginia 18 per cent, North Carolina 15 per cent, North Dakota 15 per cent, Georgia 13 per cent, Kentucky 13 per cent, Oregon 13 per cent, South Carolina 13 per cent, California 11 per cent, Washington 10 per cent, Wisconsin 10 per cent, Montana 9 per cent, and Tennessee 7 per cent.

In addition to California, Michigan, and Wisconsin, other states with collections exceeding $100,000,000 in 1941 reported increases over last year as follows: New York 5 per cent, Illinois 4 per cent, Indiana 3 per cent, and New Jersey 6 per cent.

Alcoholic beverage users are contributing 5 per cent more than last year, or a total of about $273,000,000 in the form of state sales and license taxes in 1941. Motorists furnished $1,326,000,000 in gasoline sales and motor vehicle license taxes in 1941, 8 per cent more than last year. Tobacco smokers paid $103,000,000 in 1941, 6 per cent above 1940, while sportsmen paid increased fees for hunting and fishing licenses of 5 per cent over last year.

Insurance Pays Tacoma Bridge Debt

On October 1, almost exactly a year after the bonds were sold to the public, the Washington Toll Bridge Authority called for payment the $3,750,000 bridge revenue bonds issued for the Tacoma Narrows Bridge, which collapsed in a high wind early in November 1940, about four months after it had been opened for service. The bridge had been fully covered by insurance[1] and earlier in the year $240,000 use and occupancy insurance had been paid covering several years interest requirements. The total insurance received was $4,240,000. The amount not needed for debt retirement, roughly $343,000, will be used for preliminary work on a new span which will begin at once.

St. Paul Seeks to Halt Taxpayer Migration

In common with most of our large cities, St. Paul, Minnesota, has suffered from a migration of population to the suburbs, with a corresponding loss of taxes and an intensification of the problems of decreased property values and heavier tax delinquency. Much of the adjacent suburban or rural area, on the other hand, receives various governmental services at little or no cost from the central city.

St. Paul's population increased only 5.9 per cent in the years 1930-1940, while the population of rural Ramsey County increased more than 68 per cent. In the same period real property in the city decreased 27 per cent in value in contrast to a 25 per cent increase in the county district. St. Paul's tax rate accordingly rose from about 70 mills in 1930 to 100 mills in 1940. Many property owners permitted their land to revert to the state for taxes, and by January 1941, nearly 16 per cent of all city parcels were under state ownership by forfeiture.

A special committee was appointed by the mayor to study the problem. It has recently made the following recommendations which the American Society of Planning Officials considers applicable to other metropolitan cities:

1. Revaluation of all properties to bring tax assessments in line with economic values of the land, and the prevention of further tax forfeitures to maintain the tax base;
2. Large-scale development of parking lots in the business district through wrecking of obsolete buildings and installation of parking meters on main streets;
3. Revision of the zoning ordinance to provide for more off-street parking and reduce the area zoned for nonresidential use;
4. Modernization of the building code to enable use of less expensive materials and thus encourage private and public housing;
5. Increase of all charges for services supplied by the city to suburban areas to meet the cost of service rendered;
6. Incorporation of a new tax source in the state tax system, the proceeds of which would be returned to cities.

Exemplifying the fifth of these recommendations the adjoining metropolitan city, Minneapolis, last month tripled fees for supplying fire protection to communities outside the city limits, after study of the city's experience over ten years in providing fire-fighting service to outside areas.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1940, p. 825.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

A Canadian Study of P. R.

Montreal Junior Board of Trade Reports

A SPECIAL committee of the Montreal Junior Board of Trade, at the request of the Montreal Board of Trade, has recently completed and published in sixty-three mimeographed pages a careful and comprehensive study on proportional representation. The theory, experience, and arguments pro and con are considered with regard to federal, provincial, and local elections, with special reference to Montreal. No attempt is made to present detailed recommendations for action, the purpose of the report being to present information on which action by others can be intelligently based. The general conclusions of the report are summarized by the committee as follows:

> 1. The Report is "pro P.R." This is the unintentional result of our studies. This bias has been allowed to remain in the interests of the report itself.
>
> 2. P.R. is not likely to be adopted as the result of legislative action alone. It will come about as the result of a crisis or as the result of public pressure.
>
> 3. This being so, its adoption will always presuppose very considerable public education.
>
> 4. The single transferable vote in multi-member constituencies is strongly recommended over all other types of P.R. and all these observations are predicated on this basis.
>
> 5. The claims of P.R. advocates, both for P.R. and against the present system, seem to be, in the main, justified. They are, however, based upon premises which some would reject. These are:
>
> (a) The opinions of the voters should be represented in their true proportions.
> (b) The majority shall rule and all considerable minorities shall be heard.
> (c) Voters should be given a wider freedom in the choice of representatives.
> (d) Representatives should be made more independent.
> (e) The entry of the country's ablest citizens into public life should be encouraged.
>
> 6. We suggest that the technical and mechanical difficulties of P.R. have been exaggerated by its opponents. On the other hand, regulations for P.R. elections should be drawn up with great care by persons having a thorough knowledge of both P.R. and the local conditions, and the actual conduct of elections and the subsequent count should be in the hands of a carefully trained staff.

In regard to Montreal the report concludes:

> 1. The main arguments against P.R. in the federal or provincial field do not apply to P.R. in the municipal field.
>
> 2. P.R. is particularly suited to combating political abuses common to municipal government.
>
> 3. We point out that all the preliminary steps necessary to the adoption of P.R. in Montreal—the redivision of the city, multi-member districts, a reduction in the number of council—have all been recommended as necessary reforms by the recent Commission on Modification,

under the chairmanship of ex-Mayor Raynault.

4. With regard to the redistribution of Montreal, we favor Plan 2 of the Metropolitan Commission. This plan divides Montreal into five districts. We feel that a council of twenty-five, with five from each district, would, under this division, result in a very fair representation of the races and interests involved.

So They're Swatting P. R. Again!

Editor's Note.—Under the title above the Yonkers, New York, *Herald Statesman* of October 23 carried an excellent editorial from which we are glad to reproduce the following excerpts:

In his fervent condemnation of proportional representation as a system of electing members of the Yonkers Common Council, Edward J. Murray, Democratic city and county chairman, promotes an important discussion—and, incidentally, lets the cat out of the bag.

His statement—blaming P.R. for the decline in Yonkers registration—reveals once again that the so-called political machines are scared to death of P.R., both for what it has done to them and for what it may yet do when the voters begin to realize fully the great value of P.R. in the striving for good government.

It isn't the first time that P.R. has been attacked by entrenched partisans—and it won't be the last.

Mr. Murray says he "honestly believes the registration decrease was due to lack of interest in the present method of voting, and by the present method I mean proportional representation."

Evidently he closes his eyes to the decline throughout the county and state, particularly in municipalities having the old-fashioned system under which political machines hold cities rigidly in their grip year after year.

"Many persons who were requested by our workers to register," continued Mr. Murray, "expressed themselves as dissatisfied with the confusion of P.R. and said they were not interested and would not register."

That this cannot possibly be a common complaint was proved amply two years ago, when Yonkers first experimented with P.R. Men and women went to the polls without any show of confusion. They found it to be simplicity itself. They merely picked their favorite candidates as they pick horses at a race track, putting down their preferences in numerical order—putting numbers alongside the names of their chosen candidates—1, 2, 3, 4, etc. Why confusion?

That there is considerable dissatisfaction among party members worried over the controls and over disturbed patronage can hardly be surprising for, if it has done nothing else, P.R. has proved in many cities—particularly in New York and in Cincinnati—that it can rout the political spoilsmen and keep them at bay.

P.R. has proved—in other cities and also here in Yonkers—that it makes representative government a reality instead of a sham. . . .

P.R. is the only method by which the people are allowed full representation, the sure approach to democracy. Naturally, political leaders regard the old plan as perfect, because under it the people do not get the representation to which they are entitled.

Yonkers knows this. New York knows this. It was possible, heretofore, for Yonkers Democrats or Republicans to gain a slight majority in the city and still capture virtually complete control of the Common Council. In New York, Tammany Hall—obtaining only 65 per cent of the votes—was able to capture sixty-four out of sixty-five aldermanic posts. Well, those days are over, both in Yonkers and in New York.

For P.R. cuts through all the fancy gerrymandering over districting, breaking down that monopoly of party machine control, by recognizing the political rights of the voters in proportion to their numbers—and nothing else.

P.R. emancipates the voter from being forced to vote for the candidate of one of two political machines—too often a choice between two evils.

Under P.R. minority groups get representation if they can get enough votes for a quota. The plurality party gets only that to which its numbers entitle it—and no more.

There are some persons who are concerned with the fact that this campaign doesn't have any of the hot-and-bothered pitched battling which we used to have between Democratic and Republican nominees—shouting and name-calling and mud-slinging over issues which often were fake though colorful, howling promises which faded with the dawn after Election Day.

Under P.R. a candidate doesn't have to go in for that stuff. He can stand for definite principles, with the assurance that if they find favor with a group big enough to give him the quota, he will be elected.

Under P.R., the candidate doesn't have to straddle issues, he doesn't have to try to please everybody. He can be himself—and he can know that, if he is elected, he is elected for his own honor and integrity and morality and character, instead of because of the strength of his side or the blind allegiance of partisans, led by the nose by somebody at party headquarters. . . .

And we hope they [the voters] will recognize the tremendous power each voter holds in his palm—tremendous power for good government if he or she wills it—thanks to proportional representation. P.R. can yet rescue and truly "rebuild" Yonkers, if the people but use it to that end!

THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from Page 643)

Governmental Research of the University of Washington, in coöperation with the Washington State Library.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Defense

Official Defense Publications. By Jerome K. Wilcox. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. iii, 106 pp. mimeo.

Organizing for Defense. California State Council of Defense, Berkeley, 1941. 31 pp.

Housing

A Survey of Housing Authorities in Thirty-Three Cities. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, in coöperation with League of Oregon Cities, Eugene, 1941. 9 pp. mimeo.

Libraries

Serving the Unserved. Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, Seattle, in coöperation with the Washington State Library, Olympia, 1941. 27 pp. mimeo.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, in coöperation with League of Oregon Cities, Eugene, 1941. 16 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Determining Work Loads for Professional Staff in a Public Welfare Agency. By Herbert A. Simon, William R. Divine, E. Myles Cooper, and Milton Chernin. Bureau of Public Aministration, University of California, Berkeley, 1941. xii, 94 pp.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

What is Democracy? By Charles E. Merriam. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. 115 pp. $1.00.

At a time when so much soul searching is taking place with regard to the democratic process, this little volume, containing five lectures given by Dr. Merriam at the University of Chicago in October and November 1940, under the auspices of the Walgreen Foundation, meets a real need.

The subject of democracy has been well nigh written to death. Hysteria has been mingled with much of what our old friend Professor Fairlie of Illinois describes so well in the term "guff." There is none of either in this little book which breathes a healthy and refreshing air of common sense into the whole subject. Take this for example:

"There are those who say that democracy is dying because some democratic states have gone down. But it does not affect the principle of democracy if a nation of eighty millions beats down a nation of eight millions."

Not that Professor Merriam is not a dreamer of dreams. Dreams, he infers, are the stuff of which achievement is made. "Have you no faith," he asks, "as well as reason and will? Faith . . . nerves the arm and sustains the assumptions of lovers of liberty in all times and places."

But Dr. Merriam is practitioner as well as dreamer. He answers first the basic challenge of the critics of democracy in terms both of history and logic. Second, he defines democracy not as a "mere form, a mere mechanism, . . . to be worshipped as an idol" but as a "mode of political coöperation through which the human personality may find the finest and richest expression of human values." He examines this mode in terms of its products, "equality" and "liberty." Third, he, as few others today, sees clearly that there are two jobs before us: (1) the examination of the "underlying principles and goals of democracy" and (2) "an equally painstaking examination of the ways and means of putting these principles into practice." This second is, of course, the job of public administration. We have learned much about public administration in the last quarter century. Dr. Merriam would be the first to say we still have much to learn.

H. P. J.

Tax Barriers to Trade. By Mark Eisner, etc. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1941. viii, 344 pp. $2.50.

This volume preserves in permanent form the papers presented at the 1940 meeting of the Tax Institute, formerly the Tax Policy League. These meetings and the symposia to which they give rise have become a happily anticipated annual event. The subject is one of considerable current interest. Its various phases, with the possible exception of the protective tariff, are well covered by interesting papers chiefly concerned with interstate barriers. One group deals with highway barriers, another with barriers to trade in particular commodities such as margarine and alcoholic beverages, a third with barriers to special forms of marketing such as chain stores and itinerant vendors. A whole section is devoted to the somewhat extraneous and highly technical matters of double taxation of incomes derived from international trade. The book concludes with several papers on "What can be done about trade barriers?"—meaning again, barriers to interstate trade.

As in all such symposia, the papers vary greatly in merit. This has peculiar disadvantages in the discussion of highly controversial subjects such as highway barriers. In that case a very able statement of the railroad point of view leaves the case of the farmer and the trucker at considerable disadvantage. Indeed, a number of the papers in this and the two following sections do little more than express the attitudes of the interest groups represented by their writers. In this connection it is unfortunate that the cities which come in for a drubbing on the subject of itinerant vendor licenses were unrepresented at the Tax Institute gathering.

On the other hand, many of the papers, among them those on "Barring the Use of Margarine through Taxation," "Tax Barriers to Trade with Respect to Alcoholic Beverages," "Protectionism and Chain Store Taxes," and "Judicial Trends with Respect to Trade Barriers," are of conspicuous merit.

As for solving the problem of interstate barriers to trade, the suggestions of the contributors to that section of the symposium ring no bells. They can be summed up as coöperation between states, federal leadership and federal pressure through grants in aid. Human selfishness, when supported by strong blocks of votes, and the inertia of vested interests, entrenched in the constitutional privileges of the states, will probably continue from time to time to produce protectionist state legislation.

By way of compensation, however, some obstacles to trade, coupled with the other inconsistencies and conflicts in our tax system, are a low price to pay for freedom and self-government. Furthermore, a candid reading of *Tax Barriers to Trade* leaves the encouraging impression—intentional or not—that current tax obstructions to interstate trade are not a serious menace to national prosperity. Those that are not justified measures of self-protection are limited in scope and not infrequently, as Professor Maurice Lee points out in the case of chain store taxes, ineffective.

THOMAS H. REED

New York City

Canada in Peace and War. Edited by Chester Martin. New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. xix, 244 pp. $1.75.

This book contains a series of eight studies in national trends since 1914, and is issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Professor Martin, under whose editorship the studies have been published, has contributed an illuminating foreword and a first chapter on "Trends in Canadian Nationhood." Seven other chapters are included as follows: "Federal Relations in Canada since 1914," by D. C. Creighton; "Economic Trends," by H. A. Innis; "Population Problems and Policies," by V. W. Bladen; "Canada and the Last War," by F. H. Underhill; "Canadian External Relations," by G. P. De T. Glazebrook; "Canadian and Imperial War Cabinets," by R. MacGregor Dawson; and "Democracy in the Overseas Dominions," by Alexander Brady.

While these studies do not include some important aspects of Canadian development, such as trends in party politics and problems of race and social adjustment, they do cover a rather wide range of significant topics and on the whole they are remarkably well integrated. Professor Creighton's study is an offshoot of his work for the Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. It discusses one important phase of the situation which led to creation of the so-called Rowell-Sirois Commission. Professor Innis presents a broad survey of economic trends in Canada which is both impressive and disquieting. The fourth, fifth, and sixth studies are mainly historical in their treatment of the subject matter. In the seventh study Professor Dawson discusses the flexibility of the cabinet system in Great Britain and the Dominions which permits the establishment of war cabinets, absolved from departmental and parliamentary routine, in speeding up war administration. Finally, Professor Brady presents an interesting study of democracy in the Dominions, particularly in Canada.

The book has apparently been written as much to educate Americans as to interest Canadians. For this purpose it would seem to be an excellent contribution. It might have been somewhat improved by including an index.

A. E. Buck
Institute of Public Administration

Additional Books and Reports Received

Education

America's Free Schools. New York, Council for Democracy, 1941. 42 pp. Ten cents.

Elementary School Classrooms. By N. L. Englehardt and School Planning Associates. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. xvi, 80 pp. illus. $3.

Financing of Schools as a Function of State Departments of Education. By Timon Covert. Washington, D. C., U. S. Office of Education, 1941. vi, 34 pp. Ten cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Know Your Community as a Basis for Understanding the Schools' Problems. By Bess Goodykoontz. Washington, D. C., U. S. Office of Education, 1941. 35 pp. Ten cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

The Literature of Adult Education. By Ralph A. Beals and Leon Brody. New York, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. xvii, 493 pp. $2.

Practices and Concepts Relating to City Boards of Education. By W. S. Deffenbaugh. Washington, D. C., U. S. Office of Education, 1941. iii, 27 pp. Five cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Legislative Bodies

Congressional Procedure. By Floyd M. Riddick. Boston. Chapman and Grimes, 1941. xix, 387 pp. $4.

Municipalities

Municipal Legislation of 1941. A Review of State Legislation of Interest to Municipalities. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1941. 20 pp. mimeo.

Public Works

Long-Range Programming of Municipal Public Works. Report of the Public Works Committee to the National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. vii, 72 pp. Thirty cents.

Tort Liability

Tort Liability of Municipalities in Massachusetts. With Special Reference to Its Administration in Boston, 1934-1938. By Edgar Fuller. Cambridge, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, 1941. iv, 56 pp.

Trade Barriers

A Modern Toll Gate. Comparative Study of Taxes and Industrial Development in Kentucky and Neighboring States. Louisville, Kentucky Tax Research Association, 1941. 16 pp. charts.

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Barnet Hodes

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

League Holds Annual Election

The League's annual business meeting for the election of officers was held at the close of the dinner session of the Annual Conference on Government in St. Louis on November 18. The report of the Nominating Committee, composed of Carl H. Pforzheimer, Chairman, E. A. Cottrell, Clarence E. Francis, George H. Gallup, and Herman C. Loeffler, was presented by Mr. Loeffler, as follows:

For *President*: John G. Winant, Ambassador to Great Britain

For *Members of the Council*: (* indicates new member)

Richard S. Childs, New York City, *Chairman*

*George Arents, Jr., Rye, Westchester County, New York

*Carter W. Atkins, director of the Governmental Research Institute, Hartford

*James L. Beebe, civic leader, former president of Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce

*Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research, Dun & Bradstreet

R. J. Colbert, University of Wisconsin

Philip Cornick, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C.

John Cowles, president of the *Minneapolis Star-Journal,* director of The Associated Press

*Karl Detzer, roving editor of *The Reader's Digest*

Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University

Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., *The Queen's Work,* St. Louis

Harry Drackett, president of Cincinnati City Charter Committee

C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin

Clarence Francis, president of General Foods Corporation, formerly commissioner of finance, Bronxville, New York

*Arnold Frye, attorney, New York City

George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion

*Albert W. Hawkes, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce

Robert C. Hendrickson, member of the New Jersey Senate

C. G. Hoag, Philadelphia, trustee of the C. F. Taylor Trust, honorary secretary of the Proportional Representation League

Robert W. Johnson, chairman of Johnson and Johnson, former mayor and councilman of Highland Park, New Jersey

*Francis V. Keesling, civic leader and chairman of Board of Freeholders which drafted San Francisco's present charter

Ralph B. Maltby, president of the St. Regis Paper Company, finance commissioner of Bronxville, New York

Mark Matthews, immediate past president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, formerly head of the legislative division of the New York City Corporation Counsel's office

*Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Washington, D. C., and Mt. Kisco, New York

Anne M. Mumford, executive secretary of the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles

*John Nuveen, Jr., president of John Nuveen & Company, Chicago

Fred N. Oliver, general counsel for the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks

*Thomas I. Parkinson, president of the Equitable Insurance Company

Frank L. Polk, attorney, New York City

Lawson Purdy, president of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City

Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati

*Henry L. Shattuck, member of city council, Boston; senior fellow of President and Fellows of Harvard University

Harold E. Stassen, Governor of Minnesota

Norman S. Taber, New York, consultant on municipal finance

Henry M. Waite, Washington, D. C., former president of National Municipal League

Russell E. Watson, attorney and civic leader, New Brunswick, New Jersey

H. B Wells, president of Indiana University

*Richard Weil, Jr., president of L. Bamberger & Company, Newark; active in New Jersey governmental improvement efforts

For *Honorary Vice Presidents*:

Charles A. Beard, historian, New Milford, Connecticut

H. L. Brittain, managing director of the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research

Henry Bruere, New York, treasurer and trustee of Institute of Public Administration

Charles C. Burlingham, former president of New York Board of Education

Harold S. Buttenheim, New York, editor of *The American City*

Harry Woodburn Chase, chancellor of New York University

John N. Edy, assistant administrator of Federal Works Agency, Washington

Samuel S. Fels, Philadelphia, trustee of the C. F. Taylor Trust

Mayo Fesler, director of the Citizens League of Cleveland

Russell Forbes, commissioner of purchase, New York City

A. R. Hatton, Northwestern University

Frank O. Lowden, Sinnissippi, Illinois

Seabury C. Mastick, Pleasantville, N. Y.

Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago

Frank H. Morse, Lehman Brothers, New York

William E. Mosher, dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

William B. Munro, California Institute of Technology

Chester H. Rowell, San Francisco *Chronicle*

Miss Belle Sherwin, Willoughby, Ohio, formerly president of the National League of Women Voters

Mrs. F. Louis Slade, New York City

Charles P. Taft, assistant director of the Office of the Defense Health and Welfare Services

Lent D. Upson, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

Richard Welling, New York, director of the National Self-Government League

The nominating committee reported that President Winant accepted the nomination for president again this year on condition that matters of immediate concern which ordinarily would be determined by the president be dealt with by a small steering committee to which he could delegate such presidential authority as might be necessary and desirable, such committee to be composed of the following men with possible additions from time to time to be designated by the president: George H. Gallup and Clarence Francis, members of the Council, and Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer of the League.

The committee's report was adopted unanimously.

Howard P. Jones, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Conference at St. Louis

IT WILL profit us little to save democracy in the world unless we keep it working soundly at home. It is particularly reassuring, therefore, in the midst of wars and alarms, to find such a robust concern over local, county, and state government as was demonstrated at the National Municipal League's recent National Conference on Government at St. Louis.

The conference was the best attended of all those held annually for the last forty-seven years. Educators, researchers, civic leaders, public officials, journalists and others gathered from as far away as both sea coasts and from our most northern and most southern states. The meetings of the National Association of Civic Secretaries and the Proportional Representation League, which were held at the same time, also were unusually well attended.

From the time Immediate Past President C. A. Dykstra opened the conference with an address at luncheon November 17 until the gavel fell on a dinner meeting the evening of November 19 at which a Missouri state committee on constitutional revision was organized, there was a rich feast of information and opinion. Noteworthy was the greater than ordinary tendency of the audiences to participate freely in discussions.

The annual dinner, which Ambassador John G. Winant, the League's president, addressed by radio from London, and which Dr. George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, and Miss Caroline Haslett, chairman of the British Association of Business and Professional Women, addressed in person, was attended by a capacity crowd of six hundred, with many being turned away. Other hundreds failed to find places at the three luncheons.

During the three days speakers and participants numbered 180 at the seventeen sessions, some of which ran concurrently. There was a total attendance at all sessions of about 4,700 persons, many of whom were, of course, "repeaters." The heavy attendance from St. Louis and the surrounding area was due largely to the leadership and activity of the local committee on arrangements.

To measure the potential accomplishments of a conference such as this is difficult. Frequently years pass before many of the seeds sown come to fruition. But beneficial results already have been felt in Missouri and elsewhere and unquestionably will extend their influence widely. Many of the addresses at the conference will be published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, beginning with the January issue.

History's penchant for repeating itself is indicated by the aptness with which the opinion of the committee in charge of the League's first conference in January of 1894 applies to this year's conference. In the introduction to the proceedings of the first conference, the committee wrote:

> The conference was successful from every point of view: it awakened renewed interest in the subject and effectively increased the zeal of those already engaged in the work; it aroused from indifference and apathy those who had heretofore considered the municipal problem as one of small importance; it brought the subject of needed reforms forcibly before the minds of those who [attended] . . . ; it showed that the subject is actually receiving careful study and earnest attention from our ablest and foremost citizens; it has created that *esprit de corps* among the workers that will be a source of inspiration and strength; and it has given a substantial impetus to the cause in . . . every city where the evils of municipal maladministration have arrested the attention of its citizens.

Local Offset for National Debt

NOW that we are deeply involved in a "shooting war," it is more necessary than ever that local, county, and state governments forego every activity possible which uses man power and materials and that they move positively to put their financial houses in order. To take this situation as an excuse for new spending and new debt by seeking to make old pet projects look essential for the defense of the country will be to invite future disaster.

Large scale spending by the federal government is inevitable. Taxes will increase but not enough to prevent an unprecedented growth of federal debt, possibly to proportions which might make it difficult for Washington to carry out the postwar program now planned to make easier the return to a peace-time economy.

Even before we were in the war, defense expenditures were one and a half billion dollars a month. Soon they will reach two billions. This large sum, twice as great as the total tax collections per month for the purposes of all governments in the United States in 1940, means that the federal government will borrow larger and ever larger amounts. How high the national debt will go is anyone's guess. Nothing can stop it but the removal of the need for the defense program.

The ideal condition would be for local, county, and state governments to keep pace—in reverse!—with this changing debt picture. It will be remembered that local debt declined or remained static during the first World War and that local public works were considerably curtailed and postponed. During the post-war period, however, when the federal government was reducing debt, debts at other levels of government were increasing. Thus some degree of balance was maintained, as it should be now. The taxpayers who contract debt as citizens of the nation are the same as those who contract debt as local, county, and state citizens. They would be wise to emulate the example of the farmer whose family goes without a new car the year he buys a new tractor.

Fortunately, the general trend of

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Shall We Tax Government Bonds?

Yes

By **EDWARD H. FOLEY, JR.**

General Counsel
United States Treasury Department

IN EARLIER days, when conditions were much simpler and the tax load much lighter, and before the income tax was universally recognized as one of the most just means for distributing the costs of government, it was a common practice for government to issue its own obligations freed from the burden of taxation. It was in the mental climate of these earlier days that there grew up the rather uncritical assumption, translated into judicial decisions, that our federal system of government impliedly required, though the constitution did not say so, a reciprocal immunity from taxation on the income of obligations of the federal and state governments respectively.

The increasing amount of wealth withdrawn from the taxing power of the nation and the states and the dislocation this has wrought to public finance, as well as the unfair consequences of these immunities when judged by present standards of social justice, have led statesmen and economists to insist on the necessity of calling a halt to the practice. With practical unanimity they declare that such a procedure is no longer justified either by economics or good morals. Every administration, Republican as well as Democratic, from President Wilson to President Roosevelt, has reported to Congress the

(Continued on Page 681)

No

By **HENRY EPSTEIN**

Solicitor General, State of New York
and Chairman
Conference on State Defense

FOR the past three years state and municipal officials have been successful in their opposition to a federal tax on state and local securities. Before discussing the reasons for such opposition, let us consider the political ideal of local self-government and why it is worth fighting for.

This country was settled at different times, by different peoples. Their forms of local government were varied and were suited to their respective manners and customs. Despite these differences there were deep political beliefs common to the people who considered themselves Virginians, Pennsylvanians, or New Englanders. Among these were an unyielding desire for self-government and a passionate resentment of arrogant central government, administered from outside their borders.

It is familiar history that this hatred of centralized government was carried over into the Articles of Confederation. They declared, "each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

And even when the compelling necessities of national defense brought about the adoption of the constitution, not one of the states was willing to sacrifice its sovereignty and independence in local affairs. The love of local government ran strong and the dangers of centralization were understood far better than they are today.

> The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

In those summary words of the Bill of Rights the Fathers emphasized their determination to be free from the ubiquitous finger and arbitrary will of a centralized government. And in that document they trusted for protection against the totalitarianism they so greatly hated and feared.

Yet the states and cities are convinced today, as they have been for one hundred and fifty years, that federal taxation of local bonds threatens their sovereignty and independence in local affairs. They are convinced that it would inevitably lead to complete federal control of the fiscal powers of local government. They are convinced that it would increase local taxes, that it would produce no substantial federal revenue for years to come, and that the much publicized theory of tax evasion through exempt securities has been grossly exaggerated. Finally, they are convinced that such a disturbance of federal-state relations at this time would not assist but would hamper the national defense effort.

Efforts to obtain federal control of state financing have been going on in one form or another for the past twenty years. But in May of 1938 the drive to tax state and municipal bonds took the form of a concerted and well publicized effort of the Treasury Department.

Local Officials Organize

State and municipal officials were quick to see its dangers. They immediately coördinated their efforts in opposition to the proposal through the organization of the Conference on State Defense. The united and, so far, successful opposition of the states and cities through that organization is a commentary on the ability of organized state and local officials to defend and maintain local government today even against the most powerful federal attacks.

The Conference on State Defense functions through a committee of state and municipal officers who direct its policies and activities. It is staffed by a small group of young lawyers and economists who are assigned to the work by state agencies and who receive no salary or other compensation from the conference. The cost of the conference's activities has been defrayed by the states, by state agencies, and by the cities themselves. The conference has undertaken the necessary legal and economic research, has prepared briefs, and has presented the case for local government before Congressional committees.

But in a real sense the defeat of this proposal before the Seventy-Sixth Congress and, so far, before the Seventy-Seventh, has been the victory of the states and cities themselves and of the men who represent them. When this proposal was beaten on the floor of the Senate in September 1940, it was because the local viewpoint had been explained to each of the sixty Senators who voted against it by men in each Senator's own state whom he knew and whom he trusted in their capacity as local officials.

The plausible excuses which are offered by the Treasury in support of its assertion of federal power to tax the interest paid by local government on its bonds are appeals to "mob propaganda." Those excuses ultimately come down to two basic arguments: that local securities offer a haven of tax refuge for the wealthy, and that their immunity impedes "national defense."

The disarming simplicity of this tax evasion argument is its most dangerous feature. It is only too easy to embellish the argument with indignant reference to "million-dollar tax-free incomes." On the other hand, its refutation requires detailed consideration of the real facts, and realities have a stubborn way of insisting upon their own complexity.

Of course, everyone who purchases an exempt security pays a tax to the issuing government since he accepts a lower interest yield. The Treasury has to admit that the citizens of a county pay a much lower interest rate on their county bonds because of their immunity from federal taxation. But they point out that, because of the high surtaxes on large incomes, the very wealthy get a greater tax benefit through their ownership of such bonds than do bondholders in the middle income brackets. They say that this disturbs the ideal of "progression" in the tax system, and they have declared their holy war against the states and counties and cities with the resounding, if somewhat demagogic, war cry of "soak the rich," and with Treasury propaganda releases which have actually sunk to the level of describing "millionaires lolling on the Florida beaches clipping tax-exempt coupons."

Little Tax Exemption

Now the truth is that only a very small proportion of tax-exempt securities are really in the hands of persons of great wealth. The overwhelming majority of these bonds are to be found in public trust funds, sinking funds, banking reserves, insurance companies, and in other depositories which are not affected at all by high personal surtaxes. The Secretary of the Treasury himself reported early this year that of the increase in the public debt since 1933, 46 per cent was absorbed by banks, 18 per cent by insurance companies, and only 11 per cent by individuals and non-financial corporations. The same report points out that in 1935 the absorption of government securities by banks and insurance companies was nearly equal to the total increase in public issues. And the Secretary of the Treasury concludes:

> This institutionalization of investment has been one of the significant phenomena that has been noted in the capital markets. Individuals and non-financial corporations appear to have preferred to place their funds available for investment in bank accounts and insurance policies, instead of undertaking directly the investment of these funds in securities.

In my opinion that conclusion is in flat contradiction of the Treasury's argument that the bonds of states and local governments are being made the instruments of wholesale tax evasion.

Again, studies of the Treasury's estate tax records show that an average of only 5.63 per cent of the capital in large estates has been invested in state and local securities, while 50 per cent of the capital in such estates was invested in corporate stocks and bonds. So conclusive are these facts, as contrasted with the Treasury releases about "Florida millionaires," that one of the Treasury's own witnesses was forced to admit before the Senate Committee that:

> As study of the composition of estates of rich decedents shows, our wealthy men still keep the major part of their wealth in common stocks. Tax-exempt bonds never gave anyone control over an enterprise. And the power and the opportunities for capital gain that inhere in common stocks are not to be surrendered lightly—even for a substantial tax saving—by the men who can afford to own them.

More recently and, as it were, shifting its argument to the prevailing winds, the Treasury has discovered that the federal government should tax local bonds in the interests of "national defense." We must first observe that the Treasury says that they only wish to tax *future* issues of local securities, and that everyone concedes that no substantial federal revenue could be obtained from taxing *future* issues for at least thirty or forty years, that is, until the present outstanding securities were replaced by taxable issues.

Local Governments and Defense

Furthermore, national defense calls for the fullest coöperation of federal and local governments. It requires the strengthening rather than the burdening of local credit. Local government is being called upon to provide roads, protection, water, and many other emergency governmental services in the furtherance of the defense program. Thus, in an article on county government in the *Municipal Year Book*[1] for 1941, Paul W. Wager, associate professor of political science at the University of North Carolina, says:

> The first call on highway funds will be to improve certain primary roads designated as military roads. . . . Numerous counties will spend large sums building or enlarging airports. Additional armories will probably be built. A new emphasis will be put on vocational and industrial training. There will be additional housing projects, particularly for defense workers. . . . There is even a probability that there will be borrowing and an increase in public debt.

Nothing would prove of greater injury to this defense coöperation than for the federal government to tax local bonds, to increase local interest costs and, at this time, to press an issue which has been a source of irritation between the federal government and the states for the past twenty years. As Mayor F. H. LaGuardia of New York said a short time ago—and in this connection we may bear in mind that he is chairman of the Joint Board of Defense of the United States and Canada:

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[1] International City Managers' Association.

> As long as we have our system of dual government, and we will have it for a long time, then I say that there should be complete cooperation and understanding between all subdivisions of government and that this is no time for the federal government to cause irritations by seeking to tax municipalities and other subdivisions of the state. . . . The idea of taxing these securities might have been thought of one hundred and fifty years ago. But it wasn't. It was quite clear then that one government shouldn't tax the other. And now, of all times, is the wrong time to make a change.

So much for the Treasury's side of the case. The fiscal and economic arguments of local government in opposition to the proposal may be summed up as follows:

Federal taxation of the income of state and municipal securities will result in an immediate increase in local interest rates. This result is certain: it will be directly imposed upon local treasuries, and it is so substantial that in many cases it will threaten municipal bankruptcy. This is the unanimous opinion of all experts, even those of the Treasury Department itself. The Comptroller of New York said that New York State securities would have to absorb an interest increase of ¾ of 1 per cent, and he estimated that in the case of securities of lower credit standing the increase would be well over one full percentage point. The Comptroller of the City of New York stated that that city would be forced to increase its interest rate by ⅞ of 1 per cent to 1¼ per cent, which would cost the people of New York City an additional $18,500,000 a year in municipal taxes. Bear in mind that these figures mean an increase in the cost of local financing ranging from 20 per cent to 50 per cent.

Mr. Jesse Jones confirms the foregoing estimates by insisting that state or local bonds purchased by the RFC contain a provision automatically increasing the interest rate by ¾ of 1 per cent if, during the life of the bond, it should be taxed by the federal government.

State and local officials welcomed the issuance of the first taxable ¾ per cent five-year United States Treasury notes in December 1940, as it offered the first actual test of the question of increased cost. Unlike Treasury bonds, the interest on which was only partially exempt, Treasury notes had always enjoyed complete exemption. When the taxable ¾ per cent notes were offered at a cost of .75 per cent to the government, there were similar exempt notes outstanding selling to yield .44 per cent. The *New York Times*, commenting on the new issue, said:

> If the new notes had been issued tax-free, as usual, the rate necessary would have been ½ per cent, the taxable feature making the difference of ¼ per cent in annual interest.

Here we find the Treasury paying almost 50 per cent more on short term borrowing because the notes were taxable.

These conclusions are not merely harbingers of increased cost, they go to the very power of local government to finance itself at all and to continue as autonomous government.

Up to the present, as has already been pointed out, Congress has recognized the soundness and propriety of state and local opposition and has repeatedly rejected the Treasury's recommendations.

Now a Judicial Fight

In January of this year the Treasury again renewed its efforts: first, to have the House Ways and Means Committee include federal taxation of municipal bonds in the debt limitation bill. Rebuffed by the committee in this move, the Treasury then prepared a draft of a statute dealing solely with this issue, and finally attempted to have the proposal included in the general tax revision bill of 1941. It was thereupon advised by Congressional leaders that further attempts to push the issue would invite a Treasury defeat not only in the committee but on the floor of the House.

The Treasury has now opened the fight also on the judicial front. Rebuffed for the time being by Congress, it turns to the courts and seeks what would amount to judicial amendment to the constitution. On March 14 the Secretary of the Treasury called in the press and read a statement which opened as follows:

> The Bureau of Internal Revenue tonight began a test action intended ultimately to prove in the courts that the federal government has the right under the constitution to tax the income from state and municipal securities.
>
> Its first step was to send notices of deficiency to seven bondholders of the Port of New York Authority.

In order that we may understand the significance and objectives of this "about-face" in the Treasury's attack on state and local bonds, it is necessary to consider briefly the constitutional and statutory basis of the doctrine that, under our governmental system, the federal government has no power to tax the interest paid on the bonds of the states or state agencies.

The Supreme Court has consistently recognized the necessity, under our constitutional system, of protecting the federal government from taxation by the states and the states from taxation by the federal government. This doctrine of "reciprocal immunity" arises out of the very concept of American constitutional government as a federated unity of forty-eight independent and interdependent commonwealths.

In 1894 Congress attempted to tax state and municipal bond interest. In 1895, in the case of *Pollock* v. *Farmers' Loan and Trust Company,* the Supreme Court held such a tax to be unconstitutional, saying that:

> The instrumentalities employed by the states in execution of their powers are not subjects of taxation by the [federal] government . . . ; and any tax imposed directly upon interest derived from bonds issued by a municipal corporation for public purposes, under the authority of the state whose instrumentality it is, is a burden upon the exercise of the powers of that corporation which only the state creating it may impose.

In affirmation of this cardinal constitutional doctrine, Mr. Justice Stone has more recently said that "this Court has repeatedly held that those agencies through which either government immediately exercises its sovereign powers are immune from the taxing power of the other."

The test cases now brought against the Port of New York Authority and the Triborough Bridge Authority are avowedly an attempt to persuade the Supreme Court to reverse the whole doctrine of reciprocal immunity as enunciated in the Pollock case.

Consequences of Reversal

If the Treasury is successful in these cases, that will be the end of the constitutional immunity of state and municipal bonds, because the Court will have established the right and power of the federal government to tax the borrowing power of local government. And let's not fool ourselves, the power to tax our local borrowing is the power to control the financing of local government, and so to control local government itself.

The states and cities will continue their coöperation throughout the presentation of the Port Authority and Triborough Bridge Authority cases in the courts. But the serious consequences of federal taxation of local governments and the determination that the tenth amendment, with its guarantee of the continued sovereignty of the states, shall not be scrapped, must be made manifest by the efforts, the voices, and the recorded convictions of all who are interested in the preservation of our dual system of government.

In America the panacea of centralizing all our governmental machinery in the District of Columbia is not a new phenomenon. No one questions the fact that we have to take, and are taking today, a broader view of the functions of the federal government. But that in itself is the more compelling reason why we should approach the problem of the expansion of federal powers with the knowledge of what has happened in the past and what is happening elsewhere today. It is the more compelling reason why we should stop and consider the spheres that our democracy, and indeed the American spirit itself, reserves to the individual and his local government. If we can do this, and do it wisely, we shall be able to add to the necessary powers of the federal government and yet avoid the dangers of concentrated power and a totalitarian state.

The fight which state and municipal officers throughout the country have waged for the past several years against this federal attempt to tax and to control local financing, is the battleground upon which we shall settle the issue of complete centralization versus continued local self-government. At the close of the Senate debate in September 1940, Senator Austin of Vermont, who had in many respects been the leader of the fight on the Senate floor, said that if the people only understood the real issue which had been fought out in the Senate they would have understood why, so far as concerned the future form of American government, it was the most vital and important issue that had come before the Senate in the Seventy-Sixth Congress.

SHALL WE TAX GOVERNMENT BONDS?—YES

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growing evils of tax-exempt securities.

The immunity from reciprocal taxation of the income from federal and state obligations cannot today be deemed essential or even needful to the maintenance of our federal system. In no other federal system is such immunity recognized. Although the income tax has been widely adopted, tax-exempt securities are peculiarly an American problem.

The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on which such immunity rests were made before the inter-relation of nondiscriminatory federal and state income taxes was fully understood. The legal reasons originally assigned to justify such immunity cannot stand in the light of experience and cannot be reconciled with the reasoning of the court in later cases. As Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, in his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1925, stated: "Looking at the proposition logically, there is no reason for the existence of tax-exempt securities. There ought to be no refuge to which the wealthy men can go and avoid income taxes when the federal government needs the money."

On April 25, 1938, and again on January 19, 1939, the President laid before Congress his statement that a fair and effective income tax and a huge perpetual reservoir of tax-exempt bonds could not exist successfully side by side. He recommended that private income from future issues of government securities be made subject to the general federal and state income tax laws.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives held extensive public hearings during the summer of 1939 on the terminating of tax-exempt securities. A special Senate committee also studied the subject.

The report of the Ways and Means Committee has not yet been made. On September 18, 1940, however, the special Senate committee recommended by a vote of four to two that: (1) the income of all future bond issues of the United States, or any of its agencies, should be subject to both federal and state income tax laws, and (2) the income from future issues of state and municipal bonds should be subject to the income tax laws of the federal government.

The first part of the recommendation has already been acted upon favorably so far as federal income taxation is concerned. At the beginning of this year Congress enacted the Public Debt Act of 1941 which subjected all bills, notes, and bonds of the United States, or any of its agencies, issued after February 28, 1941, to federal income taxation. The fact that the federal government is not hesitant about issuing fully taxable securities, at a time when it faces the greatest financing program in the history of the nation, is the best possible assurance that states and municipalities need not fear embarrassment to their credit when the second part of the recommendation is carried into effect.

Before the income tax came into use, progressively graduated in accordance with ability to pay, the existence of tax-exempt securities presented no very serious problem. It was the common practice of most governments to sell their securities free from tax. What governments lost in taxes, they more than made up in the higher prices and lower yield they obtained in the sale of their bonds. Under such circumstances the reciprocal immunity of state and federal bonds from taxation caused no great inconvenience or loss of revenue to, or any real inequity in, the taxing systems of either the federal or state governments.

In the early decades of the republic, when the states were extremely jealous of the powers of the federal government and there was fear of discriminatory taxation against the federal government, there might have been some practical advantage in recognizing a general reciprocal immunity from taxation of both federal and state obligations. This avoided the need of judicial examination of numerous state tax laws for determining delicate questions of discrimination. At a time when government bonds were almost invariably free from the taxing power of the issuing government, taxation of federal obligations by the state and of state obligations by the federal government might have been regarded as *prima facie* discriminatory.

But the situation is wholly different today. As progressive income taxes are coming more and more to be relied upon as sources of governmental revenues, it is becoming less and less common for governments to make their own bonds wholly free from their own taxing power. It is generally recognized that the principle of progressive taxation simply cannot be reconciled with the existence of tax-exempt securities.

Since it can no longer be regarded as an essential or customary characteristic of a government obligation that it be free from the taxing power of the issuing government, the question of reciprocal immunity from taxation obviously requires re-examination in light of the altered facts of government finance. General income taxes cannot be regarded as *prima facie* discriminatory against the holders of government obligations, federal or state.

Tax-Exempt Privileges Unsound

As a matter of fact there are few informed students of public affairs who would today attempt to justify the issuance of completely tax-exempt securities or the immunity of federal and state securities from reciprocal nondiscriminatory taxation. It has been suggested, however, by a well known New York municipal bond attorney, apparently in all seriousness, that if tax-exemption privileges are eliminated, "the states would cease to be sovereignties and would become mere geographical subdivisions, existing at the will and for the convenience of the federal government," and that the effect would be "to abandon the fundamental concepts upon which the United States was founded."

Such fancied fears are wholly unwarranted. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that tax-exempt privileges are economically unsound and politically unnecessary. Economists generally have regarded tax-exempt privileges as wholly inconsistent with any rational system of progressive taxation. Moreover, it is inexplicable to many rank and file Americans that, while they pay heavy income taxes on their earned income, others of their countrymen grow steadily richer from investments in state and municipal bonds without being subject to income taxes on the interest received from such bonds.

This is the kind of sentiment which undermines national unity, and this in turn undermines national defense, for taxation is an essential part of defense. The nation needs, as Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has said, "all out" taxation to support "all out" defense.

The defense program must be paid for sooner or later by the taxpayers of the United States. To the extent that the national government issues bonds, the taxpayer's burden is postponed. Ultimately, however, the principal of and interest on those bonds will be paid from money raised by national taxation. And if any class of citizens is then beyond the reach of the national taxing power, other citizens must assume the burden of providing the money necessary.

The people of this country are ready and willing to bear the burdens of national defense. But these burdens must be distributed equitably.

Reciprocal tax-exempt privileges, which were originally conceived to strengthen government finance and to protect the federal system, are today viewed by the Treasury as a serious menace to the fiscal systems of both the states and nation. The states and the nation alike are deprived of revenues which could be raised from those best able to supply them. Neither the federal government nor the states receive any adequate, compensating advantage for the immunity from reciprocal taxation accorded their obligations.

Claims of Proponents

The propaganda against the elimination of the tax-exempt privilege apparently proceeds on the theory that if a statement is repeated often enough people will believe it. As examples, there may be cited at least three stereotyped assertions.

The first such assertion is that considerations of tax equity are unimportant because not many people are involved; that the individuals to whom government securities afford opportunities of tax saving are few.

The fact is, however, that anyone with a net income of more than $10,000 can derive a net tax advantage from buying wholly tax-exempt securities. In 1939 there were nearly 200,000 such persons specifically recorded by the income-tax statistics. There are, of course, many others not recorded in these statistics, because many individuals do not report their holdings of tax-exempt securities. But we do know that some individuals with small taxable incomes have large tax-exempt security holdings. One special analysis, for instance, revealed that in 1934, thirty-three individuals who reported less than $5,000 of net income received tax-exempt interest ranging in amounts from $100,000 to $1,000,-

000. In other words, tax-exempt securities can—and do—afford opportunities of tax avoidance, not only to the 200,000 individuals with taxable incomes over $10,000 but to a substantial number of others whose taxable income is but a minor part of their actual income.

Mayor LaGuardia of New York has said that these comparisons are "wild and cockeyed." They are, of course, simple arithmetic. The Mayor is fighting the multiplication table.

Clearly the existence of 200,000 taxpayers who reported over four and one-half billion dollars of net income for 1939, or about one-fifth of the total income reported on individual income-tax returns, and the existence of an unknown number of other taxpayers also in position to gain by tax-exemption, constitutes a serious threat to the progressive character of the income tax. Tax-exemption in those cases amounts to nothing less than a vicious form of subsidy.

A second stereotyped statement given wide currency is this: the value of this tax-exemption is so important that its removal will prevent small towns from borrowing altogether because these small governments have no credit and their securities are bought only for the tax-exemption privilege. The supply of tax-exempt securities of state and local governments now outstanding (amounting at the present time to nearly twenty billion dollars in aggregate principal amount) is very much greater than the demand for them on the part of those interested in tax-exemption; they could satisfy all their demands by confining themselves entirely to issues of those towns whose credit standing is not in doubt. But many individuals purchase the issues of these small towns because such issues possess attributes (*e.g.*, safety, marketability, legal investment for estates and trusts) in addition to the tax-exempt privilege. Moreover, we all know that many issues are absorbed by inhabitants of the locality without regard to any tax-exemption benefits.

The marketability of the smaller city, town, and village issues depends largely on the confidence that investors have in the continuing solvency of the local governments. The argument that small towns are now able to sell their securities mainly because they are tax-exempt is simply another way of saying that such securities are held entirely by persons who bought them because of the tax-exemption privilege. But contrariwise, opponents of the elimination of the privilege themselves contend that very few persons benefit from the tax-exemption privilege. Obviously, these two positions are irreconcilable.

A third choice bit of misinformation is that estate tax returns show that a very small proportion of state and municipal bonds are held by individuals with incomes of more than $5,000 or are purchased to avoid income taxes. The truth could not be more deftly distorted.

The fact is that federal estate tax returns demonstrate that the relative importance of state and municipal bonds in an individual's investment portfolio increases steadily and rapidly as wealth and income increase. For example, the federal estate tax returns filed in 1939 showed that state and municipal bonds comprised 3.2 per cent of the assets of decedents' estates between $100,000 and $200,000, 11.5 per cent where decedents left assets between $500,000 and $1,000,000, and 36 per cent of estates exceeding $5,000,000. And during the period from 1934 to 1939, inclusive, the relative importance of state and municipal bonds to all assets in all estates of $100,000 or more, doubled over what it was during the preceding six-year period.

State Committee Report

The arguments against the elimination of tax-exempt securities are not new. They were considered and rejected, not only by the special committee of the United States Senate to which I have referred, but they were also studied and repudiated nearly twenty years ago by the New York Joint Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment. That special committee of the legislature of the State of New York recommended against continuing the issuance of tax-exempt securities in a blistering summary which has never been refuted and which is well worth quoting [the italics are those of the committee, not mine]:

> . . . The committee strongly *recommends that the legislature give its approval to the plan which contemplates reciprocal action, whereby interest on the securities of the federal government are made subject to the state income tax, and on the other hand, the interest on the securities of the states are to be rendered subject to the federal income tax.*
>
> The grounds upon which this recommendation is based are fundamentally very simple and can be stated in a few words: (1) these tax-exempt securities permit widespread evasion by individual taxpayers of just tax burdens; (2) they permit one governmental body to profit at the expense of another and at the expense of the interests of the community as a whole; and (3) they put private borrowers, upon whose prosperity the welfare of the state in large measure depends, at an unfair disadvantage. . . .
>
> In plain words, the present arrangement offers the states and localities an opportunity to steal a portion of the federal income taxes. Moreover, in so doing they flatten out the progressive curve of the income tax rates, destroying in a measure the equity of the tax system, and thus profit at the expense of the community as a whole. . . .
>
> There is, in reality, no sharp separation of interest here. Citizens of New York are citizens of the United States. It has been shown that all they gain as citizens of New York is lost as citizens of the United States and more beside.

It is generally admitted that there is nothing in the constitution which expressly prevents Congress from taxing in a nondiscriminatory manner income from the securities of states and municipalities or from subjecting the income from federal securities to like taxation by the states. It is also generally admitted that the reciprocal immunity from taxation heretofore accorded such securities is economically unsound. Nevertheless, it is claimed that Supreme Court decisions of long standing make it impossible for Congress to abolish tax-exempt securities. The claim requires examination.

Of course, it is not possible for the Supreme Court to amend the constitution, but it is possible for the Court to reconsider and overrule, and the Court has frequently reconsidered and overruled its own decisions. It cannot be denied, as Justice Taney stated in the Passenger cases that it is "the law of this [the Supreme] Court that its opinion upon the construction of the constitution is always open to discussion when it is supposed to have been founded in error, and that its judicial authority should hereafter depend altogether upon the force of the reasoning by which it is supported."

It has always been conceded that the federal government should not have the power to tax in a manner which would destroy or seriously interfere with the exercise of state functions and that state or local governments should not have the power to tax in a manner which would destroy or seriously interfere with the exercise of the functions of the federal government. Although those are the basic constitutional principles upon which the existence of tax-exempt securities is supposed to rest, nondiscriminatory taxation of income from federal obligations by the states or of income from state and municipal obligations by the federal government would not offend those basic constitutional principles. Such taxation would offend at most a mistaken application by the Court of those basic principles before the economic incidences of graduated income taxation were clearly perceived or definitely understood.

Much of the judicial difficulty regarding tax-exemption stems from tearing out of its context Chief Justice Marshall's dictum that "the power to tax involves the power to destroy." But Marshall clearly indicated that while he feared state taxation might be used to obstruct the exercise of federal power, he had no similar fear regarding the effect of federal taxation upon the states because the "people of all the states, and the states themselves, are represented in Congress, and, by their representatives, exercise this power."

Sixteenth Amendment

It is true that the Supreme Court, when it invalidated the Income Tax Act of 1894, held that the Congress could not subject interest from state or municipal bonds to federal income taxation. But this case did not involve steeply graduated income taxes, and it was decided at a time when it was customary for the federal government to issue its own bonds exempt from all federal taxes.

The sixteenth amendment authorized Congress to levy taxes "on incomes from whatever source derived." But the Supreme Court, over the protest of some of its most distinguished members, held that the only effect of the amendment was to remove the requirement for an apportionment among the states of taxes laid upon income and that the income tax could not be applied to the income of a federal judge appointed before the enactment of the income tax statute. Two years ago, however, the Court held that the salaries of federal judges appointed after 1932 were not immune from federal taxation under the constitution. Although it has been assumed that the income tax could not be applied to interest on state and municipal bonds, the fact is that the Congress has not since the ratification of the sixteenth amendment attempted directly to tax such income. And the whole question of tax-exempt bonds has never been carefully reconsidered by the Court since the graduated income tax became a part of our taxing system.

The Supreme Court is constantly reconsidering its decisions in the light of the fundamental principles of the constitution upon which they are based, sometimes limiting and sometimes overruling its past decisions. The Court has recognized, to paraphrase the words of Mr. Justice Holmes, that it is revolting to have no better reason for a rule of law than that it was laid down in some earlier decision of the Court, and that it is still more revolting if the grounds upon which it was laid down have vanished long since, and the rule persists from blind imitation of the past.

Favorable Decisions

Last year when the Supreme Court overruled earlier cases which had immunized the salaries of federal employees from state taxation and the salaries of state employees from federal taxation, Mr. Justice Frankfurter pointed out that:

> The judicial history of this doctrine of immunity is a striking illustration of an occasional tendency to encrust unwarranted interpretations upon the constitution and thereafter to consider merely what has been judicially said about the constitution. . . . But the ultimate touchstone of constitutionality is the constitution itself and not what we have said about it.

It is noteworthy that the Supreme Court has also expressly repudiated the theory that the income tax in effect is a tax upon the property or obligation from which the income is derived, and now that this has been established it seems quite clear that an individual no more than a corporation should be relieved from a tax measured by income because the income is derived from an immune source. As Mr. Justice Murphy said in *Federal Land Bank* v. *Bismarck Lumber Co.*, decided November 10, 1941: "The bonds may be held by private persons, and, of course, the general exemption of section 26 ['That every federal land bank . . . shall be exempt from federal, state, municipal, and local taxation'] would not extend to them."

It is now thoroughly established that the mere fact that the expenses of government would be less if those who dealt with it were exempt from taxation is no longer considered by the Supreme Court to be adequate basis for immunity from taxation.

On the same day also, the Supreme Court in a far-reaching decision held that the imposition of a state sales tax on goods sold to cost-plus-a-fixed-fee federal contractors did not place an unconstitutional burden on the United States. Speaking for a unanimous Court in the case of *Alabama* v. *King and Boozer,* Chief Justice Stone asserted that the contractors were not relieved of liability to pay the sales tax, "either because the contractors in a loose and general sense were acting for the government in purchasing the lumber or, as the

Alabama Supreme Court seems to have thought, because the economic burden of the tax imposed upon the purchaser would be shifted to the government by reason of its contract to reimburse the contractors."

The decision in the King and Boozer case is significant because it constitutes a conclusive repudiation of the "burden theory" of intergovernmental immunity. Under the "burden theory" a private person was entitled to claim the immunity from taxation granted to the government itself, if it could be demonstrated that the economic burden of a tax imposed upon a private person by one government, national or state, would be borne by the other government. But the Court gave short shrift to this theory in the King and Boozer case by declaring that:

> So far as such a nondiscriminatory state tax upon the contractor enters into the cost of the materials to the government, that is but a normal incident of the organization within the same territory of two independent taxing sovereignties. The asserted right of the one to be free of taxation by the other does not spell immunity from paying the added costs, attributable to the taxation of those who furnish supplies to the government and who have been granted no tax immunity. So far as a different view has prevailed, see *Panhandle Oil Co.* v. *Knox, supra; Graves* v. *Texas Co., supra,* we think it no longer tenable.

There can be no question that the economic burden of the Alabama tax was shifted directly to the federal government since the War Department had agreed to reimburse the contractor for all his costs, including state taxes.

Let those who have been splitting hairs on the constitutionality of a statute eliminating tax-exempt securities ponder these words of the Chief Justice. Let them answer now whether the purpose of intergovernmental immunity was to confer benefits on state and municipal bondholders by relieving them from contributing their proper share to the financial support of the national government whose benefits they enjoy.

There can be but one answer: that the doctrine of reciprocal tax immunity cannot be tortured to sanction either (1) a subsidy for state and municipal governments by enabling them to issue bonds at interest rates lower than those paid by other borrowers or (2) a subsidy for state and municipal bondholders by maintaining for them this well beaten path of tax avoidance.

Tax-exempt securities are founded upon a mistaken notion of constitutional powers and are a dangerous source of social unrest. The national government, in its attempt to eliminate this inequitable exemption from its tax laws, will need the coöperation of municipalities. We all know that the policy of the national government towards local governments is that of the "good neighbor" and that the cause of both is the same: a sound national defense. When dictators and demagogues are attacking democracy on the ground that it is a device to protect the privileges of wealth, it is high time that we take action to eliminate the economically, politically, and morally indefensible system of tax-exempt securities.

Wanted: A New Road to Municipal Home Rule

The time has now come for a complete re-examination of the home rule problem to find new avenues of positive achievement.

By **BARNET HODES**
Corporation Counsel of Chicago

THE problem of effective local government remains unsolved. So long as this is true, the home rule movement will continue to engage the active attention of the student of government.

The modern city, especially the large metropolitan city, must be equipped to deal with the numerous complex problems continuously arising in urban society. The failures and limited achievements of the past merely emphasize the need for a revitalization of the home rule movement. I believe that new approaches must be devised for the realization of this goal, and the purpose of this article is to emphasize that need. The home rule urge cannot be held permanently in the realm of futile protest or academic verbiage.

As I attempted to show in a previous article in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW,[1] the broader responsibilities which the municipality must assume for national defense raise the home rule issue to a newer urgency. The city must be able to take on a wide range of defense activities. In defense emergencies legal stalemates would be intolerable. Moreover, cities have a responsibility for meeting the totalitarian challenge to the efficiency and sufficiency of the democratic way of life. Force alone cannot win the battle for democracy. The threat must be fought from within as well as from without. Democracy must show that it can govern better than dictatorship, that it offers more to the people. In this the city is on the front line. For a winning fight it is sorely handicapped by outmoded legal equipment.

The time has come, in my opinion, for a complete re-examination of the home rule problem to find new avenues of positive achievement for the future, not simply to review and deplore the failures of the past.

Let us admit that past approaches have been too limited in their scope. Let us admit also that, with his often confusing reviews of court decisions, the lawyer alone cannot solve the problem.

The political and social scientist, the urban and state expert, the political psychologist and sociologist—all these should be called in. The services of the politician, too, must be enlisted. His is the most intimate knowledge of the practical workings of democratic machinery. He can be an important member of a home rule strategy board.

Such a strategy board could work

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[1] October 1941.

along three major lines of investigation.

First, the needs of urban government must be analyzed in accord with today's problems and also weighed against the realistic requirements of state uniformity. This is a job for the political scientist, the social scientist, as well as the urban expert.

The allocation of governmental functions between state and municipality is primarily an administrative, rather than a legal, problem. The political scientist and government technologist are best equipped to develop guiding principles. This will, of course, require an intensive analysis of existing state and local activities. A companion study of the inter-relationships between cities and larger governmental units in foreign countries should aid in the development of guiding principles. As a lawyer, I cannot positively chart the path of investigation for political scientists, but can only here suggest certain possibilities for their consideration.

Second, the opponents and obstructionists of home rule must be subjected to objective analysis. Who are they? What are their reasons, their basic motivations, their techniques? This investigation should be assigned to the political psychologist, to the political sociologist, and to the politician.

Third, the lawyer probably needs to develop a new slant as his contribution to a collaborative approach toward home rule. In the main, this is because judicial interpretation has succeeded in well nigh destroying the effectiveness of constitutional home rule as we have known it. The courts have held that matters of state concern must exist as a companion to matters of local concern and then have proceeded with no marked consistency to hem in the city with matters of state concern. Until the lawyer can revise, clarify, or replace this judicial formula to meet the needs of urban government, confusion will prevail.

Suggested Approach

As a lawyer, I might suggest two possible approaches toward clarification or substitution. I point out here that few governmental problems are exclusively local in character in the sense that no similar problem exists in non-urban areas. Police, health, and fire protection are universal needs. Traffic regulation, too, is a general problem. Even zoning is now a function of counties as well as cities and also has state attention.

However, it is clear—or should be—that urban life has so complicated and differentiated these problems that a special, localized treatment is required for cities. This is particularly true of fire and police protection; and yet there was a recent Wisconsin decision declaring "that the preservation of order, the enforcement of law, the protection of life and property, and the suppression of crime are matters of state-wide concern." From this, the court concluded that the power of the municipalities to deal with these matters is not derived from a home rule amendment but from the legislature through legislative enactment.[2] This is a good sample of how the purpose of *constitutional home rule* is aborted. It seems to me that the definition of matters of local concern must be rephrased to signify that which is peculiarly urban, rather than that which is exclusively urban.

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[2] *Van Gilder* v. *City of Madison,* 222 Wis. 58 (1936).

Perhaps the solution will be found to be in the replacement of constitutional home rule by some form of triple sovereignty. Four years ago, in my book, *Law and the Modern City,* I pointed out that this idea is not as drastic as it might seem, for:

> The framers of the American constitution faced a similar problem in governmental relationships when they were called upon to establish a national government and yet were constrained to preserve the identities and sovereign powers of the separate states. With a wisdom and sagacity that is still amazing after more than one hundred and fifty years, those statesmen developed the idea of *dual* sovereignty. There were those who said such an idea was preposterous and unworkable. But it has worked!

Let me add that a three-way split of sovereignty need not mean separate municipal statehood or any other form of complete divorcement from the state, any more than state sovereignty kept the union from being a nation.

Sales Promotion

After a new approach toward home rule is developed ways and means of assuring the adoption of home rule must also be devised. Sales promotion has become a commonplace of modern society. The exploitation of ideas and goods usually is preceded by a careful scrutiny of potential sales resistance, of the variabilities of the consumer market, of the consumer appeal of alternative selling points, and of the possible facilities for putting the program over.

I suspect that in the past home rule advocates have not been sufficiently sales-promotion-conscious. They talk too much about their merchandise and give too little time to the ways and means of putting it over.

Home rule has had its boom periods. There should be important lessons in the how and why of these victories—also in the failures. Concerning the latter the political psychologist doubtless could contribute substantially to the promotional job in analyzing the basic causes for antipathy or indifference on the part of various classes of individuals. The sociologist can bring his skill to bear in examining the types of pressure groups, their inter-relationships, and their responses to various effects and facts. The politician can give light on how his fellows react in the face of home rule proposals.

Moreover, a serious campaign also would enlist the services of the public relations expert—for what we have here is a selling job.

A broader approach is in order despite any objection that the home rule need actually is too urgent for projects of too long a range. The interim period, however, need not be wasted. Available remedies can be pushed with renewed vigor, taking full advantage of all the new promotional and propaganda facilities developed in recent years. Even lawyers can help by limiting themselves to short-range exploration and sug-

(Continued on Page 713)

Comparative Tax Rates of 311 Cities—1941

New compilation finds little change made in tax rates and assessments by municipalities during the past year.

By **ROSINA K. MOHAUPT**
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

TAX rates and assessed values of American cities over 30,000 population have shown virtually no change in the past year. Cities over 500,000 have shown a slight increase in tax rates, but the average rate of the 263 American cities studied intensively has increased only two cents per thousand.

Assessed values in the larger cities (population over 500,000) are still declining. This trend started in 1931-32 and has never stopped, although it has faltered occasionally. There has been a gradual slowing down, however, in the rate of decrease in recent years. The steady decline in assessed value indicates the folly of basing assessments on highly speculative realty values, a practice which brought a false prosperity to cities, making possible expenditures at a level higher than could be justified by the intrinsic value of real property. The decrease in values in the larger cities adds to the already serious financial problems created by the decrease in federal grants and the increasing costs of city government due to demands for higher wages and rising prices on materials and supplies used.

The decrease in assessed values in large cities has necessitated an increase in tax rates if total tax revenues are not to be reduced. But the growing burden of federal taxation and the general unpopularity of any increases in the general property tax make the financial situation of many of these cities uncomfortable. The resistance to higher general property taxes throughout the country is indicated by the tapering off in the rate of increase in the adjusted tax rates shown in Table I. The greatest increase in tax rate, eighty-two cents was reported in 1936-37 in contrast to the two-cent increase during the past year. In many cases an attempt has been made to supplement declining general tax revenues by larger federal and state subsidies. State subsidies, unfortunately, are often precarious and even federal grants are more or less uncertain in fields other than social security.

Cities over 500,000 population showed the greatest increase in average tax rate—forty-one cents per thousand. Only four of the fourteen cities in this group reported decreased tax rates in contrast to the trend in all other population groups. Table II shows that of the 263 cities reporting in 1940 and 1941, 168 or 64 per cent showed tax rates which had either remained unchanged or had gone down during the past year.

While cities in group II (population 300,000 to 500,000) showed an increase in average tax rate of twenty-four cents per thousand, an unusually large increase of $9.00 in Newark, New Jersey, obscures the decreases reported by nine of the sixteen cities. Four of the group II cities showed no change, and only three reported increases in tax rates.

Cities under 300,000 (groups III, IV, and V) showed either decreases or only a slight increase in tax rate. This was possible because, unlike larger municipalities, these cities had increased assessments.

Tables III and IV show changes in tax rates and Table V shows changes in assessed value over a five-year period. These tables indicate that the larger cities have suffered the greatest reduction in assessments and the greatest increase in tax rates. Group I and II cities (population 300,000 and over) increased their rates, on an average, by approximately $3.50 per thousand and lost over 2½ per cent of assessed value in five years. Smaller cities showed much less pronounced increases in rates and slightly higher assessments.

Adjusted Tax Rates

Both actual and adjusted tax rates are reported in the accompanying compilation. The actual tax rate is the total amount levied on property

TABLE I

ANNUAL CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUE AND AVERAGE ADJUSTED TAX RATE OF AMERICAN CITIES

	Per Cent of Increase or Decrease in Assessment	*Average Adjusted Tax Rate, Amount of Increase or Decrease*[a]
1940-41	— .1%	$+.02
1939-40	—1.5	+.29
1938-39	— .5	+.45
1937-38	+ .8	+.65
1936-37	— .3	+.82
1935-36	+ .1	+.61
1934-35	—1.8	—.19
1933-34	—6.4	+.71
1932-33	—8.1	—.57
1931-32	—4.3	+.85

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[a] Per $1,000 assessed value.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF CITIES REPORTING DECREASED ADJUSTED TAX RATES—1940-41

Population Group[b]	*Number of Cities with Tax Rate* *Decrease*	*Increase*	*No Change*
I	4	7	3
II	9	3	4
III	28	22	8
IV	37	30	14
V	45	33	16
Total	123	95	45

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[b] The United States Census groups cities according to population as indicated in the tabulations set forth at the end of this article.

by all units of government. Because of widely divergent assessment practices, however, it becomes necessary to adjust the actual rates reported.

In a majority of the states the law prescribes a legal basis of assessment at 100 per cent of true value. There are, however, a few states where the legal basis is less than 100 per cent. In North Dakota and Washington, for instance, the legal basis is 50 per cent; in Alabama and Iowa, 60 per cent of true value. In Arkansas the State Corporation Commission prescribes the assessment ratio and has set 50 per cent as the standard. California requires that assessments be in proportion to value, but does not specify what that proportion shall be.

It is obvious that tax rates levied in these states cannot be compared with rates levied in states where property valuation is legally required to be at full value. The problem of converting all assessments to a 100 per cent basis when the law authorizes a lower ratio is not difficult. But assessing procedures are either not sufficiently accurate or are controlled by tradition so that the actual assessment is at some fraction of the legal basis whether this is 50 per cent or 100 per cent. As a matter of fact, assessment at 100 per cent of the legal basis is the exception rather than the rule.

TABLE III
Comparison of 1940 and 1941 Average Unadjusted and Adjusted Tax Rates of 263 American Cities

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates Per $1000 of Assessed Value* 1941	1940	Increase	*Average Adjusted Rates Per $1000 of Assessed Value* 1941	1940	Increase
I	$39.28	$38.71	$ .57	$29.28	$28.87	$ .41
II	44.84	44.83	.01	29.67	29.43	.24
III	40.55	40.40	.15	28.37	28.44	—.07
IV	38.62	38.69	—.07	27.59	27.65	—.06
V	37.77	37.57	.20	26.30	26.24	.06
Total	39.16	39.04	.12	27.51	27.49	.02

TABLE IV
Comparison of 1936 and 1941 Average Unadjusted and Adjusted Tax Rates of 217 American Cities

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates Per $1000 of Assessed Value* 1941	1936	Increase	*Average Adjusted Rates Per $1000 of Assessed Value* 1941	1936	Increase
I	$39.28	$35.09	$4.19	$29.28	$25.69	$3.59
II	44.84	40.66	4.18	29.67	26.25	3.42
III	40.87	38.35	2.52	28.20	26.61	1.59
IV	38.08	35.33	2.75	27.30	24.77	2.53
V	37.66	35.62	2.04	26.95	25.34	1.61
Total	39.19	36.53	2.66	27.71	25.56	2.15

[b] The United States Census groups cities according to population as indicated in the tabulations set forth at the end of this article.

The problem of adjusting rates in such cases is complicated by the scarcity of scientific studies of the actual ratios applied to the various classes of property in the city. This compilation *adjusts* the reported tax rate to a uniform 100 per cent basis of assessment by using the best estimates of assessment ratios that can be secured for the purpose.

In Illinois, New York, California, and Washington the state tax commission issues annual studies of the ratio of assessed value to true cash value used by the various counties or cities. Kentucky has just started making such surveys. Unfortunately, the studies are often based on only a small number of properties and consequently the results obtained are little better than the opinion estimates of local assessing officials generally used in this compilation.

Evidence that sufficient data to justify the ratios of individual cities is not available is indicated by the disagreements between local and state officials in Illinois (Chicago, Oak Park, Evanston, and Berwyn) and in New York (Rochester, Yonkers, Albany, and Schenectady). Because of the controversy over the proper assessment ratio, no attempt has been made to show the adjusted tax rate in these cities this year. The disputed ratios and adjusted rates are indicated in the footnotes.

The assessment ratio is an *estimate* and an *average*. Different types of property are often assessed at different ratios; therefore these ratios must be averaged for the entire city. For instance, residential property may be assessed at 120 per cent and commercial property at 80 per cent, resulting in a possible average of 100 per cent for all property in the city. While for purposes of this study the average ratio is satisfactory, to apply this figure to any one type or piece of property will lead to erroneous conclusions.

Another complication arises where the county assessment is on a different basis from that of the city, as in Pennsylvania, California, and Texas. In such cases, adjustment is made for the assessment ratio used by each unit of government and the two ratios are averaged on the basis of the influence of each on the total tax rate. In a few cities, notably in Canada,

TABLE V

CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUE OVER ONE-YEAR AND FIVE-YEAR PERIOD

Population Group[b]	*Average Per Capita Assessed Value 1941*	*1940*	*Per Cent Change in Assessment 1940-41*	*Per Cent Change in Assessment 1936-40*
I	$1585	$1595	— .6%	—3.1%
II	1206	1200	+ .5	—2.6
III	1143	1132	+1.0	+1.0
IV	1212	1201	+1.0	+1.9
V	1130	1112	+1.6	+1.4
Total	1370	1369	+ .1	—1.7

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[b] The United States Census groups cities according to population as indicated in the tabulations set forth at the end of this article.

land is assessed at a different ratio from that of buildings. Here also the assessment ratio reported is the weighted average of the two separate ratios.

Method of Compiling

This, the twentieth annual compilation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population, is made possible through the coöperation of city and county officials, chambers of commerce, and bureaus of governmental research. Data for the compilation are obtained by questionnaires mailed to these sources.

Figures are shown for 311 cities—295 American and 16 Canadian. The tables showing 1940-41 comparisons are based on the 263 cities reporting in both of these years and the 1936-41 comparisons are based on the 217 cities reporting in both 1936 and 1941.

The cities are arranged in population groups according to the 1940 census. The cities are ranked according to population, and to facilitate comparison with compilations of previous years, their rank according to the 1930 census is shown in brackets to the right of the new order number.

The assessed value upon which city taxes are levied is reported. This is different from the county assessment in those cities where the county assesses at a different ratio of true value from that used by the city.

Because of different tax rates on real and personal property and different assessed values it is impossible to determine the total tax levy by multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate. This is a common misuse of the figures in this compilation.

All tax rates have been divided into four classifications: city, school, county, and state. In states where there are a large number of "ad hoc" units of government it is often difficult to properly classify certain rates. The general rule is to include in the city rate all levies which are usually considered in the majority of the municipalities as falling within their jurisdiction. Park, library, relief, and sanitary district rates are included under city rates. Where the tax rates of such "ad hoc" units of government were included in the city rate the footnotes indicate the amounts and nature of the additions.

(See following pages for complete tabulation.)

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF 311 CITIES FOR 1941

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation: City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
	Group I																
	Population 500,000 and over																
)†	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	$16,223,134,726	100		July 1	Oct. 1	2	$21.61*	$ 7.25*	.74*	—	29.60	92	27.23		1
)	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	1,995,827,539	68	32	Jan. 1	May 1	2	54.90	32.90	7.40	N	95.20	see footnote No. 2			2
)	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	3,229,400,958	77	23	Jan. 1	Jan. 25	1	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75		3
)	Detroit, Mich.[j]	1,623,452	2,525,250,760	75	25	July 1	Aug. 15	2	19.00	8.32	5.41	N	32.73	100	32.73		4
)	Los Angeles, Cal.[4]	1,504,277	1,311,614,291	83	17	July 1	Nov. 1	2	17.39	18.83	21.63	N	57.85	50	28.93		5
)	Cleveland, Ohio[5]	878,336	1,210,901,485	87	13	Jan. 1	Apr. 10	2	15.90	10.30	5.70	N	31.90	80	25.52		6
)	Baltimore, Md.[6]	859,100	1,501,117,794	71	29	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	op.	22.80	5.70*	N	2.34	30.84	100	30.84		7
)	St. Louis, Mo.	816,048	1,047,891,510	89	11	Apr. 9	Sept. 15	4	17.50	8.70	N	1.20	27.40	85	23.29		8
)	Boston, Mass.	770,816	1,460,782,900	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	10	26.01	8.51	1.93	3.15	39.60	100	39.60		9
0)	Pittsburgh, Pa.[7]	671,659	1,036,103,380	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	12	17.09	11.75	7.88	N	36.72	85	31.21		10
4)	Washington, D. C.[8]	663,091	1,364,621,972	93	7	July 1	Sept. 1	2	17.50	—	N	N	17.50	90	15.75		11
1)	San Francisco, Cal.[9]	634,536	820,586,802	87	13	July 1	Nov. 1	2	35.60	7.35	N	N	42.95	50	21.48		12
2)	Milwaukee, Wis.[10]	587,472	811,119,945	92	8	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	1	16.29	11.03	10.55	.36	38.23	92	35.17		13
3)	Buffalo, N. Y.[11]	575,901	904,437,090	96	4	July 1	July 1	2	24.26	6.98	9.13	.28	40.65	84	34.14		14
	Group II																
	Population 300,000 to 500,000																
6)	New Orleans, La.[12]	494,537	496,745,072	71	29	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	21.50	7.00	5.50	5.75	39.75	71§	28.38	2,000[g]	15

e also general notes at end of tabulation.

:Estimated. N=None. —=Figures or breakdown not available.

=Optional.

ities are arranged according to the 1940 census. Numbers in parentheses show r in which cities were listed in previous tabulations according to the 1930 us. Where there is no number in parentheses, the city had a population of less 30,000 in the 1930 census.

hese cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest ger) of the several ratios.

state levy on property in the following states: California, Delaware, Illinois, igan, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South ota, Vermont, and Virginia. No state tax levy on real estate in Pennsylvania.

ew York City. Rate shown is for Borough of Manhattan. Total rate for the x is $29.60, Brooklyn $29.60, Queens $30.90, Richmond $29.80. Total rates include for reassessment of special assessments which are borough wide in character. kdown of total tax rate estimated from appropriations. See footnote [o].

icago. City rate includes $11.20 park district and $7.60 sanitary district rates. ty rate includes $1.00 forest preserve rate. Illinois Tax Commission estimates ssment ratio at 32%, local officials at 37% of true value. Adjusted rates are 6 and $35.22 respectively.

hiladelphia. City rate includes levy for county which is consolidated with city. Assessed value includes $732,969,980 "money at interest" taxed at 4 mills by the state and city each. See footnote [s].

[4] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes $2.20 flood control rate on land and improvements only, and $4.80 metropolitan water rate.

[5] **Cleveland.** Assessed value does not include intangible personalty assessed on income at from 2 to 5 mills, but does include $161,544,265 tangible personal property taxed at same rate as realty, but assessed at 50% to 70% of full value. See footnote [q].

[6] **Baltimore.** Assessed value includes $42,500,000 shares of banks and trust companies and $222,000,000 deposits in savings banks taxed at $10 and $1.875 per $1,000 respectively. School rate estimated from appropriations.

[7] **Pittsburgh.** City rate is average of $23 rate on land and $11.50 on buildings. Because of varying proportions of land to building on different pieces of property, the rate actually varies from about $10 to $20. See footnote [s].

[8] **Washington, D. C.** Valuation does not include intangible personalty subject to income tax. School rate included in city rate. Home owners may pay in four installments.

[9] **San Francisco.** Combined city-county organization. Assessed value does not include $156,604,653 solvent credits taxable at one mill.

[10] **Milwaukee.** City rate includes $2.29 for retirement of debt of Metropolitan Sewerage District.

[11] **Buffalo.** City rate includes $.60 debt service for schools.

[12] **New Orleans.** Figure in county column is levee and flood reparation rate.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation: City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
16(15)	Minneapolis, Minn.	492,370	235,281,471	81	19	Jan. 1	Jan. 6	4	52.60	25.45	12.30	9.65	100.00	35	35.00	4,000[k]	16
17(17)	Cincinnati, Ohio[q]	455,610	840,585,780	89	11	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	10	10.80	7.59	3.07	N	21.46	80	17.17		17
18(18)	Newark, N. J.[n]	429,760	724,720,229	76	24	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	34.55	13.60	6.56	2.79	57.50	100	57.50		18
19(19)	Kansas City, Mo.[13]	399,178	535,969,712	72	28	May 1	June 1	1	14.50	14.00	6.90	1.20	36.60	83§	30.39		19
20(21)	Indianapolis, Ind.[e]	386,972	514,746,540	72	28	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	12.60	9.60	8.40	1.50	32.10	75	24.08		20
21(26)	Houston, Tex.[14]	384,514	347,015,820	74	26	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	op.	19.75	11.30	8.95	5.80	45.80	47§	21.43	3,000[v]	21
22(20)	Seattle, Wash.[15]	368,302	244,294,502	78	22	Jan. 1	Feb. 10	2	21.00	13.50	13.84	2.26	50.60	47	23.78		22
23(22)	Rochester, N. Y.[16]	324,975	530,535,606	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	4	20.72	10.70	11.42	—	42.84	See footnote No. 16			23
24(29)	Denver, Colo.[17]	322,412	364,942,960	71	29	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	20.35	16.70	N	4.35	41.40	80	33.12		24
25(24)	Louisville, Ky.[18]	319,077	422,858,889	73	27	Sept. 1	May 1	4	16.70	7.20	4.00	.50	28.40	85	24.14		25
26(28)	Columbus, Ohio[q]	306,087	369,637,850	78	22	Jan. 1	Feb. 20	2	8.10	8.20	2.60	N	18.90	100	18.90		26
27(25)	Portland, Ore.[19]	305,394	263,376,090	85	15	Jan. 1	Mar. 15	4	27.50	16.00	16.40	2.10	62.00	53	32.86		27
28(32)	Atlanta, Ga.[20]	302,288	350,000,000*	71	29	Jan. 1	May 1	3	11.20	6.30	13.50	5.00	36.00	59§	21.20	2,000[d]	28
29(30)	Oakland, Calif.[21]	302,163	266,881,756	85	15	July 1	Nov. 1	2	19.70	16.10	16.10	N	51.90	35	18.17		29
30(23)	Jersey City, N. J.[n]	301,173	602,805,418	90	10	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	28.69	10.85	9.93	2.71	52.18	100	52.18		30
	Group III Population 100,000 to 300,000																
31(33)	Dallas, Tex.	294,734	292,527,990	71	29	Oct. 1	Oct. 1	2	17.00	7.50	7.20	5.80	37.50	53	19.88	3,000[v]	31
32(36)	Memphis, Tenn.[22]	292,942	290,243,600	71	29	Jan. 1	May 1	4	14.80	6.50	8.70	.80	30.80	85	26.18		32
33(31)	St. Paul, Minn.[23]	287,736	132,062,163	82	18	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	42.27	20.00	28.06	9.65	99.98	35	34.99	4,000[k]	33
34(27)	Toledo, Ohio[q]	282,349	438,000,000	90	10	Jan. 1	June 20	2	7.82	8.33	2.65	N	18.80	100	18.80		34
35(34)	Birmingham, Ala.[a]	267,583	182,627,019	85	15	Sept. 1	Oct. 1	4	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	30	10.80	2,000[a]	35
36(38)	San Antonio, Tex.	253,854	211,496,180	74	26	June 1	April 1	1	18.70	10.30	6.60	5.80	41.40	65§	26.71	3,000[v]	36
37(37)	Providence, R. I.[24]	253,504	497,701,010	81	19	Oct. 1	Oct. 1	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00		37
38(35)	Akron, Ohio[25]	244,791	270,100,000*	73	27	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	16.29	11.59	3.12	N	31.00	60	18.60		38
39(39)	Omaha, Neb.[26]	223,844	237,319,056	70	30	Dec. 31	Jan. 1	2	15.35	14.00	5.05	3.25	37.65	70	26.36		39
40(41)	Dayton, Ohio	210,718	Not reporting														40
41(40)	Syracuse, N. Y.	205,967	345,526,788	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	4	19.61	9.29	9.48	.27	38.65	91	35.17		41
42(43)	Oklahoma City, Okla.[27]	204,424	117,144,078	83	17	July 1	Jan. 1	4	17.44	19.07	9.97	N	46.48	40	18.59	1,000[r]	42
43(53)	San Diego, Calif.	203,341	164,263,280	80	20	July 1	Nov. 1	2	21.90	19.00	20.20	N	61.10	50	30.55		43

[13] **Kansas City.** Does not include $.25 park and $.10 boulevard maintenance rate.

[14] **Houston.** The 1940 assessment figures are latest available although 1941 rates are hown. Installments of any size accepted.

[15] **Seattle.** County rate includes $1.34 Port of Seattle rate. See footnote [x].

[16] **Rochester.** State Tax Commission reports assessment ratio of 85%, local officials 76% of true value. Adjusted rates are $36.41 and $32.56 respectively. See otnote [o].

[17] **Denver.** City rate includes $2.00 Moffat Tunnel Improvement District rate on eal estate only. City rate is consolidated city-county rate.

[18] **Louisville.** Rate shown is for real estate; rate on personal property is $32.90.

[19] **Portland, Ore.** City rate includes $1.90 Port of Portland and $2.32 Dock Comission rates.

[20] **Atlanta.** School rate includes $1.50 levied on property in city limits for county schools. See footnote [d].

[21] **Oakland.** County rate includes $2.00 municipal water district, $.50 regional park district and $.10 mosquito abatement rates.

[22] **Memphis.** City rate includes $1.10 park and $.30 library rate.

[23] **St. Paul.** Homestead property taxed at $91.57 ($32.05 adjusted). See footnote [k].

[24] **Providence.** Assessed value does not include $234,361,200 intangible personal property taxed at $4.00 per $1,000. See footnote [t].

[25] **Akron.** City rate includes $.12 Metropolitan Park Board rate.

[26] **Omaha.** City rate includes $1.00 sewage disposal and $.80 relief rates.

[27] **Oklahoma City.** Homesteads are taxed at $12.91 per $1,000.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent		City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
44(42)	Worcester, Mass.	193,694	264,960,100	93	7	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	op.	25.78	8.79	1.22	1.81	37.60	100	37.60		44
45(44)	Richmond, Va.	193,042	262,546,083	91	9	Feb. 1	June 1	10	14.50	7.50	N	N	22.00	100	22.00		45
46( )	Honolulu, Hawaii[28]	179,358	182,441,095	71	29	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	29.10	—	N	N	29.10	80§	23.28	3,250	46
47(48)	Fort Worth, Tex.[29]	177,662	166,008,320	74	26	Oct. 1	Oct. 1	2	21.10	11.00	9.00	6.90	48.00	61§	29.35	3,000[v]	47
48(63)	Jacksonville, Fla.[30]	173,065	83,144,280	89	11	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	1	22.00	25.00	23.70	6.97	77.67	50	38.84	5,000[c]	48
49(78)	Miami, Fla.	172,172	192,612,420	88	12	July 1	Nov. 1	1	28.86	9.74	10.14	N	48.74	68§	33.30	5,000[c]	49
50(45)	Youngstown, Ohio[31]	167,720	267,384,510	88	12	Jan. 1	Feb. 5	2	7.96	8.14	2.10	N	18.20	80	14.56		50
51(51)	Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	165,287,465	71	29	Aug. 1	Aug. 1	2	18.25	2.75	8.50	.80	30.30	90	27.27		51
52(47)	Hartford, Conn.[32]	166,267	367,707,659	85	15	April 1	Apr. 1	4	16.14	11.85	.52	1.24	29.75	100	29.75		52
53(46)	Grand Rapids, Mich.[33]	164,292	192,761,385	81	19	July 1	July 1	1	8.44	8.21	3.40	N	20.05	100	20.05		53
54(57)	Long Beach, Calif.[34]	164,271	225,796,390	71	29	July 1	Nov. 1	2	12.37	19.77	21.63	N	53.77	53§	28.74		54
55(49)	New Haven, Conn.	160,605	305,861,579	84	16	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	17.66	9.84	.32	.68	28.50	100	28.50		55
56(56)	Des Moines, Iowa[35]	159,819	133,856,037	82	18	April 1	Jan. 1	2	20.52	22.95	14.71	1.26	59.44	68	40.42	2,500[f]	56
57(50)	Flint, Mich.[j]	151,543	213,658,370	79	21	July 1	July 1	3	9.68	8.17	3.30	N	21.15	100	21.15		57
58(59)	Salt Lake City, Utah[36]	149,934	135,065,754	—	—	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	1	15.15	13.27	6.50	6.70	41.62	70	29.13	Note[w]	58
59(52)	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	258,702,705	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	2	19.14	11.12*	1.62	2.62	34.50	100	34.50		59
60(54)	Bridgeport, Conn.	147,121	251,337,065	77	23	April 1	Apr. 1	2	21.61	5.50	.24	.95	28.30	100	28.30		60
61(62)	Norfolk, Va.	144,332	155,265,270	87	13	Jan. 1	Mar. 15	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00		61
62(61)	Yonkers, N. Y.[37]	142,598	294,003,211	100		Jan. 1	Mar. 7	4	24.09	11.20	4.31	.17	39.77	See footnote No. 37			62
63(58)	Tulsa, Okla.	142,157	110,654,297	81	19	July 1	Oct. 1	4	17.33	18.22	7.43	N	42.98	50	21.49	1,000[r]	63
64(55)	Scranton, Pa.[38]	140,404	100,540,866	100		Jan. 1	Apr. 1	4	19.83	24.00	9.20	N	53.03	70	37.12		64
65(60)	Paterson, N. J.[n]	139,656	164,006,717	91	9	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	17.59	16.51	8.44	2.86	45.40	80	36.32		65
66(64)	Albany, N. Y.[39]	130,577	238,393,680	96	4	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	1	24.62	—	8.73	.20	33.55	See footnote No. 39			66
67(67)	Chattanooga, Tenn.[40]	128,163	112,087,024	73	27	Oct. 1	Oct. 1	—	20.00	—	16.00	.80	36.80	60	22.08		67
68(65)	Trenton, N. J.[n]	124,697	151,509,689	84	16	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	19.69	16.98	8.11	2.82	47.60	85	40.46		68
69(70)	Spokane, Wash.[x]	122,001	73,286,605	78	22	Jan. 1	Mar. 15	2	18.00	11.50	11.29	2.41	43.20	47	20.30		69
70(66)	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	85,095,471	74	26	Jan. 1	Nov. 20	2	20.78	21.70	16.00	1.82	60.30	50	30.15		70

[28] **Honolulu.** Rate on real property shown; rate on personalty is $34.23. City rate ncludes cost of school and county government. Land assessed at 60%, improvenents at 100% of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* First $1,500 of assessed value plus ne-half of value between $1,500 and $5,000. Maximum exemption is $3,250.

[29] **Fort Worth.** City rate includes $3.60 water control district rate.

[30] **Jacksonville.** State rate includes inland navigation and canal rate. See note 52.

[31] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $2.09 sanitary district and $.12 township park rate.

[32] **Hartford.** City rate includes $.89 metropolitan district rate. Division of rates stimated on basis of appropriations.

[33] **Grand Rapids.** Special supplemental tax rate of $1.42 levied for three-month nterim (April 1 to June 30) caused by change in city fiscal year. See footnote [j].

[34] **Long Beach.** County rate includes $4.80 metropolitan water district and $2.20 ounty flood control rates.

[35] **Des Moines.** Moneys and credits taxed at 6 mills not included in assessed value. ee footnote [f].

[36] **Salt Lake City.** County rate includes $.20 mosquito abatement and $.10 metropolitan water district rates. See footnote [w].

[37] **Yonkers.** Various assessment ratios reported. State Tax Commission reports 95%, local officials report 99%, and a third source indicates a ratio over 100% of true value. Adjusted rates are $37.78, $39.37 and some figure over $39.77 respectively. See text for discussion.

[38] **Scranton.** City rate is weighted average of $27.82 rate on land and $13.91 rate on improvements. See footnote [s].

[39] **Albany.** State Tax Commission estimates assessment ratio at 88%, local officials at 96% of true value. Adjusted rates are $28.52 and $32.21 respectively. School rate included in city rate.

[40] **Chattanooga, Knoxville, Pawtucket, Roanoke, Holyoke, Portsmouth, Pittsfield, Cranston.** City rate includes school rate.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent		City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
71(72)	Fort Wayne, Ind.[e]	118,410	150,000,000	75	25	Jan. 1	May 6	2	6.95	8.80	7.25	1.50	24.50	75	18.37		71
72(68)	Camden, N. J.[n]	117,536	136,500,009	86	14	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	20.71	15.54	10.30	2.25	48.80	70	34.16		72
73(69)	Erie, Pa.[s]	116,955	123,997,070	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	op.	14.00	17.00	7.00	N	38.00	65	24.70		73
74(71)	Fall River, Mass.[h]	115,428	94,808,000	90	10	Jan. 1	July 1	2	—	—	—	—	42.40	100	42.40		74
75(77)	Wichita, Kans.	114,966	118,805,314	76	24	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	13.70	18.57	8.91	2.22	43.40	70	30.38		75
76(80)	Wilmington, Del.	112,504	162,446,775	98	2	July 1	July 1	—	14.50	1.50	4.00	N	20.00	80	16.00		76
77(92)	Gary, Ind.[41]	111,719	134,280,760	65	35	Jan. 1	May 5	2	11.68	12.30	11.52	1.50	37.00	40	14.80		77
78(81)	Knoxville, Tenn.[40]	111,580	128,542,011	74	26	Jan. 1	May 1	12	26.50	—	15.30	.80	42.60	80	34.08		78
79(74)	Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	Not reporting														79
80(76)	Reading, Pa.[s]	110,568	141,215,330	100		Jan. 1	Mar. 1	1	11.00	15.00	6.50	N	32.50	95§	30.68		80
81(75)	New Bedford, Mass.[42]	110,341	95,246,300	88	12	Jan. 1	July 1	2	41.23	—	2.07	3.50	46.80	100	46.80		81
82(73)	Elizabeth, N. J.[n]	109,912	136,904,853	90	10	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	18.18	16.29	7.18	2.85	44.50	100	44.50		82
83(79)	Tacoma, Wash.[43]	109,408	49,205,896	77	23	Jan. 1	Feb. 15	2	23.17	14.00	16.27	2.75	56.19	50	28.10		83
84(83)	Canton, Ohio[q]	108,401	149,176,060	80	20	Jan. 1	Feb. 20	2	5.10	8.80	2.60	N	16.50	80	13.20		84
85(91)	Tampa, Fla.[44]	108,391	64,907,160	—	—	June 1	June 1	—	34.50	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,000[e]	85
86(96)	Sacramento, Calif.[45]	105,958	121,111,350	88	12	July 1	Nov. 1	2	18.90	19.20	14.20	N	52.30	58§	30.30		86
87(82)	Peoria, Ill.[46]	105,087	81,200,903	69	31	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	2	30.85	17.50	4.45	N	52.80	33	17.42		87
88(85)	Somerville, Mass.	102,177	116,450,520	92	8	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	10	23.14	11.14	1.33	4.29	39.90	100	39.90		88
89(93)	Lowell, Mass.	101,389	92,918,350	92	8	Jan. 1	Oct. 31	10	29.11	9.26	1.60	3.03	43.00	100	43.00		89
90(84)	South Bend, Ind.[47]	101,268	129,826,500	76	24	Jan. 1	May 5	2	8.35	11.40	8.35	1.50	29.60	70	20.72		90
91(90)	Duluth, Minn.[48]	101,065	48,791,248	78	22	Jan. 1	Jan. 6	4	42.99	39.56	22.40	9.65	114.60	33	37.82	4,000[k]	91
92(103)	Charlotte, N. C.[49]	100,899	112,403,755	77	23	July 1	Oct. 6	12	11.74	3.06	8.90	N	23.70	67	15.88	note[p]	92
93(89)	Utica, N. Y.[o]	100,518	126,425,413	100		Jan. 1	June 1	2	25.36	9.74	8.45	.22	43.77	78	34.14		93
	Group IV Population 50,000 to 100,000																
94(94)	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	170,116,092	79	21	Jan. 1	May 1	2	16.70	12.32	.30	1.68	31.00	80	24.80		94
95(115)	Shreveport, La.[50]	98,167	102,384,994	70	30	Jan. 1	Dec. 1	1	16.00	—	13.50	—	29.50	67	19.77	2,000[g]	95
96(87)	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	130,279,495	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	2	19.94	9.67	1.69	3.10	34.40	100	34.40		96
97(88)	Evansville, Ind.[51]	97,062	120,055,770	84	16	Jan. 1	May 5	2	9.40	10.60	12.10	1.50	33.60	100	33.60		97
98(97)	Allentown, Pa.[s]	96,904	105,303,700	100		Jan. 6	Mar. 1	4	12.40	15.00	5.00	N	32.40	75	24.30		98
99(86)	El Paso, Tex.	96,810	76,884,590	78	22	Mar. 1	Mar 1	2	13.50	11.50	7.10	6.90	39.00	66§	25.90	3,000[v]	99
00(102)	Savannah, Ga.[52]	95,996	60,043,726	80	20	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	23.00	10.00	12.50	5.00	50.50	60	30.30	2,000[d]	100

[41] **Gary.** City rate includes $2.00 sanitary district rate. County rate includes 6.08 township rate.

[42] **New Bedford.** Division of rate based on appropriations. School rate included in ity rate.

[43] **Tacoma.** City rate includes $2.50 park rate. County rate includes $2.50 port rate.

[44] **Tampa.** City rate includes $9.50 for debt service which is the weighted average of ates of the four territories in the city.

[45] **Sacramento.** County rate includes $.30 municipal utility and $.30 river flood ontrol rates.

[46] **Peoria.** City rate includes $3.25 park, $3.80 sanitary district, and $3.00 town rates.

[47] **South Bend.** County rate includes $2.89 poor relief and $.26 civil township rates.

[48] **Duluth.** Rate shown applies to non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $106.19 ($35.04 adjusted).

[49] **Charlotte.** Assessed value for 1941 not available so 1940 assessment reported. although tax rates are for 1941.

[50] **Shreveport.** City rate icludes school rate; county rate includes state rate.

[51] **Evansville.** School rate includes $.80 library rate; county rate includes $5.40 township rate.

[52] **Savannah.** Rates and assessment for 1941 not available—1940 figures shown.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent		City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
101(106)	Little Rock, Ark.	88,039	Not reporting														101
102(178)	Austin, Tex.[53]	87,930	68,327,345	82	18	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	1	16.70	6.20	8.00	6.90	37.80	60§	22.72	3,000[v]	102
103(95)	Schenectady, N. Y.[54]	87,549	154,103,971	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 2	4	15.37	10.08	8.05	.19	33.69	See	footnote	No. 54	103
104(99)	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[s]	86,236	85,584,181	92	8	Jan. 1	May 1	op.	14.50	17.50	5.20	3.00	40.20	100	40.20		104
105(104)	Berkeley, Calif.[55]	85,547	93,523,560	94	6	July 1	Nov. 2	2	13.40	20.07	16.10	N	49.57	54§	26.80		105
106(100)	Rockford, Ill.[56]	84,637	55,291,399	71	29	Jan. 1	June 1	2	25.40	21.30	4.50	N	51.20	31	15.87		106
107(101)	Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	83,717,775	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	2	20.20	14.53	1.97	3.10	39.80	100	39.80		107
108(109)	Harrisburg, Pa.	83,893	Not reporting														108
109(108)	Saginaw, Mich.[j]	82,794	101,759,828	83	17	July 1	July 1	8	9.16	6.91	3.35	N	19.42	80	15.54		109
110(147)	Glendale, Calif.[57]	82,582	63,582,180	—	—	July 1	Nov. 1	2	12.51	22.37	16.83	N	51.71	50	25.86		110
111(110)	Sioux City, Iowa[58]	82,364	79,169,492	76	24	April 1	Jan. 1	2	17.40	19.79	13.19	1.25	51.63	60	30.98	2,500[f]	111
112(117)	Lincoln, Neb.[59]	81,984	94,528,558	79	21	Sept. 1	Oct. 1	—	10.64	15.25	3.51	3.19	32.59	80	26.07		112
113(116)	Pasadena, Calif.[60]	81,864	125,524,285	90	10	July 1	Oct. 7	1	11.89	18.26	16.83	N	46.98	56§	26.47		113
114(103)	Altoona, Pa.[s]	80,214	71,758,920	70	30	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	op.	12.50	17.00	4.50	N	34.00	71§	24.14		114
115(120)	Winston-Salem N. C.	79,815	99,734,380	61	39	July 1	Oct. 1	1	12.75	2.25	5.50	N	20.50	70	14.35	note[p]	115
116(98)	Bayonne, N. J.[n]	79,198	129,933,973	84	16	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	23.65	16.42	9.94	2.71	52.72	100	52.72		116
117(118)	Huntington, W. Va.	78,836	114,673,100	60	40	July 1	Nov. 1	2	5.00	9.50	4.46	.08	19.04	80	15.23	note[y]	117
118(111)	Lansing, Mich.[j]	78,753	107,838,050	83	17	May 1	July 21	1	13.26	9.40	5.50	N	28.16	80	22.53		118
119(129)	Mobile, Ala.	78,720	42,517,881	77	23	Oct. 1	Dec. 1	1	7.50	3.00	18.50	6.50	35.50	60	21.30	2,000[a]	119
120(114)	Binghamton, N. Y.[o]	78,309	107,385,868	97	3	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	4	22.92	8.00	6.45	—	37.37	92	34.38		120
121(136)	Montgomery, Ala.	78,084	41,642,101	81	19	July 1	Dec. 1	1	12.50	9.00	4.50	6.50	32.50	25	8.13	2,000[a]	121
122(119)	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[o]	78,029	151,066,709	100		Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	17.46	11.01	4.92	—	33.39	83	27.71		122
123(113)	Manchester, N. H.	77,685	Not reporting														123
124(123)	Quincy, Mass.	75,810	Not reporting														124
125(112)	Pawtucket, R. I.[40]	75,797	154,347,610	70	30	Jan. 1	Oct. 15	4	21.00	—	N	N	21.00	100	21.00		125
126(107)	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,711	63,330.349	73	27	Apr. 21	May 5	1	15.00	12.80	7.50	1.50	36.80	65	23.92		126
127(121)	East St. Louis, Ill.[61]	75,609	42,071,279	64	36	Jan. 1	May 1	2	32.09	27.50	6.30	N	65.89	33	21.74		127
128(124)	Spingfield, Ill.[62]	75,503	50,687,778	81	19	Mar. 1	Jan. 1	2	27.15	17.00	6.00	N	50.15	38	19.06		128
129(125)	Portland, Me.[63]	73,643	78,000,000	78	22	Jan. 1	Aug. 1	op.	27.76	10.90	1.82	6.32	46.80	90	42.12		129
130(148)	Charleston, S. C.	71,275	17,798,175	66	34	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	—	62.00	31.00	16.00	1.00	110.00	25	27.50		130

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[53] **Austin.** Rate shown is for 1940.

[54] **Schenectady.** State Tax Commission reports assessment ratio of 85%, local sources report 120% of true value. Adjusted rates are $28.64 and $40.43 respectively. See text of article for discussion.

[55] **Berkeley.** County rate includes $2.00 water district, $.50 regional park, and $.10 mosquito abatement rates.

[56] **Rockford.** City rate includes $6.70 township rate, $4.40 sanitary district rate, and $1.50 park rate.

[57] **Glendale.** Rate for tax districts No. 2 and No. 3 shown. Rate in tax district No. 1 is $51.75.

[58] **Sioux City.** Assessed value does not include $11,426,334 moneys and credits taxed at 6 mills.

[59] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $1.00 sanitary district rate.

[60] **Pasadena.** County rate includes $2.20 flood control rate.

[61] **East St. Louis.** City rate includes $5.40 levee, $4.90 park, $3.40 township, and $1.33 health district rates.

[62] **Springfield, Ill.** City rate includes $3.90 town, $2.00 park, and $3.97 sanitary district rate.

[63] **Portland, Me.** County rate includes $.37 pier site and bridge district rate.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent		City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
131(128)	Springfield, Ohio	70,662	Not reporting														131
132(122)	Troy, N. Y.[o]	70,304	73,406,253	96	4	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	29.81	9.21	13.05	—	52.07	80	41.66		132
133(140)	Hammond, Ind.[64]	70,184	91,396,665	74	26	Jan. 1	May 5	2	13.00	13.53	10.37	1.50	38.40	60	23.04		133
134(137)	Newton, Mass.[h]	69,873	168,932,950	90	10	Jan. 1	July 1	2	—	—	—	—	28.00	100	28.00		134
135(127)	Roanoke, Va.[40]	69,287	65,436,339	86	14	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	50	12.50		135
136(126)	Lakewood, Ohio[q]	69,160	94,411,050	91	9	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	7.44	12.96	5.70	N	26.10	75	19.58		136
137(131)	East Orange, N. J.[n]	68,945	109,440,185	93	7	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	18.93	11.80	7.00	2.97	40.70	100	40.70		137
138(130)	New Britain, Conn.	68,685	107,358,466	82	18	Apr. 1	May 15	1	15.25	12.21	.47	1.32	29.25	100	29.25		138
139(163)	San Jose, Calif.[65]	68,457	60,424,305	—	—	Dec. 1	Nov. 1	2	13.77	16.84	15.04	N	45.65	50	22.83		139
140(152)	Charleston, W. Va.	67,914	Not reporting														140
141(141)	Topeka, Kans.	67,833	92,488,722	56	44	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	15.46	16.26	6.92	1.76	40.40	70	28.28		141
142(160)	Madison, Wis.	67,447	129,474,540	90	10	Jan. 1	Feb. 28	5	9.68	11.48	5.14	.20	26.50	98	25.97		142
143(150)	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[o]	67,362	150,944,640	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	14.38	12.95	7.58	.19	35.10	88	30.88		143
144(132)	Racine, Wis.	67,195	103,672,771	90	10	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	6.11	11.11	9.94	.22	27.38	92	25.19		144
145(133)	Johnstown, Pa.[s]	66,668	75,131,495	92	8	Jan. 6	Mar. 1	1	12.50	17.00	6.00	N	35.50	100	35.50		145
146(139)	Pontiac, Mich.[j]	66,626	75,180,575	69	31	Jan. 1	Aug. 1	1	12.52	8.46	5.59	N	26.57	100	26.57		146
147(151)	Davenport, Iowa	66,039	58,245,733	92	8	April 1	Sept. 1	1	16.00	16.38	10.63	1.25	44.26	60	26.56	2,500[f]	147
148(142)	Oak Park, Ill.[66]	66,015	41,833,089	83	17	Jan. 1	May 1	2	29.40	32.00	8.30	N	69.70	See footnote No. 66			148
149(153)	Augusta, Ga.	65,919	47,168,921	71	29	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	3	21.50	14.00	9.00	5.00	49.50	57[§]	28.33	2,000[d]	149
150(198)	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	74,020,777	76	24	July 1	Oct. 13	2	17.90	14.40	4.80	16.70	53.80	67[§]	35.85		150
151(144)	Evanston, Ill.[67]	65,389	51,090,121	81	19	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	2	26.79	33.26	7.00	N	67.05	See footnote No. 67			151
152(134)	Cicero, Ill.	64,712	Not reporting														152
153(135)	Atlantic City, N. J.[n]	64,094	91,786,033	92	8	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	34.73	10.54	11.63	2.90	59.80	100	59.80		153
154(188)	Dearborn, Mich.[j]	63,584	214,731,246	62	38	July 1	July 1	4	12.49	9.41	5.78	N	27.68	100	27.68		154
155(155)	Medford, Mass.	63,083	Not reporting														155
156(146)	Terre Haute, Ind.[c]	62,693	55,144,170	66	34	Jan. 1	May 5	2	14.22	13.46	10.02	1.50	39.20	80	31.36		156
157(185)	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	Not reporting														157
158(143)	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	Not reporting														158
159(169)	Cedar Rapids, Iowa[68]	62,120	58,355,364	79	21	April 1	Jan. 1	2	14.73	19.30	8.86	1.21	44.10	60	26.46	2,500[f]	159
160(197)	Jackson, Miss.	62,107	Not reporting														160
161(138)	Covington, Ky.	62,018	58,059,095	74	26	Jan. 1	June 1	2	14.80	11.40	5.60	.50	32.30	70	22.61		161
162(145)	Passaic, N. J.[n]	61,394	79,523,224	87	13	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	23.78	14.60	8.38	2.84	49.60	100	49.60		162

[64] **Hammond.** City rate includes $2.70 sanitary district rate; school rate includes $.63 library rate.

[65] **San Jose.**. Rate shown does not include $4.90 water conservation rate levied on land value only.

[66] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $7.60 sanitary district, $3.20 township poor relief, and $3.20 park district rates. County rate includes $1.00 forest preserve and $.90 mosquito abatement and driveway maintenance rates. State Tax Commission reports an assessment ratio of 32% of true value for Cook County; local assessor reports 37%. Adjusted rates are $22.30 and $25.79 respectively.

[67] **Evanston.** City rate includes $3.00 poor relief, $.10 township, and $7.60 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $.50 mosquito abatement and $.10 forest preserve rates. State Tax Commission reports 32% assessment ratio; local assessor reports 37%. Adjusted rates are $21.46 and $24.81 respectively.

[68] **Cedar Rapids.** Assessed value does not include $24,401,992 moneys and credits taxed at 6 mills.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
									City	School	County	State	Total				
163(154)	Lancaster, Pa.[s]	61,345	90,428,550	100		Jan. 6	May 1	1	6.00	10.50	1.90	N	18.40	100	18.40		163
164(164)	Springfield, Mo.	61,238	40,800,000*	73	27	Jan. 1	Sept. 1	1	16.80	14.50	5.50	1.20	38.00	60	22.80		164
165(149)	Wheeling, W. Va.[69]	61,099	114,007,075	53	47	July 1	Oct. 1	2	4.98	6.06	4.11	.72	15.87	70	11.11	note[y]	165
166(180)	Galveston, Tex.	60,862	Not reporting														166
167(234)	St. Petersburg, Fla.[70]	60,812	83,986,953	90	10	Oct. 1	Oct. 1	1	23.50	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,000[c]	167
168(182)	Fresno, Calif.	60,685	58,118,168	85	15	July 1	Oct. 1	2	16.50	17.30	9.50	N	43.30	50	21.65		168
169(184)	Durham, N. C.	60,195	86,169,272	65	35	July 1	Oct. 6	1	12.20	3.30	6.00	N	21.50	75	16.13	note[p]	169
170(177)	Greensboro, N. C.	59,319	89,000,000	76	24	July 1	Oct. 1	1	12.50	2.30	7.50	N	22.30	75	16.73	note[p]	170
171(165)	Decatur, Ill.[71]	59,305	32,350,000*	—	—	May 1	—	2	27.90	21.80	5.50	N	55.20	38	20.98		171
172(157)	Chester, Pa.[s]	59,285	55,429,411	100		Jan. 6	Mar. 1	—	12.50	15.00	4.75	N	32.25	87§	28.08		172
173(162)	Beaumont, Tex.	59,061	58,345,000	88	12	July 1	Sept. 1	4	18.30	10.60	10.70	5.80	45.40	62§	28.28	3,000[v]	173
174(161)	Bethlehem, Pa.[s]	58,490	62,794,375	92	8	Jan. 1	Feb. 15	4	12.00	16.00	8.50	N	36.50	53§	19.43		174
175(175)	New Rochelle, N. Y.[o]	58,408	170,344,489	96	4	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	4	18.70	10.40	6.90	—	36.00	85	30.60		175
176(159)	Malden, Mass.[72]	58,010	69,012,025	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	2	27.00	11.50	2.10	—	40.60	100	40.60		176
177(176)	Macon, Ga.	57,865	38,942,525	85	15	Jan. 1	Apr. 15	9	15.00	11.35	14.65	5.00	46.00	50	23.00	2,000[d]	177
178	Corpus Christi, Tex.	57,301	43,182,320	81	19	Aug. 1	Oct. 1	2	20.00	13.50	10.40	6.90	50.80	61§	30.98	3,000[v]	178
179(170)	York, Pa.[s]	56,712	49,263,030	100		Jan. 1	Mar. 1	1	10.50	18.00	6.00	N	34.50	57§	19.50		179
180(158)	Union City, N. J.[73]	56,173	64,491,502	95	5	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	23.88	16.04	10.08	2.73	52.73	100	52.73		180
181(181)	Waco, Tex.	55,982	Not reporting														181
182(174)	McKeesport, Pa.	55,355	Not reporting														182
183(166)	Irvington, N. J.[n]	55,328	76,611,817	89	11	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	18.10	13.60	7.20	3.00	41.90	100	41.90		183
184(186)	Cleveland Hgts., Ohio[q]	54,992	106,397,140	94	6	Jan. 1	Sept. 21	2	3.80	14.40	5.70	N	23.90	60	14.34		184
185(199)	Stockton, Calif.	54,714	64,650,950	87	13	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	10	18.60	12.49	17.95	N	49.04	56§	27.62		185
186(173)	East Chicago, Ind.[e]	54,637	86,474,125	60	40	Jan. 1	May 5	2	8.95	10.05	10.50	1.50	31.00	60	18.60		186
187(172)	Kalamazoo, Mich.[j]	54,097	73,408,080	78	22	Jan. 1	July 1	12	8.83	11.83	4.66	N	25.32	100	25.32		187
188(167)	Holyoke, Mass.[40]	53,750	72,433,710	95	5	Jan. 1	July 1	2	25.36	—	1.96	2.98	30.30	100	30.30		188
189(253)	Santa Monica, Calif.[74]	53,500	53,261,280	72	28	July 1	Nov. 1	2	20.25	15.31	21.63	N	57.19	50	28.60		189
190(221)	Columbus, Ga.	53,280	41,800,000*	—	—	Jan. 1	Aug. 1	1	15.00	7.00	12.50	5.00	39.50	61§	24.15	2,000[d]	190
191(191)	Pueblo, Colo.[75]	52,162	27,507,522	69	31	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	32.00	18.65	11.90	4.35	66.90	70	46.83		191
192(208)	Waterloo, Iowa[76]	51,743	34,229,252	78	22	April 1	Mar. 1	2	16.45	19.26	9.24	1.24	46.19	45	20.79	2,500[f]	192
193(220)	Amarillo, Tex.	51,686	57,125,020*	77	23	Oct. 1	Oct. 1	2	11.90	10.30	5.40	5.80	33.40	67§	22.25	3,000[v]	193
194(190)	Asheville, N. C.	51,310	Not reporting														194
195(179)	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	86,344,750	75	25	July 1	July 1	2	14.20	11.85	5.81	N	31.86	100	31.86		195

[69] **Wheeling.** Rates reported are weighted average of rates on class 1, 2, and 4 property. See general footnote on West Virginia. Average rates shown are based on Old Town rates.

[70] **St. Petersburg.** City rate is average of rates of four taxing districts in the city.

[71] **Decatur.** City rate includes $2.70 park, $5.30 township, $3.20 road and bridge, and $2.20 sanitary district rates.

[72] **Malden.** Division of $40.60 total rate estimated on basis of appropriations.

[73] **Union City.** Rate shown is for former town of Union. Lower debt service in former town of West Hoboken results in rate of $50.38 for that portion of Union City. See footnote [n].

[74] **Santa Monica.** County rate includes $4.80 metropolitan water and $2.20 flood control rate.

[75] **Pueblo.** County rate includes $1.00 water district rate.

[76] **Waterloo.** Assessed value does not include $10,032,153 moneys and credits taxed at 6 mills. Rate shown is for east side. Rate for west side is $50.30 ($22.64 adjusted).

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent		City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
196(212)	Portsmouth, Va.[40]	50,745	33,407,239	95	5	Jan. 1	June 30	2	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	70	17.50		196
197(183)	Hamilton, Ohio[q]	50,592	66,694,361	84	16	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	2	7.63	7.98	2.37	N	17.98	70	12.59		197
198(156)	Hoboken, N. J.	50,115	Not reporting														198
	Group V **Population 30,000 to 50,000**																
199(168)	Hamtramck, Mich.	49,839	75,295,800	63	37	July 1	July 15	2	20.00	10.50	6.18	N	36.68	80	29.34		199
200(200)	Brookline, Mass.	49,786	Not reporting														200
201(206)	Muncie, Ind.	49,720	Not reporting														201
202(192)	Pittsfield, Mass.[40]	49,684	59,715,400	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	2	30.31	—	2.01	2.88	35.20	100	35.20		202
203(171)	Jackson, Mich.[j]	49,656	68,350,535	86	14	July 1	July 20	5	9.33	8.52*	4.55	N	22.40	80	17.92		203
204(210)	Lexington, Ky.	49,304	50,560,580	87	13	Jan. 1	June 30	2	18.00	7.80	—	—	—	—	—		204
205(193)	Woonsocket, R. I.[t]	49,303	73,778,300	76	24	Jan. 1	Oct. 10	4	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00		205
206(204)	Clifton, N. J.[n]	48,827	Not reporting														206
207(189)	Kenosha, Wis.	48,765	71,325,040	90	10	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	9.67	12.83	11.71	.79	35.00	85	29.75		207
208(203)	Berwyn, Ill.[77]	48,451	20,812,508	91	9	Jan. 1	—	2	30.30	40.10	11.90	N	82.30	See footnote No. 77			208
209(202)	Bay City, Mich.[j]	47,956	43,766,880	82	18	July 1	Aug. 1	1	18.98	8.90	7.33*	N	35.21	75	26.41		209
210(207)	Stamford, Conn.	47,938	Not reporting														210
211(229)	Muskegon, Mich.[j]	47,697	52,458,550	80	20	Jan. 1	Dec. 1	1	8.39	9.93	5.08	N	23.40	100	23.40		211
212(195)	New Castle, Pa.[s]	47,638	50,107,160	93	7	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	op.	10.50	17.50	3.00	N	31.00	98§	30.40		212
213(205)	Aurora, Ill.[78]	47,170	26,900,000*	—	—	Jan. 1	—	2	26.90	23.80	4.60	N	55.30	32	17.70		213
214(223)	Cranston, R. I.[40]	47,085	77,832,340	81	19	Oct. 1	Oct. 15	4	23.00	—	N	N	23.00	90	20.70		214
215(251)	Raleigh, N. C.	46,897	53,140,881	82	18	July 1	Oct. 1	op.	13.50	2.60	6.10	N	22.20	70	15.54	note[p]	215
216(196)	Everett, Mass.	46,784	73,308,725	87	13	Jan. 1	July 1	2	22.37	7.26	1.27	4.50	35.40	100	35.40		216
217(194)	Haverhill, Mass.	46,752	49,819,400	90	10	Jan. 1	July 1	1	29.40	7.49	1.40	1.71	40.00	100	40.00		217
218(250)	Green Bay, Wis.[79]	46,235	54,668,255	90	10	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	11.75	14.65	6.85	.25	33.50	80	26.80		218
219(187)	Port Arthur, Tex.	46,140	29,365,270	82	18	July 1	Oct. 1	2	19.00	7.50	—	—	—	—	—	3,000[v]	219
220(216)	Wichita Falls, Tex.	45,112	Not reporting														220
221(201)	Elmira, N. Y.[o]	45,106	48,723,189	88	12	Jan. 1	May 15	2	26.88	9.96	6.76	—	43.60	80	34.88		221
222(225)	Lima, Ohio[q]	44,711	52,700,000	80	20	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	9.15	7.55	3.80	N	20.50	70	14.35		222
223(233)	Lynchburg, Va.	44,541	42,672,696	92	8	Jan. 1	July 1	3	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45		223
224(211)	Williamsport, Pa.[s]	44,355	29,482,720	100		Jan. 6	Apr. 1	op.	13.75	22.00	11.00	N	46.75	55§	25.85		224
225(214)	Lorain, Ohio[q]	44,125	83,000,000	88	12	Jan. 1	Jan. 20	2	6.12	6.14	2.44	N	14.70	100	14.70		225
226(228)	Dubuque, Iowa	43,892	34,720,580	100		April 1	Apr. 1	2	19.27	16.61	9.94	1.28	47.10	60	28.26	2,500[f]	226
227(236)	Ogden, Utah	43,688	Not reporting														227
228(249)	San Bernardino, Calif.	43,646	29,009,535	—	—	July 1	Nov. 1	2	12.06	15.50	17.65	N	45.21	50	22.61		228
229(217)	Battle Creek, Mich.[j]	43,453	68,521,950	79	21	July 1	July 14	1	9.60	7.10	3.10	N	19.80	100	19.80		229
230(230)	Warren, Ohio[q]	42,837	56,240,891	81	19	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	5.90	8.20	3.50	N	17.60	80	14.08		230

[77] **Berwyn.** City rate includes $7.60 sanitary district, $1.40 public health, $3.00 township poor relief, and $1.10 township rates. State Tax Commission reports 32% assessment ratio; local assessor reports 37%. Adjusted rates are $26.34 and $30.45 respectively.

[78] **Aurora.** City rate includes $4.00 sanitary district, $2.60 road and bridge, and $4.10 township rates.

[79] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $2.00 metropolitan sewage district rate.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent		City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
231(247)	Rock Island, Ill.[80]	42,775	22,217,392	77	23	April 1	Apr. 1	2	18.30	24.50	7.20	N	50.00	37	18.50		231
232(240)	La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	51,817,930	89	11	Jan. 1	—	3	—	—	—	—	33.00	87	28.71		232
233(213)	Jamestown, N. Y.[o]	42,638	56,609,945	100		Jan. 1	Apr. 29	1	14.61	12.87	6.49	—	33.97	80	27.17		233
234(222)	Joliet, Ill.[81]	42,365	22,047,305	79	21	Jan. 1	May 30	2	26.20	34.40	8.40	N	69.00	30	20.70		234
235(232)	Fitchburg, Mass.	41,824	48,125,675	84	16	Jan. 1	July 1	2	22.45	11.98	1.42	2.15	38.00	100	38.00		235
236(215)	Chicopee, Mass.[h]	41,664	37,554,530	93	7	Jan. 1	July 1	—	—	—	—	—	40.00	100	40.00		236
237(246)	Bloomfield, N. J.[n]	41,623	66,294,569	89	11	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	14.00	14.50	7.20	3.00	38.70	100	38.70		237
238(238)	Anderson, Ind.[d]	41,572	34,673,570	80	20	Jan. 1	—	2	2.30	15.80	6.00	1.50	25.60	85	21.86		238
239(226)	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	20,343,769	82	18	April 1	Jan. 1	2	26.12	29.77	10.33	1.27	67.49	60	40.49	2,500[f]	239
240(209)	Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	44,482,580	90	10	Jan. 1	July 1	2	34.71	9.96	N	5.13	49.80	100	49.80		240
241(218)	Perth Amboy, N. J.[n]	41,242	45,168,037	—	—	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	21.37	18.67	12.23	2.83	55.10	50	27.55		241
242(219)	Salem, Mass.	41,213	53,967,640	88	12	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	10	17.72	9.83	3.07	2.88	33.50	100	33.50		242
243(284)	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	40,832	43,248,862	81	19	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	15.33	12.72	5.24	N	33.29	70	23.30	note[u]	243
244(242)	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	51,015,575	88	12	Jan. 1	Jan. 31	2	19.21	11.03	6.01	.23	36.48	90	32.83		244
245(235)	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[o]	40,478	52,069,164	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 15	4	26.10	7.90	5.80	—	39.80	70	27.86		245
246(244)	Quincy, Ill.[82]	40,469	34,207,765	66	34	May 1	Jan. 1	2	16.00	15.00	4.60	N	35.60	55	19.58		246
247(224)	Portsmouth, Ohio[q]	40,466	49,485,908	92	8	Jan. 1	June 1	2	8.58	9.11	4.01	N	21.70	100	21.70		247
248(265)	White Plains, N. Y.[o]	40,327	138,148,490	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 2	2	14.12	11.14	6.96	—	32.22	90	29.00		248
249(243)	Waltham, Mass.	40,020	50,624,300	93	7	Jan. 1	July 1	10	32.10	—	1.05	2.85	36.00	100	36.00		249
250(261)	Arlington, Mass.[h]	40,013	57,668,400	95	5	Jan. 1	Oct. 1	2	—	—	—	—	34.80	100	34.80		250
251(262)	Norwalk, Conn.[83]	39,849	73,361,246	85	15	Sept. 1	Oct. 1	2	—	—	—	—	25.50	80	20.40		251
252(227)	Montclair, N. J.	39,807	Not reporting														252
253(239)	East Cleveland, Ohio[q]	39,495	53,467,950	87	13	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	7.70	12.90	5.70	N	26.30	65	17.10		253
254(245)	Meriden, Conn.	39,494	60,536,180	83	17	Jan. 1	Apr. 5	2	14.30	11.80	.30	.60	27.00	100	27.00		254
255(248)	Cumberland, Md.	39,483	47,400,000	89	11	April 1	July 14	op.	11.00	5.49	8.81	2.34	27.64	80	22.11		255
256(231)	Kearny, N. J.[n]	39,467	77,647,974	88	12	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	op.	13.97	10.91	10.31	2.78	37.97	65	24.68		256
257(254)	West New York, N. J.[n]	39,439	42,296,088	81	19	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	25.54	19.08	10.06	2.73	57.41	60	34.45		257
258(288)	Laredo, Tex.	39,274	20,238,496	—	—	July 1	Nov. 11	4	16.65	7.65	8.50	6.90	39.70	68§	27.14	3,000[v]	258
259(237)	Oshkosh, Wis.	39.089	42,379,875	89	11	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	4	16.99	15.00	4.96	.65	37.60	92	34.59		259
260	Alhambra, Calif.	38,935	Not reporting														260
261(270)	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	32,337,650	86	14	April 1	Sept. 15	1	—	—	—	—	38.00	50	19.00		261
262(257)	High Point, N. C.	38,495	Not reporting														262
263(263)	Elgin, Ill.[84]	38,333	22,028,568	77	23	Jan. 1	Apr. 1	2	25.40	23.80	4.60	N	53.80	32	17.22		263
264(264)	Norristown, Pa.[s]	38,181	22,901,305	100		Jan. 1	June 1	—	12.50	23.50	2.50	N	38.50	50	19.25		264
265(255)	Hazleton, Pa.[s]	38,009	29,599,961	92	8	Jan. 6	Apr. 1	1	14.50	28.00	8.20	N	50.70	52§	26.17		265

[80] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $3.80 township, and $1.20 street and bridge rate.

[81] **Joliet.** City rate includes $3.30 road and bridge, $5.20 township, and $3.90 park district rates. Assessment ratio is State Tax Commission estimate. Local estimate is 28% of true value.

[82] **Quincy.** City rate includes $3.40 town, $.50 sewer, and $1.00 health rates.

[83] **Norwalk.** Rate shown is for districts 2 and 3 comprising 38% of total assessed value. City is composed of six taxing districts. Rate for districts 1, 4, 5, and 6 are $27.80, $6.80, $18.70, and 22.40 respectively.

[84] **Elgin.** City rate includes $4.40 sanitary district and $6.70 township rate.

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				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
266(267)	Steubenville, Ohio[q]	37,651	52,729,190	86	14	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	5.20	8.30	2.30	N	15.80	80	12.64		266
267(259)	Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	Not reporting														267
268(276)	Plainfield, N. J.[n]	37,469	59,028,340	90	10	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	15.84	16.31	7.26	2.89	42.30	90	38.07		268
269(297)	Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	27,990,098	78	22	Oct. 1	Oct. 1	10	20.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,000[c]	269
270(252)	Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not reporting														270
271(280)	Mansfield, Ohio[q]	37,154	56,210,650	80	20	Jan. 1	Dec. 20	2	5.40	8.10	2.50	N	16.00	90	14.40		271
272(281)	Joplin, Mo.	37,144	23,000,000	72	28	Jan. 1	Sept. 1	1	16.40	17.50	6.00	1.20	41.10	50	20.55		272
273(241)	Butte, Mont.	37,081	Not reporting														273
274(277)	Newport News, Va.	37,067	37,229,824	84	16	Jan. 1	Dec 5	1	17.40	13.10	N	N	30.50	50	15.25		274
275	Gadsden, Ala.	36,975	15,863,307	80	20	Oct. 1	Jan. 1	2	10.00	3.00	11.50	6.50	31.00	60	18.60	2,000[a]	275
276(256)	Danville, Ill.[85]	36,919	20,385,459	78	22	May 1	Apr. 1	2	26.50	23.50	6.00	N	56.00	41	22.96		276
277(289)	Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	23,284,690	89	11	July 1	Sept. 1	2	27.33	16.76	3.34	16.70	64.13	53	33.99		277
278(285)	Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	28,435,310	77	23	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	2	12.50	22.57	6.47	4.35	45.89	67	30.75		278
279	Orlando, Fla.	36,736	52,674,975	90	10	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	1	15.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,000[c]	279
280(299)	Fort Smith, Ark.	36,584	16,889,500	67	33	Jan. 1	Apr. 10	3	6.37	18.00	9.00	9.00	42.37	25	10.59	1,000[b]	280
281(273)	West Allis, Wis.[86]	36,364	58,755,783	79	21	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	op.	13.38	13.58	11.74	.23	38.93	80	31.14		281
282(269)	Alameda, Calif.	36,256	31,872,460	88	12	July 1	Nov. 1	2	15.80	18.90	16.10	N	50.80	53§	26.98		282
283(258)	Auburn, N. Y.[o]	35,753	51,220,335	100		July 1	July 1	2	18.86	6.51	3.73	—	29.10	100	29.10		283
284(268)	Orange, N. J.[n]	35,717	43,077,642	93	7	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	13.50	14.21	7.22	3.07	38.00	100	38.00		284
285(296)	Meridian, Miss.	35,481	23,397,977	68	32	Oct. 1	Feb. 1	3	16.00	13.00	15.60	6.00	50.60	60	30.36	5,000[m]	285
286	Albuquerque, N. Mex.	35,449	21,831,754	89	11	July 1	Nov. 1	2	16.21	4.80	11.93	6.20	39.14	60	23.48		286
287(271)	Watertown, Mass.[h]	35,427	51,343,955	93	7	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	1	—	—	—	—	34.60	100	34.60		287
288(290)	Richmond, Ind.[87]	35,147	34,934,616	77	23	Jan. 1	May 4	2	3.25	13.35	8.60	1.40	26.60	70	18.62		288
289(260)	Superior, Wis.	35,136	39,691,095	89	11	Jan. 1	Mar. 1	1	6.70	15.14	15.45	.21	37.50	100	37.50		289
290(278)	Santa Barbara, Calif.	34,958	47,238,530	—	—	July 1	Nov. 1	2	14.60	13.00	15.00	N	42.60	53§	22.76		290
291	Greenville, S. C.	34,734	10,194,795	55	45	Jan. 1	Aug. 15	1	43.00	—	—	—	—	—	—		291
292(306)	Baton Rouge, La.	34,719	Not reporting														292
293	Riverside, Calif.	34,696	25,548,140	76	24	July 1	Oct. 1	2	12.00	17.00	22.20	N	51.20	50	25.60		293
294(293)	Moline, Ill.[88]	34,608	22,204,767	73	27	April 1	May 1	2	19.50	26.30	7.20	N	53.00	37	19.61		294
295(266)	Revere, Mass.	34,405	Not reporting														295
296	Burbank, Calif.[89]	34,337	49,501,175	—	—	July 1	Nov. 1	2	11.90	16.71	21.73	N	50.34	50	25.17		296
297(282)	Waukegan, Ill.	34,241	Not reporting														297
298(291)	Rome, N. Y.[o]	34,214	28,933,418	100		Jan. 1	Apr. 1	2	21.65	12.25	9.78	—	43.68	70	30.58		298
299(283)	Norwood, Ohio	34,010	Not reporting														299
300(287)	Kokomo, Ind.	33,795	Not reporting														300

[85] **Danville, Ill.** City rate includes $2.50 sanitary district, $5.40 township, and $3.00 road and bridge rates.

[86] **West Allis.** City rate includes $3.48 metropolitan sewer rate.

[87] **Richmond.** County rate includes $1.70 township and $2.70 poor relief rates.

[88] **Moline.** City rate includes $1.20 street and bridge and $3.90 township rate.

[89] **Burbank.** County rate includes $2.20 flood control and $4.80 water district rates.

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				Realty	Personalty				City	School	County	State	Total				
301	West Hartford, Conn.	33,776	90,071,646	91	9	Mar. 1	May 1	1	—	—	—	—	19.00	100	19.00		301
302(279)	Paducah, Ky.	33,765	Not reporting														302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.	33,693	33,910,080	89	11	Oct. 1	Nov. 3	1	35.25	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,000[c]	303
304(275)	Easton, Pa.[s]	33,589	42,245,404	100		Jan. 1	—	4	12.00	14.50	8.50	N	35.00	93§	32.45		304
305	Alexandria, Va.	33,523	Not reporting														305
306(286)	Elkhart, Ind.[d]	33,434	39,489,919	92	8	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	2	9.40	10.20	8.40	1.50	29.50	60	17.70		306
307(292)	Wilmington, N. C.	33,407	36,186,967	83	17	July 1	Oct. 6	1	15.00	3.89	4.11	N	23.00	85	19.55	note[p]	307
308(294)	Watertown, N. Y.[o]	33,385	45,495,862	100		July 1	July 1	1	17.10	11.90	8.35	—	37.35	92	34.36		308
309(272)	Amsterdam, N. Y.[o]	33,329	27,108,415	100		Jan. 1	June 10	op.	23.52	24.66	13.82	—	62.00	65	40.30		309
310(274)	New Brunswick, N. J.[n]	33,180	41,470,660	92	8	Jan. 1	Feb. 1	4	22.10	12.90	11.80	2.70	49.50	70	34.65		310
311	University City, Mo.	33,023	41,375,170	85	15	July 1	Sept. 1	1	8.80	13.80	9.70	1.20	33.50	50	16.75		311
312(298)	Nashua, N. H.[90]	32,927	39,763,590	67	33	Jan. 1	Dec. 1	—	19.03	9.47*	7.30	N	35.80	100	35.80		312
313(303)	Bloomington, Ill.	32,868	Not reporting														313
314(300)	Port Huron, Mich.[j]	32,759	34,063,505	87	13	May 1	July 1	1	14.94	9.14	7.41	N	31.49	100	31.49		314
315	Danville, Va.[91]	32,749	31,513,555	69	31	Jan. 1	July 1	2	11.00	7.50	N	N	18.50	60	11.10		315
316	Fargo, N. Dak.	32,580	Not reporting														316
317(304)	Hagerstown, Md.	32,491	40,000,000	90	10	April 1	Jan. 1	1	8.50	7.14	3.86	2.34	21.84	100	21.84		317
318(295)	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	Not reporting														318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.[92]	32,249	9,037,240	62	38	Jan. 1	Sept. 15	—	55.00	33.00	25.00	1.00	114.00	13	14.82		319
320	East Providence, R. I.[93]	32,165	48,550,260	80	20	Oct. 1	Sept. 15	4	23.40	—	N	N	23.40	70	16.38		320
321(309)	Santa Ana, Calif.[94]	31,921	25,214,848	44	56	July 1	Nov. 1	2	17.80	21.60	14.94	N	54.34	50	27.17		321
322(301)	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,883	Not reporting														322
323	Lubbock, Texas	31,853	28,368,865	78	22	Apr. 1	Oct. 1	1	11.00	9.50	5.00	5.80	31.30	66	20.66	$3,000[v]	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa	31,570	Not reporting														324
325(307)	Newark, Ohio[q]	31,487	33,127,030	88	12	Jan. 1	Dec. 1	2	4.55	8.95	3.50	N	17.00	70	11.90		325
326(310)	Alton, Ill.[95]	31,255	15,616,979	72	28	April 1	June 1	2	20.30	22.50	5.95	N	48.75	31	15.11		326
327	Middletown, Ohio	31,220	Not reporting														327
328	Salem, Ore.	30,908	15,408,215	—	—	—	—	—	23.10	21.90	16.70	—	61.70	45	27.77		328
329(302)	Marion, Ohio	30,817	Not reporting														329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	26,578,705	88	12	Jan. 1	Jan. 1	1	9.12	16.01	9.63	.24	35.00	88	30.80		330
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	Not reporting														331
332	Petersburg, Va.[93]	30,631	24,984,181	87	13	Jan. 1	Mar. 31	4	23.50	—	N	N	23.50	100	23.50		332
333	Wyandotte, Mich.[j]	30,618	42,495,300	89	11	Oct. 1	Aug. 1	1	14.50	8.75	6.54	N	29.79	70	20.85		333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.	30,579	Not reporting														334
335	Newport, R. I.[93]	30,532	74,029,700	61	39	April 1	July 15	4	24.50	—	N	N	24.50	100	24.50		335

[90] **Nashua.** School rate estimated on basis of appropriation.

[91] **Danville, Va.** Rate for real estate reported. Rate on personal property, machinery, and tools is $20.00.

[92] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $7.00 metropolitan sewer district rate.

[93] **East Providence, Petersburg, Newport.** City rate includes school rate.

[94] **Santa Ana.** County rate includes $4.80 water district and $1.34 harbor and flood control rates.

[95] **Alton.** City rate includes $4.00 town tax.

		Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Realty	Per Cent Personalty	City Fiscal Year Begins	Date City Taxes (or 1st Installment) Are Due	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied Per $1,000 of Assessed Valuation City	School	County	State	Total	Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	Amount of Homestead Exemption	
336	New London, Conn.	30,456	50,035,189	88	12	Oct. 1	Apr. 15	2	—	—	—	—	30.00	95	28.50		336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	14,464,470	74	26	June 1	June 1	1	15.00	13.70	6.00	.50	35.20	50	17.60		337
338(308)	Everett, Wash.[96]	30,224	15,680,704	69	31	Jan. 1	—	2	23.70	12.00	10.00	2.80	48.50	50	24.25		338
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	Not reporting														339
340	Inglewood, Calif.	30,114	18,948,110	90	10	July 1	Dec. 5	2	11.80	22.42	19.54	N	53.76	50	26.88		340
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.[97]	30,103	44,424,350	63	37	July 1	Oct. 1	2	5.80	10.16	4.06	.08	20.10	70	14.07	note[y]	341
342	West Haven, Conn.	30,021	Not reporting														342
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	28,852,100	71	29	Jan. 1	Nov. 1	2	14.99	15.78	3.59	2.22	36.58	70	25.61		343
	Canadian Cities								City	School		Province	Total				
1(1)	Montreal, Que.[98]	910,000	928,796,517	100		May 1	Oct. 1	1	17.88	12.00		N	29.88	100	29.88		1
2(2)	Toronto, Ont.[99]	648,309	947,641,883	100		Jan. 1	May 9	3	23.15	11.45		N	34.60	100	34.60		2
3(3)	Vancouver, B. C.	272,352	207,629,295	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	1	34.18	15.82		N	50.00	70§	35.00		3
4(4)	Winnipeg, Man.	215,814	179,920,074	100		Jan. 1	May 1	1	15.56	19.65		1.29	36.50	76§	27.74		4
5(5)	Hamilton, Ont.[100]	155,836	165,323,652	100		Jan. 1	Apr. 1	4	21.54	15.46		N	37.00	90	33.30		5
6(6)	Quebec, Que.[101]	151,432	116,621,038	100		May 1	July 1	op.	26.20	11.00		N	37.20	80	29.76		6
7(7)	Ottawa, Ont.[102]	150,277	155,145,374	100		Jan. 1	June 18	2	25.53	11.47		N	37.00	100	37.00		7
8(8)	Windsor, Ont.	103,567	95,730,110	100		Jan. 1	May 15	5	19.99	20.01		N	40.00	100	40.00		8
9(10)	Edmonton, Alta.	91,723	56,136,095	100		Jan. 1	May 16	4	24.75	26.75		N	51.50	67§	34.51		9
10(9)	Calgary, Alta.[103]	85,726	55,536,952	100		Jan. 1	June 25	op.	20.81	23.69		N	44.50	63§	28.04		10
11(11)	London, Ont.	77,369	83,968,675	100		Jan. 1	June 18	3	24.68	14.32		N	39.00	96	37.44		11
12(12)	Verdun, Que.[104]	64,314	41,184,830	100		Jan. 1	Jan. 1	1	15.00	10.00		N	25.00	80	20.00		12
13(13)	Halifax, N. S.	63,582	62,191,470	100		May 1	May 1	2	25.20	11.30		.90	37.40	100	37.40		13
14(14)	Regina, Sask.[105]	53,389	40,744,410	100		Jan. 1	June 30	2	27.01	20.45		2.04	49.50	49§	24.26		14
15(15)	St. John, N. B.	50,200	Not reporting														15
16(16)	Saskatoon, Sask.	41,734	31,054,921	100		Jan. 1	July 15	2	16.65	25.57		2.08	44.30	72§	32.04		16
17(18)	Three Rivers, Que.	40,185	Not reporting														17
18(17)	Victoria, B. C.	39,082	44,236,887	100		Jan. 1	Aug. 15	op.	26.81	11.19		N	38.00	76§	28.88		18

[96] **Everett.** City rate includes $1.50 public utility and $2.50 port district rates. See footnote [x].

[97] **Parkersburg.** Rate shown is full rate applied to Group IV property (50% of total assessed value). Rate on Group I (20% of assessment) is $5.03 and on Group II property (30% of assessment) is $10.05.

[98] **Montreal.** Neutral school rate shown; Catholic and Protestant school rates are $10.00 each.

[99] **Toronto.** Assessed value includes $71,922,657 taxed at school rate only. Public school rate shown; separate school rate is $15.65.

[100] **Hamilton.** Public school rate shown.

[101] **Quebec.** Neutral school rate shown. Catholic school rate is $10.50; Protestant, $12.00. City rate includes $5.00 water and $4.70 improvement rates.

[102] **Ottawa.** Public school rate shown. Separate school rate is $19.02.

[103] **Calgary.** Rate shown does not include $3.66 levy on land only for provincial government social services tax.

[104] **Verdun.** Protestant school rate shown. Catholic school rate is $13.00, neutral is $12.00.

[105] **Regina.** Public school rate shown. Separate school rate is $27.96.

GENERAL NOTES

[a] **Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. The rates shown are actual rates. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[b] **Arkansas.** No state tax levy on property after 1941. *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[c] **Florida.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[d] **Georgia.** Intangibles are assessed at 100% of true value and taxes at 3 mills by state only. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state, county, and school district rates except for debt service on debt incurred previous to act.

[e] **Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. Library rate included in school rate.

[f] **Iowa.** *Homestead Exemption:* Amount of homestead exemption is determined by the Board of Assessment and Review each year. The maximum exemption is 25 mills on the first $2,500 of assessed values or $62.50 which was allowed in 1941. This applies to the state and all local units of government.

[g] **Louisiana.** *Homestead Exemption:* Applies to state and parish taxes only, except that New Orleans (no other city) may also exempt homesteads from city taxes. Maximum exemption is $2,000, allowed hereafter. New homes are exempt from all state and local levies for three years following their completion.

[h] **Massachusetts.** In many cities the division of the total rate into city, school, county, and state purposes is not available and only the total rate is shown.

[j] **Michigan.** County rates shown were fixed to cover fiscal year starting December 1, 1940. The new rates are not fixed in time for inclusion in this report except in Wayne County this year.

[k] **Minnesota.** *Property Classification:* There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40%, except the first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25%; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3%, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20%; iron ore at 50%; and personalty in three classes at 10%, 25%, and 33 1/3%. The first $4,000 of true value of homesteads is exempt further from state tax levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law. Assessments average 35% of true value in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and 33% in Duluth. Tax rates shown are actual rates.

[m] **Mississippi.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $5,000 of assessed value exempt from state taxes and levies for maintenance and current expenses of counties, school districts, and road districts.

[n] **New Jersey.** The soldiers bonus formerly included in state tax levy has been discontinued. Entire levy now consists of a school tax which is distributed back to the school districts. For comparison with former years this item is left under state rate, although it might justifiably be added to the school rate.

[o] **New York.** Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown it is included in county rate.

[p] **North Carolina.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but enabling legislation not yet enacted.

[q] **Ohio.** Realty assessment includes public utility valuations.

[r] **Oklahoma.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

[s] **Pennsylvania.** Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted. Intangible personal property—not included in assessments—is subject to a 4 mill state and a 4 mill county rate.

[t] **Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property.

[u] **South Dakota.** *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads are exempt from state tax levies only. However, the state tax has been abolished on all property.

[v] **Texas.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

[w] **Utah.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but not effective.

[x] **Washington.** Legal basis of assessment is 50% of true value.

[y] **West Virginia.** *Property Classification:* Property in cities is divided into three classes: Class I property (intangible personal property) pays ¼ of full rate. Class II (property occupied by the owner as a residence) pays ½ of full rate. Class IV (all real and personal property not in Class I or II) pays the full rate. *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads may be taxed at not more than 1% of assessed value.

Contributors in Review

CHAMPION of tax-free state and municipal securities, **Henry Epstein**, Solicitor General of New York State, (*Shall We Tax Government Bonds?—No*) is known over the country for the vigorous presentation of his position from the public rostrum. His pen is no less pointed than his oratory. For ten years he has served New York State, briefly as first assistant attorney-general and for the past nine years in his present post, arguing such history-making cases before the United States Supreme Court as the minimum wage case and the social security unemployment insurance law. Educated in New York City's public schools, he graduated from Harvard College in 1915, attended Harvard's Graduate School, served as a high school instructor, and graduated from Harvard's Law School in 1921, meanwhile having served in the United States Naval Reserve and tutored at Harvard College.

THE career of **Edward H. Foley, Jr.**, (*Shall We Tax Government Bonds?—Yes*) nationally known advocate of abolishing the tax-free feature of government bonds, can accurately be described as meteoric. At thirty-six he already has served as general counsel of the United States Treasury for three years. With an LL.B. from Fordham University in 1929 he entered practice in the New York firm of Hawkins, Delafield and Longfellow. After three years he went to Washington as an attorney for the RFC, moved over to the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works to become general counsel, and from there to the Treasury and his present post, to set a record of advancement seldom equaled in the national capital.

IN *Wanted: A New Road to Municipal Home Rule,* his second home rule article in the REVIEW, Chicago's Corporation Counsel **Barnet Hodes** is writing on a subject close to his heart and to his work in a city that is heavily shackled with state-made regulations. Since we last mentioned his career (see October REVIEW, page 587) Mr. Hodes has received new honors and responsibilities by virtue of his election as chairman of the American Bar Association's municipal law section. He now becomes also an ex-officio member of the Association's House of Delegates.

THE REVIEW continues to be indebted to **Rosina K. Mohaupt** (*Comparative Tax Rates of 311 Cities: 1941*) for her annual compilation of municipal tax figures. Miss Mohaupt is statistician of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and author of the REVIEW's statistics on municipal debt appearing each year in June. She is co-author of *The English System for the Taxation of Real Property on an Income Basis* and the *Exemption of Homesteads from Taxation,* as well as other publications of the Detroit bureau.

Researcher's Digest: December

Case study of an Alabama county, comparing New Hampshire cities, war and New Orleans, Milwaukee and WPA, strip-tease and research, urbanism file, Kansas City studies.

A CERTAIN professor in a university school of journalism used to require his students to climax their semester under his tutelage by writing a governmental portrait of any community they chose. The results of these labors were remarkably varied. One student would turn out a dissertation dealing entirely with laws and leaving out the people. Another would present a moving portrait of the population with a curious vagueness about governmental departments and procedures. A third would copy the city's annual report and let it go at that. The professor had a hard time grading the papers.

He would certainly have given an "A" to the second of the case studies of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama,** *Tennessee Valley County* (1941, 117 pp.), prepared by Karl A. Bosworth with the coöperation of a host of Alabama officials. This study of a county which is supposed to be typical of rural government in the hill country of Alabama leaves out neither people nor laws nor administrative practice nor politics, nor even statistics. Chapter by chapter and function by function it attacks the political mores of the county, making a study which is especially interesting because it deals with "moonshining" people who have been exposed to the dynamically modern governmental practice of the TVA. Mr. Bosworth's concluding chapters make it clear that, on the whole, moonshine has had more influence than TVA.

City Profiles

It is all very well to paint a picture of government in a given community, but once you've got it, what are you going to do with it? Almost like an answer to this question, which might possibly rise in one's mind after reading the Alabama study, is *A Comparison of New Hampshire Cities and Towns on Certain Factors,* which has been produced by Lashley G. Harvey of the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire** (1941, 26 pp.). The bureau has used the severely statistical approach (as opposed to Alabama's human approach) by means of Professor M. B. Lambie's technique of profile rating of municipalities. The device is supposed to make it possible for the citizen to evaluate his city or town in comparison with others within his state.

The bureau selected twelve rating factors for this study, which is intended only as preliminary to further studies: population per square mile, per capita assessed valuation, average annual current receipts (ten years), average annual expenditure (ten years), per cent of taxes collected on assessments, tax rate, per cent tax assessed paid schools, per cent tax assessed paid county, per cent tax assessed paid precincts, per capita total bonded debt, per capita net debt, per cent net debt to assessed value. The result is a neatly ranged series of 234 bar charts, each representing the profile ratings of as many New Hampshire cities and towns. Frequency distribution charts are added to help in interpreting the results.

Disaster's Silver Lining

Four major recommendations emerge as a result of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** study of

Problems of War, Defense and Disaster (*City Problems,* No. 75): (1) the civil defense plan for the city should be extended to cover disaster planning; (2) non-defense projects should be deferred and incorporated in a long-term plan; (3) maintenance of present facilities should be intensified; (4) local agencies should forego loans, retire debt as rapidly as possible, and devote increased effort to economy and increased departmental efficiency. "One silver lining to the black necessity of a defense plan," the bureau adds, is that it will force the city to adopt a disaster plan which will serve for other emergencies as well as war.

Down with Work Relief

Local Governments in Milwaukee County Should Drop WPA is both the title and the recommendation of a report of the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee.** Tax savings which would result in 1942, the bureau asserts, would be $475,000 in local taxes, $4,275,000 in federal taxes. Basis for the recommendation: WPA costs local taxpayers 28 per cent more per case than a general relief case. Twenty-two pages of argument and statistics bulwark the bureau's case.

History of a Bureau

The September issue of *Nation's Business* carried a story with the joyful caption, "Light for Dark Tax Corners." Over a provocative illustration is a subtitle which begins "Once New Jersey tax dollars hired a strip tease performer." The story is about the **New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce Governmental Research Bureau** which, according to the article, was responsible for the end of tax dollars' connection with strip-teasing. If you don't think a research bureau's work is glamorous, read the article. It's a history of the New Jersey bureau.

For Urban Reference

A brochure from the recently established **Bureau of Urban Research** at Princeton University describes the elaborate urban reference file which the bureau has set up to integrate existing information and research relating to the different fields involved in urbanism and to set up a simple system of tapping and using the urban research, information, thought, and ideas which already exist. The pamphlet illustrates the organization of the file and gives actual samples of the reference cards.

Purchasing; Schools

The **Civic Research Institute of Kansas City** is responsible for two recent substantial reports on local operations. *Purchasing Organization and Procedures in Kansas City* (39 pp.) was a study made at the request of the city manager; *Enrollment Trends in Kansas City Schools* (34 pp.) is intended to help in administrative planning for the future.

Research Bureau Reports Received

County Government

Tennessee Valley County. Rural government in the Hill Country of Alabama. By Karl A. Bosworth. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, 1941. vii, 117 pp.

Defense

Problems of War, Defense, and Disaster. New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research, *City Problems,* October 21, 1941. 6 pp.

Education

Enrollment Trends in Kansas City Schools. Kansas City (Mo.) Civic Research Institute, October 1941. 34 pp. mimeo.

Governmental Measurement

A Comparison of New Hampshire Cities and Towns on Certain Factors. By Lashley G. Harvey. Bureau of Government Research, University of New Hampshire, Durham, 1941. 30 pp.

Governmental Research

The Urban Reference. The Bureau of Research, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 1941. 8 pp.

Purchasing

Purchasing Organization and Procedures in Kansas City. Kansas City (Mo.) Civic Research Institute, July 1941. 39 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

Local Governments in Milwaukee County Should Drop WPA. Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee, October 1941. 22 pp. mimeo.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 673)

the debt of cities is downward. It and the debt of counties and states should continue in that direction in order that they may be ready to shoulder their share of the responsibility which lies ahead. Circumstances may compel local and state governments to tackle the reconstruction problem just as they did the relief load in the early days of the depression until means were found to transfer it to the national government.

Possibly the experts will be fooled, as they were before the stock market crash of 1929, but all available evidence points to the very probable need for an expanded public works program after the war finally has been won; and, with the passing of each additional month, there is greater cause to believe that local, county, and state government will have to shoulder a considerable share of the burden.

NEW ROAD TO MUNICIPAL HOME RULE

(Continued from Page 691)

gestion which will have an immediate utility and also pave the way for broader revision of legal concepts relating to home rule.

In 1916 one of the first major reports on the progress of municipal home rule was written—*The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule*, by Howard Lee McBain.[3] Another major study carried this survey of progress from 1916 to 1930—*The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule, 1916-1930*, by Joseph D. McGoldrick.[4] What is now needed is not a progress report, but a report for progress.

If this means that the home rule movement must part with the past in order to attain success, let us do that. Our democratic society certainly has developed the research institutions and facilities to chart a new course. Perhaps all we need to do is use those facilities and boldly.

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[3] Columbia University Press, 1917.

[4] Columbia University Press, 1933.

Editor's Note.—This is the second of two articles on home rule by Mr. Hodes. The first appeared in the National Municipal Review for October 1941.

News in Review

City, State, Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Cities Face Virtual Moratorium on Capital Outlay

New York City Comptroller Points Effect of Priorities

IN HIS capital budget message to the New York City Board of Estimate on November 16 Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick stated that the national defense situation, necessitating priority ratings for many materials needed for capital improvements and causing serious shortages of others, will substantially bring about a "moratorium" on non-defense building, both public and private. He stated:

"If the city is able to maintain its plant in reasonably good condition and complete those improvements directly related to defense, we may count ourselves lucky. And the public will find some solace in the knowledge that we shall be retiring old debt much faster than we issue new debt. . . . It is time for department heads and the public to realize just how acute the shortage of materials is becoming."

He urged that only those projects be advanced that bear directly on national defense, including fire, police, hospital, and transportation undertakings. Projects in other categories might be permitted to remain in the capital budget and program for 1942 and the five succeeding years (calling for expenditures of $87,000,000, as submitted by the City Planning Commission) as there was no commitment to appropriate the funds. Comptroller McGoldrick commended the capital budget allowance of $40,000,000 for plans, engineering work, and site acquisitions related to a reservoir of post-war projects.

City legislators were counselled, when contemplating the appropriation of funds for projects covered by the 1942 capital budget, to determine beforehand whether or not priority ratings have been granted, and if so whether the materials are actually available. "Otherwise we will find ourselves in the anomalous position of approving the spending of funds for something that cannot be bought."

St. Louis Merit System Swings into Action[1]

Action on the personnel front in St. Louis is already beginning as a result of the charter amendment adopted in September.[2] A civil service commission has been appointed by the mayor, to consist of Daniel N. Kirby, chairman, Luther E. Smith and Paul Kaveney. The commission has begun preparations to select a personnel director, with the purpose of recruiting the best possible candidate on a nationwide scale.

Assisting the commission in its selection are I. J. Browder, Alabama personnel director, and W. Leonard Johnson, director of the Indiana State Personnel Division. These men were interviewed by the commission at the time of their recent visit to St. Louis to address the Annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, their appointment as advisors following shortly thereafter. They will assist the commission in the preparation of the application form for prospective candidates and in grading the applicants therefrom.

The position of personnel director will probably carry a salary around $7,200 a year. The appointment will be made by the Mayor from a list of three eligibles established by the commission. Requirements are five years of experience in personnel administration, of which two must be in public personnel administration. There is no local residence requirement.

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[1] See also page 720.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1941.

The position of director and the proposed merit system over which he will preside offer interesting and hopeful evidence that the merit principle is growing in local government. St. Louis will have 7,200 employees in the classified service under the new plan, and the commission is assured by the charter amendment of steady funds at least to the extent of one-half of one per cent of the city payroll. There are few exempt positions, and the commission and the director have wide power over recruitment, examination, certification, classification, training, and the proposal of a retirement system.

Applications for the position of director will probably close early in January, until which time application forms may be secured from the commission. The material submitted in the application will serve as the written part of the examination, with oral examinations being given to high-ranking candidates.

Patterson H. French
Committee on Public Administration
Social Science Research Council

Local Issues at the November Elections

Statewide elections were scheduled last month only in Kentucky, New Jersey, New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Mississippi with elections in other states for municipal officials and a few other officials, according to the American Municipal Association.

Police salary raises, submitted to voters in thirty-one New Jersey municipalities, were approved in only eight, while firemen's salary increases, up in seventeen cities of this state, were disapproved in almost all cases.

In Paducah, Kentucky, proposed ordinances to increase salaries of police and firemen and establish a civil service system for certain other city employees were defeated.

Cleveland, Ohio, voters also defeated police and fire salary increases, along with a 2.73 operating levy for the administration of poor relief, which would have given welfare employees pay raises already voted by the city council. In Cheyenne, Wyoming, on the other hand, voters approved an ordinance raising the salaries of the mayor and commissioners. In three small Pennsylvania communities pay increases were voted for police.

Cincinnati defeated a proposal to construct a city power plant or issue $100,000,000 in bonds to buy the plant now supplying the city with power. San Francisco voters turned down a proposal to authorize a $66,500,000 revenue bond issue for purchase of the distribution lines of the private power company now transporting electric power from the city-operated Hetch Hetchy Dam in Yosemite National Park. The city has been selling Hetch Hetchy power to the utility company for distribution under an "agency contract" for seventeen years, but the United States Supreme Court found it to be violating the Raker Act, which permits sale only to municipalities or public irrigation districts, and after June 30, 1942, will place an injunction on this activity.

Other issues acted upon included a statewide enabling act in Kentucky to permit voting machines in counties, which was adopted; a charter amendment in Cleveland to eliminate sewer rental charges and replace operating funds from general fund allocations, which was defeated; a charter amendment in Detroit for reinstatement of civil service employees absent in the armed forces, which was approved; and an amendment in New York State to extend the term of state senators from two to four years, which was defeated.

Council-Manager Plan News

Mayor Theodore K. Ferry of the borough of **Fair Lawn, New Jersey,** containing the "garden city" of Radburn, advocated a city manager at a forum meeting in October under the auspices of the churches and the League of Women Voters.

A campaign for the manager plan was launched on November 12 in the borough of **Fort Lee, New Jersey,** by a group of taxpayers. Petitions calling for a special election on the proposal are being circulated.

The referendum on November 18 in **Margate City, New Jersey,** resulted in defeat of the proposed manager plan by a vote of 961 to 626; commission government was thus retained by a margin of 335 votes. Out of a registration of 2,483, a total of 1,587 voted. The proposal was sponsored by the newly formed Citizens' League and vigorously opposed by virtually all city officials and employees. Two of Margate's four voting precincts favored the plan by slight margins.

Petitions are being circulated in **Clifton Forge, Virginia,** for a referendum on the manager plan to replace the existing governmental structure of a salaried mayor and a council of twelve elected by wards and serving without compensation. The manager plan was defeated two years ago by a margin of 143 votes out of 1,479.

A movement is under way for a city manager for **Annapolis** and a county manager for **Anne Arundel County,** both in Maryland.

The council-manager plan was strongly urged for **Ishpeming, Michigan,** at a meeting of the Town Club on November 18, by Proctor Maynard of the high school faculty.

The movement for city manager government for **Redding, California,** is advancing, according to Editor Paul C. Bodenhamer of the *Redding Record.*

A movement for adoption of the manager plan is under way in **Barnesboro, Pennsylvania.**

A commission to frame a new charter was elected last month in **Glen Cove, Long Island, New York,** the vote being 1,070 to 341.

Twenty-two **Texas** city managers held a special session in connection with the twenty-ninth annual conference of the League of Texas Municipalities at Temple, Texas, on November 7.

Ten **Vermont** managers met in Middlebury on November 5, with Governor Wills as guest speaker.

California Cities Plan Joint Sewage Facilities

A coöperative survey of the sewage disposal problems of seven neighboring California cities on the east side of San Francisco Bay—four of them with city managers—has resulted in a recommendation that the municipal plant now supplying their water also construct and operate sewage treatment and disposal facilities for their common use.

The joint survey was an outgrowth of the custom of municipal officials of the seven cities—Berkeley, Alameda, Oakland, Emeryville, Albany, Piedmont, and Richmond—to meet for discussion of mutual problems involving the area, according to the International City Managers' Association.

An executive committee composed of the city managers of four of the cities and council representatives of the other three supervised the survey, authorizing the city of Berkeley to employ and compensate personnel. The cost, $48,000, was divided according to population, land area, and industrial concentration of the seven cities.

The survey recommended that forty-year serial bonds be issued to defray the cost of building treatment and disposal facilities, estimated at $8,450,000. Each city council has the right of independent action in the matter of providing funds for construction, but final decision will be made by voters at a bond election.

A City without a Government

Resignation on November 7 of the mayor and four councilmen of Lackawanna, New York, left that city of 25,000 people without an administration until Governor Lehman on November 13 appointed five successors, these being the mayor-elect and four men who had been chosen for council by the electorate at the November 4 election, to take office January 1, 1942. The resigned officials had been convicted of conspiracy to defraud the municipality by padding city WPA payrolls. The resignations occurred just prior to the imposition of suspended prison sentences and fines.

Instruction in Wartime Protection for Utilities

Cities from all parts of the United States have been invited to send representative employees to New York City in December and January for courses of instruction on how to protect vital utilities and city services during wartime, so that they can go back to their communities to teach others.

The New York City Civil Service Commission has undertaken to standardize for nationwide use instruction courses originally prepared for New York City employees. The courses will be given in two-week periods of intensive training.

Missouri Citizens Organize to Rewrite Constitution

Simmering in Missouri for some time has been the issue of constitutional revision.

During the National Municipal League's annual conference in St. Louis, November 17, 18, and 19, the Secretary of State announced that the issue of revision would definitely go on the ballot next November.

Geared especially to the revision problem, a full day of the conference was devoted to questions of rewriting a state constitution, the merits of the one-house legislature, federal-state relations, and techniques of educating the citizens of a state to the issues of constitutional revision.

The newly revised *Model State Constitution,* published by the League, made its first appearance at the conference.

As the climax of the day's sessions, 150 Missouri advocates of constitutional revision gathered at dinner to discuss methods and procedure. Dr. Isidor Loeb, dean emeritus of Washington University, who presided, appointed a statewide committee of ten to direct an educational campaign to acquaint voters with the issue of constitutional revision. This committee, of which State Senator Allen McReynolds is chairman, will promote the formation of local committees in all counties and will coöperate with them in an educational campaign. The local committee for St. Louis was appointed at the meeting with Stratford Lee Morton, who had served as chairman of the local committee on arrangements for the conference, as chairman.

Maryland Legislative Council Confers with Local Officials

The Maryland Legislative Council is on tour. Following its previously announced plan to visit every section of the state for conferences with county and municipal officials on recent legislation and on the need for further legislation, the council held a two-day session in the westernmost part of the state on October 28 and 29 and visited two Eastern Shore counties on December 1, 2, and 3.

The response and enthusiasm aroused by these meetings was so encouraging that the plan now is for the council to hold such conferences at least once a month. On each such trip the council wishes to meet with representatives from one or more counties, including the municipalities.

County and municipal officials within the area to be visited are notified in advance and invited to present their legislative needs and to comment upon legislative proposals pending before the council. No formal agenda is fixed in advance. Discussion proceeds upon whatever matters are raised by any person in attendance, whether a public official, a representative of a local interest group, or a private citizen.

Of course there was considerable variety in the matters discussed and in the manner—but not the sincerity—in which they were presented. The proposed substitution of two state hospitals for the county almshouses, suggested at the October conference, aroused a spirited discussion of comparative costs, admission procedures, and satisfaction with the present almshouse system. Briefer attention was given to the validity of the title and the costs attendant upon tax foreclosures, the need for a state wage, hour and collective bargaining law, proposals for increased home rule and the need of minimizing the number of local bills, a more "equitable" distribution of the proceeds of the gasoline tax and the state business license taxes, the desirability of expanding the vocational training program of the public schools, the milk law passed at the last legislative session, annual legislative sessions, and the like.

In addition to providing local officials with an opportunity to meet and talk with legislative leaders of the state, the program of the council has the further advantages of familiarizing the members of the council with sections of the state little known to many of them; of giving the council increased prestige in the local communities—the press has been very generous in announcing and reporting the meetings; of providing local officials with a forum on which to air their views on any public problems, local or statewide; and of opening the opportunity to the council to visit state institutions and leading industries in the vicinity (state hospitals and teachers colleges and tire, canning, celanese and hatchery businesses). Here, indeed, is a refreshingly new democratic form: the steering committee of the state legislature travels over the state to confer with local interest groups and local political leaders!

Howard M. Kline
University of Maryland

Increased Training Enrollment in New York State

The New York State Department of Education reported last month that 36,269 state and local government employees enrolled in special extension courses between July 1, 1940, and July 1, 1941, an increase of 7,338.

For the first time training was provided for municipal electric utility officers, town supervisors, clerks of boards of supervisors, state metal trades placement interviewers, and state statisticians and accountants. New courses also were developed for assessors, planning and zoning officials, justices of the peace, and town welfare officers.

In addition a fire defense training program attracted 200,000 volunteer firemen.

Labor Grievance Board for New York Subways

Mayor LaGuardia of New York City on November 22 announced the establishment of a three-man labor grievance board for the city-owned transportation system as promised at the time of the threatened strike last summer. The board will handle the many disputes and grievances arising among the 25,000 men and women connected with the transit system. It is under the Board of Transportation which will continue to handle basic questions of wages and hours.

Frozen Jobs for Veterans Denied

The New York Court of Appeals on November 19 held unconstitutional the Hampton law of 1941 which prohibited the removal, except for incompetency or misconduct, of veterans or volunteer firemen serving in temporary or provisional positions in welfare departments or emergency relief bureaus, if employed before December 31, 1937.

City Managers Hold Annual Conference

The effect of national defense on cities was the major topic of discussion at the twenty-eighth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, held in Hollywood, Florida, on November 23 to 27. Defense subjects which occupied one entire day of the meeting included: organization for defense, priorities for equipment and supplies, effect on municipal personnel and finance, dislocations caused by shifting from normal to war industries, and post-defense planning.

Other features of the program included a half day on unsolved administrative problems and a session on management techniques discussed by a panel composed of the older city managers. Matters pertaining to the city manager profession were considered at the association's business meeting.

Conference on Personnel at Massachusetts State College

Over two hundred public officials, political scientists, economists, and laymen attended the Conference on Governmental Personnel, held at Massachusetts State College in Amherst, October 31 and November 1. Thirty-two speakers and discussion leaders covered various phases of the civil service system, including its relationship to national defense.

Round table discussions were held on general personnel problems, personnel training, retirement and pensions, and careers in public health services.

In addition to the faculty committee of Massachusetts State College, members of the political science departments of eight neighboring colleges cooperated in making arrangements for the conference and approximately ninety students of colleges and universities of Massachusetts took part.

Charles J. Rohr
Bureau of Public Administration
Massachusetts State College

Nation's Mayors to Meet in January

The annual meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors will be held in Washington at the Mayflower Hotel, January 12 to 14, inclusive. The topic of national defense and the cities will be emphasized, and outstanding federal officials will participate in the program and discussions.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

"Sieve-l Service" Junked by St. Louis Citizens in Favor of Merit System

Ward workers, press, radio, "clamor girls" contribute to victory

IN 1914, when St. Louis adopted a new city charter, administration of the civil service according to merit principles was placed in the hands of an Efficiency Board. "Sieve-l" service would have been an appropriate spelling for the board's technique, as it was full of holes through which incumbents were sifted out and only party members were found qualified to slip through the meshes of examinations. This was true not only of the nineteen years of Republican rule under the charter provision, but for the eight years of Democratic administration as well.

In addition to the handicap of legal loopholes, successive Efficiency Boards lacked professionally-trained staffs, they were under constant political pressure, and the public remained apathetic except for a few shouts of indignation when the newspapers published statistics and pitiable case histories of hirings and firings. There were twelve suicides in 1933 which provided a collection of horror stories that shocked the public conscience for the usual nine days.

The League of Women Voters of St. Louis, as part of the National League's campaign for trained personnel in government service under the chairmanship of Mrs. George Gellhorn, attempted to organize various elements of public opinion in support of the merit system. Resolutions protesting "the progressive junking of the civil service regulations of the city charter" and "the appalling waste and menace to every needed service" were given wide publicity. The St. Louis Committee for Trained Personnel made a survey of all city government departments and, after considerable study, drafted a personnel amendment to the charter which was submitted to the Mayor, but which remained quietly in the files—probably the wrong one.

Campaign Launched

In the meantime the Missouri Federation for the Merit System was formed to work for a state merit bill; and on May 27, 1940, the Federation in coöperation with the League held a luncheon meeting at which Mayor LaGuardia of New York spoke in behalf of the merit system to an audience of one thousand citizens. St. Louis' mayor, Bernard F. Dickmann, who had for some time advocated the merit system, appointed a committee of public officials to draft a civil service amendment to the city charter. This measure was much like the draft prepared by the St. Louis Committee for Trained Personnel, both of them having been ushered into this world with the aid of the National Municipal League, the Civil Service Assembly, etc.

To get the bill through the Board of Aldermen required the aid of the Mayor, the newspapers, and members of the League of Women Voters who sat in the aldermanic chamber each Friday awaiting the effect of their ingratiating letters and interviews. The bill did not pass in time to submit the amendment at the mayoralty election in April of this year, but it was submitted at a special election on September 16.

The newly-elected Mayor, William Dee Becker, had given strong support to the merit system in his campaign and he, along with the three living ex-mayors, became honorary chairman of the Citizens' Committee for the Civil Service Amendment, organized in June. However, the "sieve-l" service operated as usual, even after the mayoralty election in April; and by September over 4,200 people had been removed from their jobs "with or without cause."

St. Louis summers are something to escape from and most people try to do so. Organizations disband and citizens shed their worries about local government while they look for cooling breezes. But the Citizens' Committee for the Civil Service Amendment found in Joseph A. McClain, Jr., dean of Washington University School of Law, who served as chairman, and Norman Bierman, president of the Missouri Federation for the Merit System, two young men who were born campaigners willing to forego vacations and work with dynamic zeal for the duration.

Funds Raised

Letters asking for funds brought in several hundred dollars, and office space in a downtown building was given free of charge. A former executive secretary of the St. Louis League of Women Voters was engaged as secretary and immediate efforts were begun to establish a board of directors upon a representative basis.

Some $1,800 was eventually raised from letters, which was far from the amount estimated as necessary for the campaign. Largely through solicitation by McClain and Bierman, of business men and corporations, the total budget of over $9,000 was completed.

Committees on general publicity, on radio, speakers' bureau, and ward organizations were established and functioned effectively. All the radio stations gave generously of their time without charge to the presentation of campaign issues. There were many good programs, the most important of which were three vigorous radio speeches by Mayor Becker. About twenty speakers covered some seventy-five meetings during the last four weeks of the campaign.

Ward Organization

Great credit must be given to the work of the League of Women Voters headed by Mrs. Ralph W. Thayer, who did a magnificent job of ward organization. There are twenty-eight wards in St. Louis but the committee decided to concentrate on about twelve which were residential in character with a large voting population. A committee of about fifteen women transposed phone numbers from a street address telephone book to the registered list of voters in these wards. These names were broken into lots of twenty-five to two hundred, distributed among some several hundred women on the Telephone Committee who called all the voters on the assigned list urging them to go to the polls and vote for the civil service amendment. The Evangelical Women's Organization made many house-to-house calls upon registered voters for whom no telephone was listed. It is estimated that 150,000 persons were reached by telephone or visit. The execution of these tasks was performed remarkably well and the value of these calls to the final success of the campaign cannot be overestimated.

Newspaper Help

From the beginning the three St. Louis metropolitan dailies were disposed to support the civil service amendment but it was necessary to stimulate them into more active campaigning. All three responded to the call in varying degrees during the early weeks of the campaign. During the last ten days in the news section, editorial columns, cartoons and pictures, the civil service amendment commanded enormous space and attention, relegating the war and the new tax bill to second place.

The Committee recognized that speeches, resolutions, and endorsements, etc., do not make good daily campaign news, and sought to create activities and incidents which would make lively copy. A dramatic stunt was the soap-box sortie on the Saturday morning before election when twenty young women from the League, standing on soap-boxes on the corners of twenty of the busiest streets, recited jingles, and appealed to the passersby to vote for Amendment 3. The sandwich girls who assisted them by handing out fliers wore enlarged campaign cartoons on boards in the approved sandwich style. The pictures and stories rated the front page, and editorials on the "clamor girls" filled more space for the campaign. To the unprecedented quantity and quality of newspaper support given the amendment is due a large measure of credit for the successful outcome of the election.

Volunteer Workers

Except for a limited office staff, all campaign workers were volunteers. The $9,000 raised was spent for literature, printing, distribution, and office expenses. There was not a single paid advertisement in newspapers or other publications. Ward workers were secured from the names of approximately five thousand persons who signed endorsement cards. Many of the law students of the popular chairman worked for days at the new headquarters which were opened, about the middle of August, in a store located on a busy downtown street.

About three weeks before the election, 250,000 copies of a four-page campaign pamphlet were distributed in offices and in the designated wards. About ten days before, 125,000 copies of a two-page flier were issued warning the voters of the false issues raised by the spoilsmen. Another 250,000 copies of a sample ballot were distributed the day before election.

Some 250 campaign cartoon-placards were carried on the front end of street cars for two weeks before election. Four thousand similar window cards were placed in store windows and other display places. About 3,500 bumper strips were printed and used. Tent cards showing the conscientious citizen voting on September 16 were placed in selected restaurants.

The campaign for the civil service amendment was somewhat complicated by the fact that a large number of the Negro organizations were extremely interested in the election of aldermen by wards, which was the other proposition on the ballot; and since it seemed likely that there would be a heavy Negro vote, a special effort was made to secure the support of the leaders. It is believed that the intensive concentration for a period of four weeks on this group was reflected favorably in the returns.

Other Groups Help

The aid of C.I.O. leaders was given freely, but the A. F. of L. was inclined to oppose the amendment from the beginning. As civic, business, professional, and church groups resumed activities in the fall they also gave assistance to the campaign.

The enthusiastic spirit of the Citizens' Committee was somewhat dampened by the rain which fell during the morning of election day, and by the very light vote which was being cast. It had not been planned to expend much effort at the polls, but at the last minute a committee of some seventy-five men and women, developed by spontaneous generation to ring doorbells and cruise about the city in cars, urged people to go to the polls and assisted in taking them where necessary. Last-minute telegrams and telephone calls to stores and factories were sent too, but in spite of all the organization and exhortation, only about 28 per cent of the total registered vote was cast. However, 62½ per cent of these votes were in favor of the amendment, a margin of 2½ per cent above the constitutional requirement.

The surprise and delight of the Citizens' Committee and of the thousands of independent citizens who had supported the amendment were beyond bounds. Many had not really expected a victory in this first effort.

Mayor Becker issued an order, antedating the amendment provision, which resulted in the city employees remaining at their jobs on election day. This meant they had only enough time off to vote instead of to electioneer all day as had been the practice since recorded history in St. Louis wherever the election was of interest to City Hall employees.

This was a citizens' campaign and a citizens' victory. Mindful of the importance of "following through," a nucleus of citizens will be on the alert, watching the administration of the law and helping to keep alive public sympathy and interest.

Tess Loeb

St. Louis League of Women Voters

Roundup—

The recent election saw **Leagues of Women Voters** busy as usual in many communities. . . . In Maryland the **Montgomery and Prince Georges County Leagues** conducted a one-day "workshop of democracy" at the University of Maryland to instruct new voters in the technicalities of voting. . . . The **Bloomfield (Connecticut) League** concentrated on teaching voters how to mark ballots with the result that, according to town officials, there were fewer void ballots than ever before. . . . The **Riverside (Connecticut) League** manned an information booth and demonstrated the operation of a voting booth in the Town Hall a week before election. . . . The **Onondaga County (New York) League** had its second annual November Election Bulletin published as a supplement to the *Syracuse Post-Standard*. . . . For any citizen group which has the sympathetic ear of a local newspaper, this last idea sounds like an excellent way to reach a large number of people at election time.

Through the coöperation of the Philadelphia County Election Commission and the **Committee of Seventy,** demonstrations of voting machines were held in seven of the largest high schools in Philadelphia. . . . An excellent way to instruct a good many people, since it has often been demonstrated that children carry such information home to their parents as well as absorb it themselves.

The **Portland City Club** has started using colored ink for printing its *Bulletin*—a different color each week. We are in favor of the change—it has cheered up the appearance of the *Bulletin* no end.

One of the most challenging leaflets that has come our way recently is that announcing the **Public Affairs Forum,** a discussion program sponsored by the **Kansas City Civic Research Institute.** The forum has been developed to help organize neighborhood and city-wide groups for discussion of civic affairs, to establish training courses for discussion leaders and to assist both new and existing organizations in planning programs, providing speakers, and suggesting useful reference material. The announcement of the forum is an attractive job typographically—printed in blue on gray paper—and the story it tells is a stimulating one. All those who are concerned over the need for greater citizen participation in government will certainly watch the Kansas City experiment with interest, for it may easily set a pattern which can be followed in other communities.

The **Connecticut Federation of Taxpayers' Associations** has published an ingenious and well written little pamphlet on the subject of a proposed dam in that state. Instead of the solid pages of technical information which are so often issued by taxpayers associations, the Federation has condensed the pertinent material and presented it in an extremely readable format with the title "Barnum is Dead."

Meeting in St. Louis in conjunction with the National Municipal League, the **National Association of Civic Secretaries** elected the following officers: Allen H. Seed, Jr., President; W. P. Lovett, Vice-President; Miss H. Marie Dermitt, Secretary; Miss Louise C. Morel, Treasurer; and Ewen C. Dingwall of Seattle, Forest Frank of Cincinnati, George Gerhard of San Francisco, Frederick D. Griggs of Springfield (Mass.), Robert W. Hansen of Milwaukee, Julian G. Hearne, Jr., of Wheeling, Miss Claire B. McAfee of Philadelphia, George McCaffrey of New York, and Miss Grace D. Treat of Cleveland, directors.

If you are interested in municipal legislative bodies, write to **New Haven Taxpayers, Inc.**[1] and ask for a copy of their recent bulletin on the subject. A large amount of interesting material on size, method of selection, and the like is included.

R.M.W.

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[1] 839 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

State Legislation Affecting Counties, 1941

New laws indicative of prevailing trends in local government

THE state legislatures meeting in 1941 produced the usual grist of statutes affecting county and township government, many of them specific in character, such as changing an officer's salary or redefining his duties. Some of the legislation, however, has more than passing significance because it is indicative of prevailing trends in local government. These laws relate primarily to structure of government, problems of finance, services performed, and the development of future controls through planning and zoning. A partial list summarizing some of the legislative acts will serve to illustrate the nature of this 1941 legislation affecting counties and townships.

Organization and Reorganization Offices, Liability

The state legislature of North Dakota cleared the path to permit sweeping reform by enacting laws allowing county disorganization and submitting several optional forms of county government.[1] Although the electorate of Nebraska rejected a similar proposal last year, the legislature again submitted a constitutional amendment that would permit it to draft optional county charters, which will be submitted to referendum in November 1942. New York amended its optional county government law in order to facilitate action under the 1939 constitutional revisions.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, p. 301.

Several states passed legislation tending to reduce the number of local elective officers. Connecticut now provides that town meetings shall no longer elect town auditors. The Michigan legislature enacted a statute permitting counties with a population of 500,000 or more (Wayne) to abolish by referendum the office of surveyor. Illinois legislation facilitated the abolition of township collectors. An Oklahoma statute now declares municipalities of less than 5,000 population may abolish their office of treasurer and shift its functions to the county treasurer.

The Montana legislature gave its approval to a proposed constitutional amendment extending the terms of county attorneys and justices of peace from two to four years. The amendment provided also that the maximum term for all other county and township offices should be extended from two to four years except where this would conflict with other provisions of the constitution.

The Michigan legislature extended the prohibition against dual office-holding by board members to all counties, except that such members might accept unsalaried offices and appointments. The Ohio legislature attempted to improve the quality of local government by providing that if any local office-holder absented himself from his duties for ninety consecutive days for reasons other than injury or illness the office should be deemed vacant.

Several states succeeded in expanding the merit system in counties and townships. Massachusetts legislation related to the protection of seniority rights when towns were brought under the civil service laws. Michigan provided that the merit system could be adopted through referendum in counties of 300,000 population and more. New York's law was most sweeping in that it required all counties outside New York City to adopt one of three options before July 1, 1942.[2] The three optional plans are a county civil service commission, a county personnel officer, and the State Civil Service Commission.

New York apparently extended the liability of counties and reduced that of towns. The law now declares that counties will assume liability for negligence of anyone in the county clerk's office where such negligence was committed in the performance of duty. On the other hand, towns are no longer liable to civil action in cases involving dangerous highways, bridges, and culverts unless the clerk or superintendent of highways was duly notified but neglected or failed to remedy the defect within a reasonable time or unless it had existed for so long that it should have been discovered and remedied in the exercise of reasonable care and diligence. Arizona made her county supervisors and treasurers jointly and severally liable for 120 per cent of the amount in case of any illegal payment made to a member of the board of supervisors.

Financial Administration

Most legislation in the field of county finance related to tax delinquency and limitation, purchasing, and county budgets. A Colorado law simplified the procedure for county acquisition of tax-delinquent real estate, and a Wisconsin statute specified that counties might sell such property with final payment to be made within five years. An Oregon law authorized county boards to accept deeds to land in process of foreclosure when such action would expedite the harvesting of fire-damaged timber.

The Washington legislature advanced a tax limitation proposal to a referendum to be held in November 1942. It provides an over-all forty-mill limit based on assessed value which in turn shall be 50 per cent of true value. A new statute in Iowa permits the controller to provide some flexibility in the otherwise rigid tax-limit laws. A Florida statute renewed its tax limitation laws that were passed originally several years ago.

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[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, p. 253.

The Oregon legislature permitted cancellation of delinquent taxes under certain circumstances. Personal property taxes three years or more delinquent may be cancelled by county boards if deemed uncollectible. The boards may cancel also taxes on property donated to municipalities for specified purposes, but only if the municipality made no payment for the property.

A Montana statute of temporary effect authorized counties to hire fiscal agents to readjust and refund outstanding bonds, but only if savings in interest of at least ½ of 1 per cent would result from such operation. Massachusetts extended the town bond limitation law to include fire, water, light, and improvement districts.

The New York legislature extended the budget system to all towns. Oregon amended its county budget law to require publication of comparative figures for the three immediately preceding years and estimates for the current year to serve as controls over budgetary requests. Wyoming also improved its county budget act in various ways. The Wisconsin legislature decreed a budget system for all counties and instructed the state municipal accounting division to assist in installation.

The New Hampshire legislature provided that competitive sealed bids be used for all purchases over fifty dollars unless the county board waived this requirement by unanimous consent and gave its reasons for doing so. A Georgia enactment required the establishment of purchasing departments in counties with populations of 200,000 and more, and a Wisconsin statute permitted the appointment of purchasing agents in counties under 125,000 population.

Health and Welfare Activities

In health and welfare prevailing legislation involved the surplus commodities stamp plan sponsored by the federal government. The laws of Minnesota, Wisconsin, New York, Texas, Illinois, Ohio, and Nebraska specified that counties should coöperate with the federal government in administering the plan. The Illinois law provided that if the county or township was unable to bear the burden of the food stamp plan, the state would assume the obligation. Different forms of coöperation were established by the laws of other states.

North Carolina, Oregon, West Virginia, and Minnesota reorganized their welfare boards in various aspects, and in each instance the personnel was placed on a merit basis. Wisconsin abolished its town, village, and city activities for the poor, thus establishing a complete county system. Iowa provided for intercounty agreements regarding the transfer of county home inmates, and North Dakota declared that the cost of care for indigents should not be a gift from the county but should constitute a claim on their estates.

Public Safety

In the field of public safety county powers were expanded regarding fire protection and national defense activities. Texas provided that its counties could offer fire protection either directly or by entering a contract with another local unit. Michigan legislation enabled townships to install water mains for fire as well as for domestic use, gave them the right to create fire districts and to contract for fire protection. Ohio authorized the creation of fire districts in certain townships, and Tennessee provided that its counties could appropriate funds to assist the state in combatting forest fires.

Oregon authorized the creation of county zoning and fire protection districts for unincorporated territory lying in two or more counties, but Colorado declared such districts could embrace territory in any number of counties and within municipalities. New York authorized its counties to appropriate funds for the training of volunteer firemen. North Carolina expanded the function of its sanitary districts to include fire protection either directly or through contract. North Carolina also permitted its municipalities to extend their fire protection services twelve miles beyond their limits.

Many states passed defense acts, but not all followed the model drafted by the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. In regard to counties, Florida, Georgia, and Michigan followed it in that they authorized the creation of defense councils in every county. Massachusetts authorized its local housing authorities to coöperate with the federal government in providing defense housing during the emergency, and gave its towns authority to appropriate funds until 1943 for various activities bearing some relationship to defense.

Resettlement and Conservation

The Arizona legislature authorized the creation of county soil conservation districts, thus bringing to thirty-nine the number of states now coöperating with the federal government in this field. New York amended its soil conservation law by providing that all maintenance agreements for soil conservation improvements must have the approval of the board of supervisors. Texas also revised its soil conservation act in a number of details. Texas and Montana authorized their counties to enter into contracts with federal agencies regarding resettlement and rehabilitation. Texas and Colorado passed legislation enabling their counties to appropriate funds for agricultural experiment purposes. Oregon permitted the creation of county forests on lands acquired through tax delinquency procedure, and Maryland permitted her counties to drain their swamps and lowlands. Florida counties were directed to coöperate with state agencies in reforestation and the utilization of forest products. Idaho counties were authorized to operate fish hatcheries.

Public Works

Under the leadership of the United States Housing Authority, state legislatures continued to expand the scope of public housing. County authorities or regional authorities embracing two or more counties were authorized by the 1941 legislatures of Montana, Texas, North Carolina, Florida, Washington, and West Virginia. In most instances the law stated that its purpose was to extend public housing to rural as well as urban areas. Oregon amended its law to require a referendum rather than simply a petition to initiate county housing projects. Massachusetts, Washington, Tennessee, and West Virginia gave their county housing authorities extended power for the duration of the defense emergency.

Also under federal sponsorship is the movement to encourage units of local government to establish airports and air fields. Counties were authorized to establish such airports in Nebraska, Michigan, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, Illinois, Texas, Arizona, and Washington. Michigan required a referendum before an airport could be established, and Oklahoma authorized counties to lease their properties for airport purposes. Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and Wyoming gave their counties zoning powers relating to such airports, while Massachusetts gave similar authority to its towns.

Legislation relating to other types of public works in counties and townships was varied. Michigan and West Virginia extended to all counties permission to construct water and sewerage works. Oregon permitted its counties to establish parks, while Texas merely broadened powers already vested in its counties. Michigan provided that cities and villages could contribute to township parks and beaches. Florida sought equitable plans to reimburse its counties for expenditures on highways since taken over by the state, Montana provided that its counties could discontinue streets in unincorporated towns, and Nebraska permitted its counties to light their highways.

County Development

Nevada permitted counties of 15,000 population and more to set up planning boards, while Ohio gave to its county boards broad zoning authority. Michigan extended the authority to zone to all townships, and Tennessee amended its county zoning law in several details. Tennessee gave its counties the right to appropriate funds for advertising purposes. Texas gave its larger home rule counties a chance to advertise their advantages, and Oregon revised its laws regarding county advertising in order to permit the employment of experts.

Installation of the manager plan is being discussed in **Elizabeth City County, Virginia.** At a recent meeting the present form of government was termed "inadequate as well as obsolete."

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

State and Local Pensions Studied

Census Bureau survey shows marked increase in number of pension systems

GROWTH of pension systems in the states and larger cities of the United States in the last quarter-century and their scope in 1938 are examined in a recent special study prepared by the Division for State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census.[1] Since pensions are perhaps the most easily ignored of the many complex governmental problems confronting the layman interested in the finances of his local government, it is worth noting that the study includes not only extremely informative summary material but also segregated data on each of the individual governmental units surveyed.

The study is based on the fiscal year ending in 1938, at which time 91 of the 94 cities of over 100,000 population had a total of 347 pension systems, including 53 systems administered by the state. Of the 294 city systems administered locally, 144 were financed through pension reserve funds, while all of the 53 city systems administered by the states were financed exclusively through reserve funds. Of the remaining 150 city systems, approximately two-thirds were financed exclusively from current funds and one-third by the combined use of reserve funds. Pension payments for the 94 cities averaged $2.57 per capita, ranging from $3.54 per capita for the five cities over 1,000,000 population down to $1.30 per capita for the cities of 100,000 to 300,000 population. Combined assets of the systems totaled nearly $617,000,000, but it is notable that $553,000,000 of this was accounted for by eight of the larger cities whose pension systems are operated on the reserve fund basis, $351,000,000 of it by New York City alone.

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[1] *Financing State and City Pensions.* State and Local Government Special Study No. 15. Division of State and Local Government, C. E. Rightor, Chief Statistician. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1941. 82 pages, planographed. Tables, figures, etc.

Whereas 91 of the 94 cities having populations of 100,000 and over in 1938 had pension systems, in 1912 with only 56 cities falling in this population group only 41 levied pension assessments on employees and 50 made payments to beneficiaries. Systems for firemen and policemen have shown proportionately the least growth, the new systems being largely for teachers and general employees, as might be expected.

Among the states, only six had pension systems in 1915, whereas by 1938, 32 had one or more systems each. The states in 1938 maintained 71 systems, 32 for school employees and 39 for other public employees. Twenty-eight of the state systems were financed from current funds exclusively, 16 from reserve funds only, and 27 from a combination of the two. State pension fund payments averaged only 39 cents per capita in 1938, while state pension fund assets were $684,000,000, divided $526,000,000 for school systems and $158,000,000, for other systems.

In the introduction to the study (which was prepared by Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, technical assistant to Division Chief C. E. Rightor, and Clifford R. Gross of the division's staff) it is cited as a collection of information necessary in considering the desirability of extending the federal social security act to public employees. The survey will be at least equally useful to anyone who has ever wondered how the pension setup in his own city compares with those in use elsewhere.

Dallas Capital Plan Enters Second Year

In the summer of 1940 the city of Dallas, Texas, in coöperation with the National Resources Planning Board, prepared a "basic financial and improvement plan," setting up a current and capital financing program which aims to make the city free of bonded debt by 1975. The essence of the plan is that new borrowing be held within annual retirements, releasing progressively greater amounts of current revenues for financing capital outlays on a pay-as-you-go basis.

The program, which was set up in great detail, including spot maps locating the majority of the improvements contemplated within near-years, included quite complete estimates for 1939-40 and the five ensuing years. On September 30, 1941, the city closed its first full fiscal year under the plan, and the sale of a large block of bonds in November places it well into 1941-42 in so far as borrowing goes. Hence it is interesting to note the city's success to date in adhering to the plan.

In so far as the keeping of new borrowing within stipulated retirement limits is concerned, Dallas is very close to its objective. At September 30, 1939, the base date for the program, the city's gross bonded debt for which its full faith and credit were pledged was $37,566,500. This included the self-supporting water system debt as well as debt of the sanitary sewer and disposal system which is supported in Dallas from special charges. The program contemplated that at September 30, 1940, the corresponding figure would be $36,818,250 and at September 30, 1941, $36,245,500. Actually, the figure was $36,853,250 at the close of 1939-40 and $36,272,000 at the close of 1940-41, or amounts only $35,000 and $26,500 respectively above estimates. Debt reduction may therefore be considered as going substantially as planned.

Less exactly in line with estimates is the actual borrowing since September 30, 1939, although here the city must admittedly be granted considerable leeway. Officials frankly noted when the plan was prepared that departure from it, perhaps in important respects, might be advisable.

The program contemplated the issuance of $950,000 new bonds in 1939-40, but actually $1,000,000 were issued. This represented sale of $50,000 less than anticipated for schools but $100,000 more than anticipated for street improvements. For the year just closed, 1940-41, $1,100,000 bonds were scheduled to be sold under the plan, and exactly this amount of full faith and credit obligations were issued. However, the anticipated financing had all been for streets and storm sewers, whereas only $550,000 of the bonds issued were for these purposes. Schools took an unscheduled $300,000, and $250,000 bonds were issued for the municipal airport, an item pushed forward ahead of schedule in connection with national defense requirements. In addition, the city sold $150,000 of airport revenue bonds, which while not full faith and credit obligations of the city served to bring total issues for the year to $1,250,000.

For the current year, the plan calls for sale of $1,200,000 new general lien bonds, all for storm sewers, streets, and parks. In November the city sold $893,000 new bonds, $475,000 of this total for purposes included in the year's financing plan and the remaining $418,000 for unexpected items or items moved ahead on the schedule. Of the unscheduled financing, $150,000 was for a technical training school directly necessitated by the defense program, and another $50,000 was for schools, while $200,000 was for a public market which is expected to be self-supporting but may receive tax support if necessary. The remaining $18,000 was for library purposes.

Municipal Bond Yields Continue Decline

Municipal bond yields, which firmed slightly in September, resumed their downward course in October and reached a new all-time low on November 1. *The Bond Buyer's* index of the yields of twenty representative municipal bonds was 1.90 per cent on November 1, 1941, as compared with 2.02 per cent on October 1 and 2.32 per cent on November 1, 1940. The highest interest yield for this group of bonds was 5.69 per cent, attained May 1, 1933.

The index of eleven first grade bonds also reached a new low on November 1, 1941, standing at 1.57 per cent as compared with 1.65 per cent for October 1 and 1.94 per cent for November 1, 1940. The high for the group was 4.9 per cent, shown on May 1, 1933.

Bills Carry City Facts to Householders

Folders mailed out with tax bills and statements printed on the backs of utility bills are among devices in use to inform citizens about city services. A recent roundup of such folders by the International City Managers' Association found Two Rivers, Wisconsin; Dallas, Texas; Kansas City, Missouri; Royal Oak, Michigan; Morganton, North Carolina; and Los Angeles County, California; Durham County, North Carolina; and Henrico County, Virginia, using interesting examples.

Two Rivers is economically using the

backs of water and electric utility bills for printing a series of articles on "how to keep up with your government." One month the article related the history of the meter reader who delivered the bill, explaining the process through which he got the job. Another month the utility bill listed telephone numbers of important city departments for handy reference.

Dallas enclosed with its 1941 tax bills an illustrated folder telling how the taxpayer's dollar is allotted to pay for city expenses and explaining the most convenient ways to meet tax payments. This city has also prepared for citizens a mimeographed pamphlet showing the organizational setup and working procedures of its departments.

A two-color six-page folder sent out by Kansas City with its current tax bills informed citizens that "you protect your life, your health, your home when you pay your Kansas City taxes." The leaflet carried a digest of city accomplishments in 1940 and a summary of plans for 1941-42, showed distribution of the tax dollar, and told taxpayers that prompt payment of taxes would entitle them to a 6 per cent discount.

A taxpayer leaflet prepared by the municipal research analyst of Royal Oak classified each government activity according to cost to taxpayers, by year and by month per thousand dollars. The town of Morganton distributed a folder briefly telling what services tax dollars bought.

Inserted with the tax bills of Los Angeles County this year was a folder covering three years of "governmental economy" and explaining the 1941-42 financial program. Durham County mailed citizens a specially prepared letter entitled "Government and Citizenship." Henrico County, prepared a two-color folder complete with statistics and pie-charts.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

New York's Third P. R. Election

Minority members increased
Three women elected

ON NOVEMBER 4 New York City used P.R. for the election of its city council for the third time. The election increased the number and proportion of the council minority and gave representation to nearly half a million more voters than had ever been able to elect aldermen under the old plan.

There was disappointment in many circles that the Democratic organization majority was able to retain 17 places out of 26. Some assumed, from the fact that Mayor LaGuardia, Comptroller McGoldrick, and Council President Morris were re-elected on the Fusion ticket, that the Democratic control of the council should have been overturned completely and blamed P.R. that it was not.

This argument overlooks the indisputable fact that in general the city re-affirmed at this election its Democratic party allegiance. By a very strenuous campaign enough of the more independent Democrats were persuaded to disregard party ties in voting for city-wide offices to return the Fusion administration by a narrow margin, but in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens Democratic borough presidents were elected, as were the Democratic candidates for all other offices filled within those boroughs except for the minority representatives elected to the council by P.R.

Had it not been for P.R. there might well have been a Democratic sweep of these boroughs in the council also, depending partly, of course, on how district lines were drawn. As it was, enough minority members were elected to give the opposition 35 per cent of the next council and to remove the power of the Democratic organization to over-ride the mayor's veto by a two-thirds vote. Never, from 1921 to the last aldermanic election in 1935, did the Democrats fail to elect at least three-quarters of the aldermen under the old district plurality plan, even when a reform mayor was elected.

That the majority secured by the Democrats in the next council reflected accurately the directions of the voters as expressed on their ballots is shown by the table below.

The new council will contain five more members than the present one. In New York the election quota is fixed at 75,000 and each borough is allotted one seat for each full quota of valid ballots or remainder of as much as 50,000. This provides at each election an automatic reapportionment to the various boroughs on the basis of actual voting strength.

This year's changes in borough representation and in the political complexion of the council are tabulated at the top of the next page.

The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, headed by Thomas D. Thacher, Samuel Seabury and Charles C. Burlingham, which endeavored to unite good government support on a short interparty list of qualified candidates, saw five of its nominees elected, as it had the time before. Seven of the nine minority councilmen-elect (all but the Communist and one of the Republicans) were recommended as well quali-

DEMOCRATIC PARTY REPRESENTATION

Borough	*First-Choice Votes*	*Votes on Deciding Count*[a]	*Members Elected*	*Members in Proportion to Deciding Votes*
Manhattan	190,113 (43%)	202,185 (49%)	3 (50%)	3.0
Bronx	208,666 (53%)	212,199 (59%)	3 (60%)	2.9
Brooklyn	362,622 (55%)	393,858 (64%)	6 (67%)	5.8
Queens	211,332 (56%)	246,743 (71%)	4 (80%)	3.5
Richmond	36,878 (67%)	36,878 (67%)	1 (100%)	.7
City	1,009,611 (52%)	1,091,863 (61%)	17 (65%)	15.9

TOTAL VOTES AND REPRESENTATION

Manhattan	441,358	411,165	6
Bronx	391,144	360,021	5
Brooklyn	662,064	614,021	9
Queens	379,236	348,639	5
Richmond	55,166	55,166	1
City	1,928,968	1,789,012	26

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[a] These are the votes counting for the Democratic organization candidates after the ballots of all the defeated candidates except the "runner-up" had been transferred to their next choices among the candidates with a chance of election. These transfers gave effect to the wishes of 485,651 voters who thereby helped to elect councilmen but whose votes would have been wasted on losing candidates if the first-choice count had been accepted as final.

COUNCILMEN ELECTED

	Manhattan		*Bronx*		*Brooklyn*		*Queens*		*Richmond*		*City*	
Party	*1939*	*1941*	*1939*	*1941*	*1939*	*1941*	*1939*	*1941*	*1939*	*1941*	*1939*	*1941*
Democratic	2	3	3	3	5	6	3	4	1	1	14	17
Republican	1[a]	1[a]					1	1			2	2
American Labor			1[a]	2[a]	1[a]	1					2	3
City Fusion	1[a]	2[b]			1[a]	1[a]					2	3
Communist						1						1
Independent	1										1	
Total	5	6	4	5	7	9	4	5	1	1	21	26

[a] Endorsed also by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee.

[b] One of the City Fusion candidates received the designation also of the American Labor party, the other of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee.

fied by the non-partisan Citizens Union.

Striking Individual Results

Some of the individual results were particularly noteworthy:

1. Three women were elected: the council's minority leader, Genevieve B. Earle of Brooklyn, independent Republican chosen three times under P.R. with no regular party support and only the independent designations of the City Fusion party and the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee; Rita Casey, whom the Democratic organization nominated in Brooklyn in the hope of drawing votes away from Mrs. Earle; and Gertrude Weil Klein, an organizer and educator for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, elected as an American Labor party candidate in the Bronx. There had been no women elected in the last aldermanic elections and only one in each of the first two elections under P.R. Mrs. Earle and Mrs. Klein presumably could not have been elected without P.R. and Mrs. Casey might not have been nominated.

2. An able, independent Negro, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., was elected in Manhattan as a City Fusion and American Labor party candidate. There had been no Negro on previous councils, but the special problems of Harlem have been crying out for attention and this year the colored community got behind one of its most popular leaders and elected him. Dr. Powell far outdistanced the Negro candidate on the Democratic organization ticket, who was defeated.

3. The first Communist ever elected in the 65 public P.R. elections so far held in the United States won the ninth and last place in Brooklyn. He is Peter V. Cacchione, an American war veteran of Italian ancestry, who in view of the turn of events abroad emphasized all-out aid to the allies in his campaign. His election is being seized on by enemies of P.R. to arouse feeling against the system, but whether it will actually prove unfortunate remains to be seen. It may be that giving the Communist minority a direct spokesman of its own will be more salutary than the alternative of having it boring from within other parties and using its votes as a balance of power between other-party candidates.

4. An illustration of the supremacy of the voters' wishes over those of their party leaders under P.R. was afforded by the election of Stanley M. Isaacs. Mr. Isaacs is just completing four years of distinguished service as borough president of Manhattan. He was denied a renomination by his party, the Republican, and ran for the coun-

cil for vindication, having the designations only of the City Fusion party and the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee. He was easily elected and led all three of the regular Republican candidates, one of whom, former Assemblyman Meyer Goldberg, was also elected. Similarly in Brooklyn Mrs. Earle ran far ahead of the three official Republican candidates and was the only Republican elected in that borough.

5. In Brooklyn a contest between the "right" and "left" wings of the American Labor party resulted in three candidates of the former and two of the latter appearing on the ballot without any party designation.[1] Nevertheless one candidate of the former, Louis P. Goldberg, a prominent attorney, was elected. Mr. Goldberg replaced Dr. Harry W. Laidler, who has served ably in the present council as a Labor party member but was denied the party's redesignation because of his support of his close associate, Norman Thomas, for president last year. Dr. Laidler ran as a candidate of the City Fusion party and Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, but there were not enough independent votes to elect him in addition to Mrs. Earle.

One other Fusion councilman with an admirable record failed of re-election, Robert K. Straus in Manhattan. Mr. Straus, an independent Democrat, had been twice elected as a City Fusion-Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee candidate under P.R., but this year many of his votes went to help elect Mr. Isaacs and Dr. Powell instead and he was the last candidate defeated.

Half Million More Represented

Because comparatively little attention was given to the council race in the heat of the mayoralty campaign and less educational work in the use of P.R. was done than in former years, the number of invalid ballots remained disconcertingly high—276,329 or 12.6 per cent of all the ballots marked.

Apparently, however, the increased interest caused by the chance to elect minority representatives under P.R. balanced the ballots carelessly spoiled, for the valid votes for council actually exceeded the highest valid vote ever cast for aldermen under the old system.[2]

In effective votes, which are more important than mere valid votes, the new system showed immense superiority. As in the first P.R. election four years ago, nearly half a million more people helped elect candidates they voted for than had ever voted for successful candidates for aldermen under the old plan.

Fewer ballots became exhausted this time through being marked only for candidates with no chance of election, and the percentage of effective votes was therefore higher than it had been even in the previous P.R. elections. The figures are given on the next page.

A majority of those who cast valid ballots saw their very first choices elected, and this was true in every borough.

Earlier Objections Removed

Features of earlier elections which caused criticism of P.R. were much reduced this fall.

The number of candidates was not excessive in any borough. There were 31 in Brooklyn, 20 each in Manhattan and Queens, 15 in the Bronx, and two in Richmond for a total of 88 compared with 100 regular candidates in 1939, and 232 in 1937.

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[1] New York does not have a completely non-partisan P.R. ballot like the other P.R. cities. Party emblems and party rows or columns are ruled out, but if a candidate's nominating petition requests the designation of a party or independent body and the county committee or other authorized officers of the latter consent, the name of the party or body appears after his name on the ballot.

[2] The number was slightly less in proportion to the number voting for mayor, however, than it was in 1933.

The largest count, in Brooklyn, required only seven days and the final results in all boroughs were known by Wednesday evening of the week following election.

The cost was reduced again. Wages paid to the central counting staffs amounted to $88,802, to extra election clerks for the P.R. booths at the polls $89,298. Printing, transportation, and supplies should not bring the total cost added by P.R. above $250,000 or 13 cents for each valid vote. If the system were extended to the other offices voted for, there would be no primaries and a substantial net saving.

Racial and religious considerations played a part in the P.R. balloting as in all New York elections, but the transfers gave striking evidence that such considerations were not paramount. Paul J. Kern, president of the

EFFECTIVE AND WASTED VOTES

	Votes That Helped Elect Winners	*Votes That Counted Only for Losers*[a]	*Total Valid Votes*
P.R. Council, 1941	1,603,368 (83%)	325,600 (17%)	1,928,968
P.R. Council, 1939	1,255,148 (78%)	351,957 (22%)	1,607,105
P.R. Council, 1937	1,507,791 (75%)	505,310 (25%)	2,013,101
Aldermen, 1935	1,146,938 (67%)	565,133 (33%)	1,712,071
Aldermen, 1933	1,044,882 (55%)	849,928 (45%)	1,894,810
Aldermen, 1931	854,590 (65%)	454,704 (35%)	1,309,294
Aldermen, 1929	847,951 (63%)	505,769 (37%)	1,353,720

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[a] In the three P.R. elections this includes the ballots of the runner-up. The charter requires these to be transferred, in so far as they show any choices among the successful candidates who have not reached the full quota, to the continuing candidates next preferred by the voters. In the last two elections, however, this has not been done except in the Bronx, on the theory that it could make no difference in the candidates elected. For the sake of uniformity, therefore, none of the runner-up ballots have been counted here for winners though a great many of them were marked for winners. In the Bronx this year, for example, 32,235 ballots were added to the totals of the elected candidates by the transfer of the ballots of the last candidates defeated. This would have brought the effective total for the Bronx from 82 per cent up to 90 per cent of the valid vote.

EFFECTIVE BALLOTS FOR COUNCIL, 1941

Borough	*First Choices for Winners*	*Totals for Winners*[a]	*Total Valid*
Manhattan	257,907 (58%)	369,293 (84%)	441,358
Bronx	215,772 (55%)	321,386 (82%)	391,144
Brooklyn	391,880 (59%)	568,120 (86%)	662,064
Queens	215,280 (57%)	307,691 (81%)	379,236
Richmond	36,878 (67%)	36,878 (67%)	55,166
City	1,117,717	1,603,368	1,928,968

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[a] Not counting the votes transferred from the runner-up in the Bronx.

Municipal Civil Service Commission, cited examples in his account of the New York council election before the P.R. League's annual meeting on November 18 in St. Louis:

"When Tammany's Negro candidate, Stoute, was eliminated in Manhattan, for instance, Tammany's white Carroll received 16,380 of his next choices while Negro Rev. Powell obtained only 2,476 of Stoute's vote. Political factors were at least six times as effective in this case as racial.

"When a Jewish candidate, Ornstein, was counted out in Manhattan on the twelfth count, Nugent, an Irish American, received 3,912 of his votes and Stoute, a Negro, received 3,499, while Isaacs and Straus, two eminent candidates of the Jewish faith, received only 1,431 and 2,161 respectively."

Another Attack on the Way

In spite of the evidence that P.R. has once more justified itself and given the city a far more representative council than it could have secured in any other way, the Democratic organization has taken courage from the election of a Communist and the disappointment of many Republicans and Fusionists that they did not elect more members to launch another attempt at repeal.

Councilman Louis Cohen of the Bronx has introduced in the council the very same charter amendment that was voted down only last year by 782,768 votes to 565,879. This would provide for plurality election of 33 councilmen, one from each of the city's 23 very unequal senatorial districts and ten from certain boroughs at large pending a state reapportionment. The districts are such that the Democrats could count on almost a clean sweep of the council in "off-years" when no mayor is elected, and a much larger proportion than they have under P.R. at all times.

If passed by the council, the amendment would have to be approved by the Board of Estimate before going to the people unless it were put on the ballot by petition. In any case it cannot come to a vote before the regular fall election of 1942. The civic forces which have won and held P.R. in three successive votes are girding again for battle.

Other P. R. Elections

Shorter accounts of the other seven P.R. elections held on November 4, including the first P.R. election of council and school committee in Cambridge, Massachusetts, will be carried in this department next month.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Employee Training in the Public Service. A Report by the Committee on Employee Training in the Public Service, Milton Hall, Chairman. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1941. xvi, 172 pp. $2.50.

Interest in the training of public service employees today is an outgrowth of the application of modern management principles to the administration of public agencies.

How to organize, administer and evaluate a program, how to make the program functional and attractive to supervisor and employee, how to fit the training plan and organization into the the general administrative establishment—these were problems that immediately beset the proponents and officials in charge of training plans. The slowly growing literature was inadequate to supply the guideposts so urgently needed.

The report of the Committee on Employee Training in the Public Service of the Civil Service Assembly has bridged the gap to a large extent, bringing together under one cover a review of sound principles and methods for the guidance of those concerned with the training of employees. In doing so, it has done a signal service for all engaged in the field.

The text is not long, but it omits little. Well written, it presents in brief compact chapters the basic areas that compose the field of training. The responsibility of managerial and subordinate employees in the job of training is clearly delineated at the start and constant stress on this point is found throughout the text. Briefly describing the procedures and techniques used in ascertaining training needs, the report proceeds systematically to a discussion of the problems involved in the preparation of teachers, the selection of training personnel, the organization of the training agency, and the place where training is to be engaged in. The administrative end is reviewed in some detail, for the variations in size of administrative units of government is quite large.

The selection and development of content provide the subject matter of another chapter. Details of best practice are discussed and emphasis placed on the functional nature of course content. Methods and techniques which have been utilized in adult education work and have been found effective for particular types of subject matter are catalogued, and guiding points in the selection of appropriate methods are included.

The chapter on evaluation of training is outstanding. The need for developing better tools of evaluation is stressed, so that "public service training all along the line may be improved, strengthened, and adapted to the changing needs of government and society."

The final chapter discusses the value of the central training unit. After reviewing possible criticisms against its establishment, the committee recommends its organization as part of the personnel office or as a separate coordinating unit.

This report should serve well as a manual and guide to those who are planning or are already engaged in training activities in the public service. It has particular value for the research worker in that it provides a quick view of the entire field and points up problems needing attention and solution.

For the training specialist in industry, it provides an up-to-date analysis and survey of the field of employee training.

JOHN J. FURIA
Director, Bureau of Training
Municipal Civil Service Commission
of New York City.

Pillar to Post. By Henry H. Curran. New York City, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. xxii, 387 pp. $3.

There is not a dull page in this sprightly autobiography by Magistrate Curran, yet it is a veritable gold mine of political wisdom.

The story covers sixty odd years of Judge Curran's versatile career—as a student waiter at Yale, newspaper reporter for the old *Tribune,* publicity man, law clerk then lawyer, New York City alderman, major on the western front in 1918 in charge of an ammunition train, borough president of Manhattan, candidate for mayor, federal immigration commissioner, counsel to the City Club of New York, president of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment—successfully turning the tables on a dry Senate Investigating Committee, labor arbitrator, magistrate, deputy mayor, and now chief magistrate of the City of New York.

Then too his avocations have included such variegated pursuits as those of amateur playwright, author and poet, crusader for noise abatement, linguistic reformer to whom the hybrid "and/or" and "contact"—used as a verb—are anathema.

Henry Curran has the human touch and the warm heart too frequently lacking in reform politicians. He was fortunate to be trained in the rough and tumble school of New York politics, but underneath the badinage, there is apparent a serious vein of idealism. He knows that it is a government of men who make the laws work, and that therefore it is important to understand the men. More horse sense; less theory and red tape. No respecter of stuffed shirts, yet he believes in human dignity. Students of administration may well get pointers from him on how to get things done in government.

Throughout the book there runs the author's opposition to too much centralization and a passionate belief "that power must stay near the people, near the little home-rule roots of government."

To any one allergic to the dry dust of much of our political writing, Major Curran's autobiography is prescribed as a most palatable diet.

SOPHIA A. OLMSTED
New York City

City Manager Government in Portland, Maine. By Edward F. Dow and Orren C. Hormell. Orono, University of Maine Studies, Bowdoin College, 1940. v, 119 pp.

This study is one of the fifty made under the sponsorship of the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Public Administration and used as source material for the recent volume, *City Manager Government in the United States.*[1] Its authors need no introduction to readers of the REVIEW, both of them having prepared articles for it on subjects pertaining to local and state government in Maine.

The authors' conclusions on seventeen years' operation of the manager plan in Portland are strikingly similar to those reached in a number of the cities studied. Chief criticisms of the plan are a gradual dying down of citizen interest during the years since the plan was adopted and lack of a clearly defined distinction between the functions of the council and those of the manager. The study concludes, however, with a very favorable picture of accomplishments under the manager plan, namely, financial stability and the supplying of more services at no greater expense because of general efficiency of operation and continuity of policy—things not to be taken lightly in such a difficult period as the past two decades.

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[1] See "The Council-Manager Plan Passes Its Exams," by Richard S. Childs. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1941, pp. 443-447.

R. M. W.

Los Angeles: Preface to a Master Plan. Edited by George W. Robbins and L. Deming Tilton. Los Angeles, The Pacific Southwest Academy, 1941. xvi, 303 pp. Photographs, charts, maps. Cloth bound $3. Paper bound $2.

In his introduction to this volume C. A. Dykstra, President of the University of Wisconsin, sums up its aims in these words: "In our dreams it [the city of the future] is something beautiful, with a plan of growth and a contented and happy people. It is a balanced structure, full of opportunities for work and play. . . . Los Angeles, with its youthful vitality and because of its minimum of encumbrance from the past, should be one of our first cities to point the way to this future—the city beautiful. It has all the elements in natural setting and resources, physical and human. There remains only the vital surge of civic will-to-do which comes with the realization of a worthy object. It is to the unfoldment of this objective and the demonstration of the practical means of achieving it through foresight that this book is dedicated."

Twenty-one authorities in the fields covered by the book—land use, housing, zoning, industrial growth, business decentralization, traffic transportation, etc.—discuss these problems as they apply to Los Angeles.

The book is a very readable discussion which should interest all concerned with the future of metropolitan areas. Its publication was made possible by a grant from the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles.

Additional Books and Reports Received[1]

Accounting

Municipal Accounting Statements (revised edition). Chicago, National Committee on Municipal Accounting, 1941. ix, 206 pp. $2.

Budgeting

A Budget Manual for Wisconsin Cities and Villages (revised). Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1941. 29 pp. mimeo.

Democracy

Advance Through Crisis. New York City, Council for Democracy, 1941. 40 pp. 10 cents.

Freedom of the People. New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. 20 pp. 10 cents.

Winning the Peace. New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. 20 pp. 10 cents.

Employment — Wages and Hours

Effects of the Defense Program on Prices, Wages, and Profits. By Meyer Jacobstein and Harold C. Moulton. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1941. vii, 43 pp. 25 cents.

How to Keep Wage and Hour Records under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1941, 31 pp.

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[1] See also "Research Bureau Reports Received," page 712.

Public Employment in the United States: 1941. With Special Attention to State and Local Government. Prepared under the Supervision of C. E. Rightor, Chief Statistician for State and Local Government. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1941. viii, 78 pp.

Wage and Hour Manual 1941 Edition. Washington, D. C., The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1941. 1120 pp. $5.

Wage-Hour Records. What Records to Keep and How to Keep Them. Text of Regulations Issued by the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division with Official Explanatory Bulletin and Sample Record Forms. Washington, D. C., The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 141. 23 pp. $1.

Housing and Blighted Areas

Ailing City Areas. Economic Study of Thirteen Depressed Districts in Manhattan. By Sylvia W. Stark in cooperation with the Subcommittee on Research, Investment Housing Committee. New York City, Citizens' Housing Council of New York, 1941. 44 pp. mimeo. maps, charts. $1.

Greenbelt. By O. Kline Fulmer. Introduction by Lewis Mumford. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. 46 pp. $1.

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